

**THE
GERMAN
DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC
IN THE FIGHT
FOR THE
UNITY OF GERMANY**

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*The German Democratic Republic
in the fight for the unity of Germany*

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Tranlator's note: A number of quotations from non-German
sources have been retranslated from the German

Issued by the Information Office of the German Democratic Republic
Printed in Germany

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Manifesto of the German People's Council

The National Front of Democratic Germany

Since the call for the formation of the National Front of Democratic Germany was issued by the 3rd German People's Congress, the struggle of the patriotic forces of the German people against the partitioning of Germany has increasingly assumed the character of a broad people's movement.

The state of national emergency into which the German people have been plunged by the breach of the Potsdam Agreement by the imperialist Western powers is a clarion call to all Germans to struggle for this noble aim: the creation of a united, independent, democratic Germany with a view to the speedy conclusion of a just peace treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of all occupation troops within a short period.

For four and a half years the guns have been silent. The German people's hope that they would obtain economic and political unity, that a new democratic and antimilitarist Germany would be established and that a peace treaty would be concluded, as formally promised by the Potsdam Agreement, have been disappointed. Germany has been partitioned as a result of the imperialist policy of the Western powers. The Ruhr and the Saar have been refused a peace treaty. Instead of this, in the western zones, an Occupation Statute, intended to extend the occupation indefinitely, has been forced upon them. The partition of Germany was completed by the creation of the Bonn separatist state.

The sham government in Bonn only has the job of carrying out what the High Commissioners of the Western powers order on the strength of the Occupation Statute. Illegal dismantling of German industry, aimed at excluding German competition, is being carried out ruthlessly. The devaluation of the West mark and the new regulation of prices have shown the brutality of imperialist occupation policy. The High Commissioners, by preventing the signing of a trade agreement between East and West Germany, have shown again the degree of tutelage which they impose.

The Bonn separatist government has the task of integrating West Germany into the war block of the Atlantic Pact and offering the youth of the separatist state to American imperialism as mercenaries. To fulfil these tasks in West Germany the restoration of German fascism and militarism is being quite openly pursued. The first debates of the Bonn Parliament gave a warning example of the kind of thoughts of "revenge" which are being kindled.

Thus the splitting and colonising policy of the imperialist powers threatens peace, at the same time threatening the existence of the German nation. This makes the formation of a general defence front of all patriotic forces of the German people the urgent necessity of the hour.

The great aims of the National Front of Democratic Germany have been discussed during the last few months in all parts of our fatherland. To comply with the wishes of all sections of the population the German People's Council considers it necessary to state clearly the aims of the National Front of Democratic Germany:

Unity of Germany

- (1) Re-establishment of the political and economic Unity of Germany through:
 - Ending of the construction of a West German separatist state;
 - Abolition of the Ruhr Statute;
 - Abolition of the autonomy of the Saar;
 - Creation of an all-German government of the German Democratic Republic.

Peace treaty

- (2) Speedy conclusion of a just peace treaty with Germany. Withdrawal of all occupation forces from Germany within a fixed short period after the signature of the peace treaty.
- (3) Full and unqualified recognition of the Potsdam Decisions on democratisation and demilitarisation as well as recognition of the obligations of Germany towards other peoples laid down in these Decisions.

Sovereignty

- (4) Restoration of the full sovereignty of the German nation with recognition of its right to an independent foreign policy and independent foreign trade.
- Free and independent development of the German State and the German people after the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Fight against warmongers and splitters

- (5) Implacable active struggle against the fomentors of a new war in Germany; prohibition of war propaganda in the press, radio and in meetings. Uncompromising struggle against the incorporation of Germany into aggressive military blocks, into the European Union and into the North Atlantic Pact.

(6) Implacable active struggle against the traitors to the German nation, the German agents of American imperialism, the criminal accomplices in the partition of Germany and the enslavement of its western parts; struggle against the particularists and separatists who support the imperialist policy of splitting Germany.

(7) Full and unrestricted support for the forces all over the world who are fighting for peace, equality and friendship between the peoples. Co-operation and friendship of Germany with all peace-loving peoples and countries which acknowledge the national interests of democratic Germany.

Berlin, capital of Germany

- (8) Immediate restoration of the unity and the normalisation of life in Berlin, the capital of Germany.

Well-planned reconstruction

- (9) One currency for the whole of Germany. Unhindered trade and economic co-operation. Unhindered traffic for people and for goods between the provinces and zones of Germany.
- (10) Immediate cessation of the alienation of the German economy by foreign capitalists. Foreign loans only on the condition of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Germany and with the right that German bodies decide for themselves on the use to which these loans are to be put.
- (11) Immediate halting of dismantling and all other measure aimed at the restriction and suppression of German peace economy.
- (12) Suspension of all restrictions imposed on German foreign trade by the competitive interests of the Western powers. Promotion of German foreign trade with the Soviet Union and the countries of East and South-East Europe, the natural trade partners of Germany. Unhindered development of German peace industry and of merchant shipbuilding, of trades and handicrafts.
- (13) Protection of the German national economy and private property in accordance with the law.
- (14) Increase in the living standard of the German population by the development of production and trade. Systematic reduction of the rationing system; abolition of unemployment.
- (15) The productivity of agriculture to be raised. Help to be given to those peasant holdings which are in need. Fair distribution of land to peasants and resettlers throughout Germany.

(16) Homes and work for resettlers in all zones. Reconstruction of destroyed towns and villages.

Equality

(17) Full equality of all German citizens before the law, regardless of class, political views and religious convictions.

Promotion of culture

(18) Freedom of the press, of radio and the film. Removal of Anglo-American censorship.

(19) Effective measures for the maintenance and development of German research, technical achievement and teaching, literature and arts; improvement of the position of intellectuals throughout Germany.

(20) Close cultural relations between all regions of Germany without any outside intervention and restriction.

In order to fight effectively for these aims the National Front of Democratic Germany will support every possible form of co-operation of the patriotic forces in the political as well as in the cultural field, in commercial and in other economic questions. The more comprehensive the forms and methods which the National Front assumes in this work, the more complete the content of this work, the quicker will the great aim be achieved — the unity of Germany and a just peace.

The National Front of Democratic Germany is beginning to develop with ever greater strength. We call upon all workers, employees, peasants, technicians, scientists and artists, all the youth and all employers with a national conscience, every German woman, every German man, whatever party they may belong to, and whatever philosophy they may follow, to support the aims of the National Front. Support for the National Front is independent of the political, social or philosophical attitude of the individual. Only one thing is necessary in view of the national emergency: the fighting community of all honest patriots and people of good will who desire peace, unity and freedom of their homeland.

German men and women, German youth! The German Democratic Republic has been created in Berlin, the German capital, by the unanimous desire of all parties and mass organisations in the German People's Council, on the basis of the constitution confirmed by the 3rd German People's Congress. The foremost endeavour of the constitutionally-formed provisional German government will be the fight for peace and for the unity and sovereignty of Germany. It will be an important bastion in the fight to put the programme of the National Front of Democratic Germany into effect.

We call on all Germans to recognise the gravity of the situation, and at the same time the possibilities of defence.

We call on the German people to take the salvation of the nation into their own hands, and by supporting the fight of the National Front of Democratic Germany to clear the road for peace, construction and the national freedom of the united German Democratic Republic. Long live the National Front of Democratic Germany!

Berlin, October 7th 1949.

The Manifesto was unanimously adopted by the German People's Council.

**Resolution of the Ninth Session of the German People's Council
(October 7th 1949)**

Appeal to the Foreign Ministers

On the occasion of World Peace Day on October 2nd the German People's Council received thousands of resolutions from all sections of the German population, from factories and schools, churches and universities, from parties and many other organisations.

The demands of the democratic and peace-loving forces of Germany—re-establishment of unity, conclusion of a peace treaty and withdrawal of the occupying troops—have been taken up by millions of people in all zones of Germany. All these statements declare that the German people are no longer willing to forego the realisation of the Potsdam Agreement. That is why the German people demand the creation of a German democratic government, the task of which would be to secure peaceful democratic construction and to support vis-a-vis the occupying powers the demand for a peace treaty and the withdrawal of the occupation troops.

The German People's Council wishes to inform the Foreign Ministers assembled in New York of these resolutions and declarations from the German population. It requests the Foreign Ministers to place the German question on the agenda once again, and to discuss measures capable of leading to the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

**Resolution of the cabinet of the German Democratic Republic on the
declaration issued by the Prague Conference (October 25th 1950)**

The government of the German Democratic Republic has noted with great pleasure the report of its Foreign Minister on the Prague Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic which discussed the results of the conference held in New York by the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Great Britain and France. The government of the German Democratic Republic is grateful to the government of the USSR and the governments of the European People's Democracies for enabling the government of the German Democratic Republic to participate on equal terms in the Prague Conference, and for the fact that once again the governments taking part gave their fullest support to the rightful claims of the German people for the re-establishment of the unity of their homeland and the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty.

The decisions taken by the New York Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Great Britain and France are the stubborn continuation of a policy which has departed from the promises made at Yalta and Potsdam. This policy has as its aim the inclusion of West Germany and West Berlin in the aggressive North Atlantic Block instead of the creation of a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany. This policy refuses the German people the restoration of their economic and state unity; this policy prevents the conclusion of a peace treaty and aims to remilitarise West Germany and finally convert it into a tool of the aggressive strategic military plans of the Anglo-American imperialists in Europe. This policy is a serious danger to the peace and security of the peoples of Europe. It menaces the very existence of the German people.

Concern for maintaining and ensuring peace has caused the growing resistance of the German people to the aggressive plans of Anglo-American imperialism. Every German patriot should feel himself obliged to oppose these plans with still more determination, and to prevent the revival of German imperialism. The population of West Germany and West Berlin must give their determined support to a policy which removes the danger of "a new aggression, a new military adventure in Europe". All peace-loving forces must unite their strength in order to carry out the proposals of the Prague Foreign Ministers' Conference, since these proposals provide a suitable basis for the unity of all those living in our German homeland.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic adopts fully the following proposals of the Prague Foreign Ministers' Conference, which foresee a peaceful solution for the German people:

1. That the governments of the USA, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union should issue a declaration that they will not tolerate the remilitarisation of Germany or the inclusion of Germany in any plans of aggression,

and that they will carry out the decisions of the Potsdam Conference on the formation of a unified, peace-loving, democratic German state.

2. That all restrictions on German peace industry should be lifted and that the reestablishment of the German war potential should be prevented.
3. That a peace treaty with Germany in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement should be concluded immediately, and that the occupation troops of all powers should be withdrawn from Germany within one year after the conclusion of the peace treaty.
4. That an All-German Constituent Council should be formed on a basis of parity by representatives of East and West Germany. This should prepare the formation of an all-German sovereign, democratic and peace-loving provisional government and should submit the necessary proposals to the governments of the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France for their joint approval. Until such time as an all-German government is constituted this Council would be invited to take part in consultations on working out the peace treaty.

The government of the German Democratic Republic declares its readiness to cooperate in establishing an All-German Constituent Council in accordance with the pledge given in Prague to do everything to help "to solve these problems, the solution of which may not be delayed, in the interests of securing peace and international security". This readiness arises from a conviction that the bringing together of representatives of West and East Germany in the proposed body on a basis of parity would be a decisive step towards overcoming the partitioning of Germany and for the creation of an all-German government, and also for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

In the interests of peace and the future of our nation the government of the German Democratic Republic appeals to all sections of the entire German people to support with all their strength these efforts to secure peace, to speed up the conclusion of a peace treaty, to construct a peace economy and to create a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

The government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes the fact that according to the declaration of the Prague Foreign Ministers' Conference a direct referendum of the German people may be taken on the question of forming an All-German Constituent Council, if the circumstances make it necessary. The entire German people, who long for peace and the unity of their homeland after the bitter experiences of the past, will realise that the putting into effect of the proposals made by the Prague Conference will bring very close the time when their wishes are met.

The government of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that the patriotic and peace-loving forces of our people, will recognise the urgency of the situation and will strengthen and unite their efforts in order to secure for our people peace, and thereby our national existence.

For the restoration of the unity of Berlin (November 25th 1950)

Letter addressed by the Greater Berlin Committee of the National Front of Democratic Germany to the three western commandants, the Soviet Control Commission, and the city administration in East and West Berlin:

On December 3rd elections will be held in West Berlin which can only deepen the split in the city and which are thus contrary to the vital interests of the population in East and West Berlin.

The division of Berlin into sectors and the split in the administration have a steadily increasing negative effect on the economy and the cultural life of the city, and prevent the full development of these functions.

In addition the partitioning of Berlin has led to the shutting down of many factories in West Berlin, and thus to increased unemployment, and has created unbearable living conditions for hundreds of thousands of West Berlin families. Thousands of bombed houses lie in ruins. The dwelling problems of the working population are far from solution. At the same time the wages of those doing emergency work in West Berlin are being reduced, and hundreds of thousands, without any work, are living in the greatest poverty.

The separate elections in West Berlin on December 3rd will sharpen still further the division in Berlin, and will further increase the difficulties of the West Berlin population.

The Berlin Committee of the National Front of Democratic Germany addresses itself to the Commandants of the western sectors of Berlin, the representative of the Soviet Control Commission in Berlin, the city administration in East Berlin, and the city administration in West Berlin, with the following proposals on how to normalise life, and how to improve the material conditions of the Berlin populations. They are proposals which at the same time express the desire of the Berlin population for the unity of the city.

1. The holding of free democratic elections in the whole of Berlin in March 1951.
2. The creation of a joint committee of the East and West city administrations which should take the necessary measures for preparing and holding elections in the whole of Berlin.
3. In order to ensure really free and democratic elections, all occupation troops should be withdrawn from Berlin, and all sector boundaries should be abolished, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Berlin population.

After free democratic elections have been held, and a united administration has been established as a result, this administration shall take the following steps:

Completely abolish unemployment in West Berlin in the course of three months. All factories will be set to work for peace production, particularly in the heavy and light industrial branches, in order to satisfy the material needs of the population.

All necessary measures will be taken to lower prices and raise the standard of living of the population.

In addition all measures directed against remilitarisation will be supported, and every help will be given to free development of the peace movement in West Berlin.

The Berlin Committee of the National Front of Democratic Germany, in making these proposals, is convinced that they will be of service to the vital interests of the Berlin population, and that they will be a decisive contribution to the re-establishment of German unity and the maintenance of peace.

Committee of the National Front
of Democratic Germany, Greater Berlin

The Presidium
Professor Theodor Brugsch, First Chairman
Ernst Hoffmann, Second Chairman

Berlin, November 25th 1950.

Letter from Lord Mayor Friedrich Ebert to Professor Ernst Reuter (November 30th 1950)

The Committee of the National Front of the German capital has addressed letters to the Commandants of the western sectors of Berlin, to the representative of the Soviet Control of Berlin, to you and to myself, making proposals for the normalisation of life in Berlin.

I answered this letter today pointing out that the City Administration of Greater Berlin declared in unmistakeable words immediately after its election "that it was in favour of a restoration of German unity, the establishment of a German government and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany which will lay down that all occupation troops shall be withdrawn from our country one year after its ratification".

In equally unmistakeable words the City Administration of Greater Berlin declared its readiness to call "really democratic elections as soon as the necessary conditions have been established for all Berliners to take a free democratic decision in all parts of our city".

Despite our efforts, which have received valuable support from the policy of the government of the USSR aiming at the re-establishment of German unity and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, it has not yet been possible to end the partitioning of the city, to abolish the sector frontiers and to normalise again the life of Berlin. Indeed there is reason to fear that the remilitarisation in West Berlin, sponsored and begun by the Americans, will lead to a deepening of the split and to an increased danger of war.

In my reply to the Committee of the National Front I therefore welcomed the initiative which had been taken to overcome the difficulties, which in increasing degree, are preventing the full development of all creative forces in our population to overcome the state of national emergency. The City Administration of Greater Berlin declares its unconditional support for all measures which appear suitable to put into effect the proposals of the Committee of the National Front of the capital for holding and ensuring free democratic elections in the whole of Berlin in March 1951. The City Administration of Greater Berlin gives its very fullest support to the proposal that a joint committee should be set up to take the necessary measures to prepare and carry out the elections.

In the hundredth session of the City Administration of Greater Berlin held today it was decided to inform you of this decision, and to express the hope that our joint efforts will suffice to restore the unity of Berlin and thus make a valuable contribution to the creation of German unity and to the maintenance of peace.

(signed) Ebert

Berlin, November 30th 1950.

**Letter from Prime Minister Grotewohl to Dr. Adenauer
(November 30th 1950)**

On Friday December 1st 1950 at 4.30 p.m. the following letter, sent to Chancellor Adenauer by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, was delivered by a special courier in Bonn:

The partitioning of Germany has produced a state of national emergency which has been increased by remilitarisation and the integration of West Germany in the plans for war preparations. The German people are filled with deep uneasiness at the challenge presented to their national interests by the imperialist powers.

In view of this situation the maintenance of peace, the conclusion of a peace treaty, and the restoration of German unity depend above all on understanding being reached between the Germans themselves. We believe such an understanding to be possible, since the whole German people desire a peaceful solution. The creation of an All-German Constituent Council, composed on a basis of parity of representatives of East and West Germany, would be in accordance with the wishes of all peace-loving Germans. This Council would have the job of preparing for the establishment of an all-German, sovereign, democratic and peace-loving provisional government, and of submitting the proposals for joint approval by the governments of the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France. At the same time the Council would consult with the governments named on the preparation of a peace treaty, until such time as an all-German government was formed.

We believe that the All-German Constituent Council could take over the job of preparing the conditions for holding all-German elections to a National Assembly. The establishment of an All-German Constituent Council would thus provide the conditions necessary for the immediate commencement of discussions on the conclusion of a peace treaty, and at the same time the Council could prepare the formation of a government.

The government of the German Democratic Republic is ready to negotiate in a spirit of honest understanding on all questions connected with the establishment and work of an All-German Constituent Council.

Broad sections of the population in both East and West Germany believe that the next step to be taken to solve the vital questions of our people must be the submission of a joint German proposal to the four occupation powers. The government of the German Democratic Republic, basing itself upon this desire of the peace-loving population, therefore submits to the government of the Federal Republic the proposal to begin discussions between the two governments on the creation of an All-German Constituent Council. We propose that each government should name six representatives for this purpose. Time and place for the meeting can be fixed by the Secretaries of State of the respective Prime Ministers.

Government of the German Democratic Republic,
Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister

Berlin, November 30th 1950.

**Letter from the Chairman of the People's Chamber of the German
Democratic Republic to the Chairman of the Bonn Federal Parliament
(December 30th 1951)**

Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, addressed the following letter to Dr. Ehlers, Chairman of the Federal Parliament in Bonn:

Dear Sir,

I address these lines to you because of the responsibility which rests upon our shoulders as Chairmen of the Assemblies composed of the representatives of the German people, because of our responsibility to the entire German people that they, after all the immeasurable sufferings which they have undergone in the recent past, shall finally be able to live in sure peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world. Today a month has passed since the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic proposed to the Federal Chancellor of the Federal Republic that joint talks should be held for the discussion of questions affecting the whole of Germany. There can be no doubt that the great majority of our people expected a prompt and positive reply to this proposal. Till today however no reply has been made.

The tragic division of our people, which according to the laws of God and man form a natural unit, has tended to make us strangers in the face of the danger which threatens our nation. No German politician who has as sense of responsibility can close his eyes to the greatness of this danger. If this artificial separation is not to lead to a final tearing apart of Germany, and thus to the ruin of the German nation, we must find our way to each other as Germans across all the artificial barriers which have been set up in the past few years.

In this question, which is of decisive importance for Germany, the Socialist, Liberal, Christian and National democrats of the German Democratic Republic are of one mind and of one heart, despite other differences of political opinion. Until the contrary is proved, and let us hope that it never is proved, I refuse to believe that the position can be any different in the Federal Republic. As one who was born in north Germany and from innumerable conversations with, and letters from, our brothers and sisters in West Germany, I know that our people in the western parts of our joint fatherland have no desire for partition and separation, that they do not want war and rearmament, but that, like us, they want the unity of Germany and peace.

In accordance with the desires of the people in the eastern part of our divided homeland, Prime Minister Grotewohl has directed his appeal to the western part of our country, ignoring all obstructions and arguments. For the sake of Germany this appeal must not be allowed to remain without a positive answer any longer. I appeal to you to work in those circles in which you have influence, as I do here, so that the New Year may go down in history as the year of the victory of the German desire for peace and unity. As the Speakers of the

supreme forums of our people we can do much, by our goodwill, to overcome the difficulties of attaining this high aim. It would be a source of great gratification if, in this hour of destiny for our people, we should reach an understanding.

I am, etc.,

Dieckmann,

Chairman of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic

Berlin, December 30th 1950.

Government declaration by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to the People's Chamber on January 30th 1951

In my government declaration to the People's Chamber on November 15th 1950 I described the fight for peace as the most urgent task before us. I emphasised, in connection with my report on the Prague Foreign Ministers' Conference and its constructive plans for peace and the re-establishment of German unity, that it would be possible to follow such a peaceful road with success if there was a readiness for understanding and peaceful democratic aims on every side.

The formation of an All-German Constituent Council would not only be a decisive step towards the establishment of German unity, but also an important contribution to the fight for the peace of Europe and against remilitarisation.

I stated that the government of the German Democratic Republic therefore intended to take the necessary steps to see to it that discussions were started between representatives of East and West Germany.

On December 1st 1950, a letter, the contents of which are familiar to all of you, was delivered to Dr. Adenauer in Bonn. In this letter, dated November 30th 1950, I proposed the formation of an All-German Constituent Council, composed on a basis of parity of representatives of East and West Germany. This Constituent Council should:

1. Prepare the formation of an all-German, democratic and peace-loving provisional government.
2. Submit the necessary proposals to the governments of the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France for their approval.
3. Hold consultations with the governments named for working out a peace treaty until the establishment of an all-German government.
4. Preparing the conditions for holding free, all-German elections for a National Assembly.

Herr Adenauer has questioned our democratic right to speak for German unity. The voice of our people has left no doubt however, of the extent to which the government of the German Democratic Republic is really democratically authorised to speak for the entire German people. At the same time it is quite clear that Herr Adenauer's declaration is contrary to the wishes of the people in the whole of Germany.

I do not know if Herr Adenauer considers that complete isolation from the people is authorisation enough for him to lead West Germany to remilitarisation. The German people however will no longer tolerate such an alleged authorisation.

Even Blücher, the Bonn Vice-Chancellor, was forced to state in Stuttgart "The world must realise that 99% of the German people are opposed to remilitarisation".

This statement is true. I and also Herr Adenauer receive daily confirmation of this from all parts of Germany and from all sections of the population. Every sort of organisation, workers, peasants, scientists, technicians, artists, clergymen, business men, exporters and industrialists, craftsmen, men and women, young and old are all united in their wishes for Germany, for peace and against remilitarisation.

If there should be any doubt that this is so I should like to point out that the Prague Foreign Ministers' Conference proposed that under certain conditions a direct plebiscite of the German people should be held.

The response aroused by my letter to Herr Adenauer shows clearly that the initiative we have taken is in accordance with the wishes of our people, and that this initiative was necessary to show a way of overcoming the state of national emergency in which our people find themselves. Unfortunately however my letter did not have this effect on Herr Adenauer and his American and German friends. Adenauer shrouded himself in silence for seven weeks, and then finally made a statement at a press conference on January 15th 1951. He did not answer the letter which I had sent him. Herr Adenauer's response was simply to say "no". He said "no" to the government of the German Democratic Republic and "no" to the German people. Herr Adenauer's declaration shows clearly that he has no wish for an understanding.

Herr Adenauer not only intends to avoid entering into conversations with the German Democratic Republic, but wants to prevent all-German conversations altogether. In his flurry he does not notice that he is only acting as a brake. All-German discussions are already there, and Herr Adenauer can do nothing to alter this fact. Herr Adenauer does not want to reach an agreement on an all-German basis without conditions as I proposed. On the contrary he proposes a lot of so-called irrevocable conditions. He demands the unconditional surrender of the peace-loving democrats in the German Democratic Republic. Why has Adenauer chosen this path? I imagine this is clear. His method is intended to prevent any understanding. He intends to retreat further and further from the promises of peace and democracy contained in the Potsdam Agreement, and to open the door for remilitarisation and for the integration of West Germany in the western war front. The German people have however seen through this. Every day I receive more letters from people in West and in East Germany. Herr Adenauer is acting as the representative of the military and imperialist forces in Germany, he is acting like a man who values the interests of imperialist America more than the interests of Germany.

During Herr Adenauer's seven-weeks' silence facts have spoken. West Germany is steering a direct course of chauvinism, revisionism, and militarism. This voyage can only end in civil war and a new world war.

What happened in the seven weeks of silence?

The Bonn Minister of the interior announced the formation of a motorised "frontier force".

The Bonn Government announced an air raid protection law.

All former barracks and airfields in West Germany were ordered to be requisitioned and restored to the state in which they had been before 1945. Herr Schäffer, Bonn's Minister of Finance, declared that Bonn would create twenty-two fully motorised divisions, including ten panzer divisions. Herr Adenauer told an American news agency that if "German forces were given completely equal status" he was ready to leave their integration in the Atlantic army "to the judgement of an American Commander in Chief".

The Council of the Atlantic Pact, with the agreement of Bonn, agreed in Brussels on the creation of a West German army, the conversion of West German industry to war production, and named the American General Eisenhower as Commander in Chief.

The Bonn Parliament passed a law for the conversion of the economy to war economy. In Hamburg representatives of West German heavy industry founded an "armaments department" in close connection with the arms industry of the Atlantic Pact states.

Herr Adenauer announced that the fascist generals Speidel and Heusinger were being consulted on the formation of the West German mercenary army.

In Aschaffenburg, Würzburg, Kitzingen, Bamberg, Bayreuth, Nuremberg and Fürth whole new suburbs were being built for new occupation troops. Bonn government circles were discussing the cancellation of article four, paragraph three, of the Bonn Basic Law. This paragraph three states "Nobody may be forced to do armed military service against the dictates of his conscience".

How can one reconcile all these facts with Herr Adenauer's declaration that until now the Bonn government has refrained from all military measures?

On January 22nd 1951, Chancellor Adenauer went to Bad Homburg in order to sit down at one table with the American General Eisenhower, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic army, and have war discussions with him without setting any irrevocable conditions first.

On January 15th 1951, the same Chancellor Adenauer refused to sit down at one table with the German Prime Minister Grotewohl in order to have peace discussions.

Herr Adenauer is making a mistake if he believes that his statement will satisfy the German people. The conditions and accusations which he makes are only intended to distract, and the German people will not accept them as a substitute for all-German discussions. The resistance to remilitarisation will become the basic problem for Germany. Millions of Germans of today are discussing the question of how to prevent a new war on German soil, and a German civil war.

The Germans have observed the deeds of the Americans in Korea with horror. There is no reason to be surprised, therefore, that resistance to remilitarisation in West Germany is steadily growing. The partitioning of Germany is the condition which favours and develops remilitarisation.

In his statement to the press Herr Adenauer stated that the Bonn Government too was striving for the restoration of German unity in freedom and peace. He quoted events from the year 1950 in order to prove that his government had already made attempts to re-establish German unity.

He apparently wanted to say that everything would be fine with German unity if we had answered the proposals which he made then. If in my speech I answer this allegation, and others made by Herr Adenauer, that is not because I want to show that I am right. We do not want to argue with the representatives of West Germany, but to negotiate with them. Arguments about the past are vain at the present moment. The important thing is the future. What I have to say about individual points raised by Dr. Adenauer I am saying solely for these reasons:

1. Herr Adenauer should have no excuse for saying that no answer was given to his press statement.
2. The public should be given a chance to investigate the one-sided statements made by Dr. Adenauer, and so, by being acquainted with all the facts, be able to reach a just judgement.

I must therefore state that the problem of German unity did not first arise in 1950. It has existed since that moment in which the western powers, aided and abetted by German individuals and public bodies, broke the Potsdam Agreement and took the path of partitioning Germany and preparing a new war in which West Germany should participate.

The Potsdam Agreement was broken as early as 1946, when the Saar territory was included in the French economic area. This was followed by the creation of the Anglo-American Bizone. The path continued through the inclusion of

West Germany in the Marshall Plan in 1947 to the London Recommendations of the western powers in summer 1948 and the introduction of the separate currency in June 1948.

At that time those powers which supported the Potsdam Agreement and thereby German unity and a peace policy, declared at the Warsaw Conference that the London Recommendations on the partitioning of Germany by the western allies were a gross breach of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements.

Despite these warnings, the policy of splitting was continued, and the well known "three documents of Frankfurt" established the West German Separatist Government, and announced the Ruhr Statute and the Occupation Statute. Finally in 1950 the West German Separatist State was integrated in the European Union, the political auxiliary of the Atlantic Pact. This development undoubtedly reached its climax in the New York Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the western powers in 1950, which produced the decision on West German remilitarisation and the inclusion of West Germany in a new front of war against the camp of peace.

The problem of German unity and peace for Germany is not a question which arose just last year. The proposals made by the Bonn government in March and October 1950 in no way prove that they have followed a policy of German unity. The two Bonn documents were not sent from German to German, but simply from Germans to the representatives of the western powers, the people who had been behind the policy of partition.

I am certain that I am speaking in the name of the whole German people when I, as a German, ask in the first place for a discussion among Germans themselves and not a discussion with the allies.

No occupation institution can free a German patriot from his responsibility for the fate of our people. Basing myself upon this sense of responsibility I should like to express my opinion on the main arguments which Herr Adenauer brought forward in his press statement as irrevocable conditions.

Herr Adenauer complains that his proposal to hold all-German elections, made on March 22nd 1950, had remained without an answer. This proposal was that after an election law had been drawn up the occupation powers should call all-German elections for a Constituent National Assembly.

Answering Herr Adenauer's complaints I should like to state first of all that on March 23rd 1950, one day after Adenauer's declaration on all-German elections, Herr Jakob Kaiser, Bonn Minister for all-German questions, stated publicly that the Bonn government saw no possibility of holding direct negotiations with the representatives of the Soviet occupied zone.

The same applies to October 1st 1950, when Herr Adenauer asked the High Commissioners on the Petersberg to bring about all-German elections. This demand was thus not addressed to us at all.

Herr Adenauer may regard the elections as a question for the occupation powers but we believe that the job of preparing and carrying out free, secret, all-German elections is something for our own people to do. No-one can doubt that an election called and carried out by the German people themselves would give the greatest authority to the representatives elected. Let us therefore sit down together in order to discuss the preparation and carrying out of free, general, equal, secret and direct elections.

Apart from the theme of elections Herr Adenauer busied himself with the law for the protection of peace passed by the People's Chamber on December 12th 1950. For Herr Adenauer this law is "an instrument of terror". According to him it was intended to destroy the unity of the West German population. Herr Adenauer was obviously particularly impressed by the fact that the law for the protection of peace also applies to the population of West Berlin and West Germany. What the People's Chamber did by passing the law for the protection of peace is clear and unmistakeable. The People's Chamber placed heavy penalties on those guilty of military activities and war propaganda. Such a law had become necessary because of the fact that only a few years after the second world war forces were already at work again trying to drive the peoples into a new world war.

No peace-loving person could possibly imagine that he would have to fear this law. Only an active enemy of peace could regard the law as burdensome and possibly dangerous.

In this connection I should like to recall Article nine of the Bonn Basic Law, which prohibits associations which are directed against the idea of international understanding. Another Article, number twenty-six, of the Bonn Basic Law, declares all actions unconstitutional which could disturb the peaceful life of the peoples and in particular the preparations for an aggressive war. From this you can see, ladies and gentlemen, that the law passed by the People's Chamber is in the spirit of these paragraphs of the Bonn Basic Law. I must ask my countrymen, and Herr Adenauer, why the German Democratic Republic should not be allowed to do something which the Federal Republic of West Germany has laid down in its constitution?

Warmongers are warmongers whether they commit their misdeeds in the west or in the east of Germany. The people must protect themselves against such persons if they want to live in peace.

We have absolutely no objection to the Adenauer government issuing a law for the protection of peace based on the Bonn Basic Law. We have no objection if they extend this law to apply to warmongers who are inhabitants of the

German Democratic Republic. It would perhaps however be even better if both sides made a peace law for the whole of Germany with the same penalties. That would be a method in which we could immediately reach a complete co-ordination of laws for the whole of Germany in a question which affects the life and death of the whole nation.

Herr Adenauer, in his declaration, also stated that those persons who had renounced all claims to the German territories east of the Oder-Neisse did not appear to him to be authorised to speak of a reunification of Germany.

Herr Adenauer has no right to make such condemnatory statements. He knows very well that the only reason for the Oder-Neisse frontier is the robber policy of the Hitler government.

The governments of the USA, Great Britain and the USSR, later joined by France, stated in the Potsdam decisions of August 2nd 1945, that "the former German territories" east of the Oder and the Neisse should come under the administration of the Polish state. At the same time the repatriation to Germany of "the German population which had remained in Poland" was agreed. None of the western powers have ever raised the question of the revision of this frontier at any international conference.

On September 6th 1946, in a speech in Stuttgart, Mr. Byrnes, at that time American Secretary of State, occupied himself with irresponsible speculation on this question, aimed at whipping up hate among the peoples involved, and unleashing a new world war.

Starting this campaign of hate, Mr. Byrnes relied on the formal declaration that the "final" determination of the Polish western frontier would be made at the Peace Conference. For five and a half years these warmongers have deprived us of the peace conference which could long ago have removed this word "final" and produced calm. Since the allied powers had shown their inability to solve this problem it was high time that the peoples involved should clear up themselves this burning problem once and for all. As a matter of fact all the allies concerned agreed, by unanimous vote, to the repatriation of the Germans and resettlement by the Poles and later put these measures into practical effect. On September 16th 1946, Mr. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the USSR, referring to Mr. Byrnes' speech in Stuttgart, said quite correctly:

"Who could imagine that the removal of the Germans was only carried out as a short-term experiment? Those who drew up the decision on the removal of the Germans from these territories so that Poles from other areas of Poland could immediately settle there, cannot simply propose some time later that the opposite measure should be taken. Even the idea of such experiments with millions of people is unthinkable."

The policy of revision launched by the Americans can serve only to whip up the hate of the Germans, in the hope of making them dependent on the western powers in the frontier question. They need the campaign on the Oder-Neisse question in order to fan the fires of war in this part of Europe. We have trampled the embers of war, since we need a frontier of peace. The German and the Polish people must never again allow themselves to be set at each other's throats. Every German must understand that an attempt to revise this frontier would mean starting a new war. Such a war would unquestionably take place on German soil and Germany would be ruined. The German people must learn that they can only hope for a happy future and new prosperity if they live in friendship and a spirit of neighbourliness, in peace and quiet with the Polish people.

Finally, Herr Adenauer regards the existence of our People's Police as a threat to the German people. He regards them as a foreign tool and alleges that they have a military character. That is completely untrue. The People's Police ensure internal security in the German Democratic Republic.

In West Germany on the other hand the police have been converted into military units which take part in the manoeuvres and wargames of the American troops. I must say quite frankly that it is only the dignity of the office which I occupy which prevents me from answering in the way which it deserves the ridiculous allegations that the unity of Germany is threatened by the existence of People's Police.

Be that as it may, people in West Germany should know that, even before the achievement of German unity, we are ready to discuss the question of the strength, character and armaments of the police in the east and also naturally in the west.

All these questions of peace law, frontiers, and police have been raised by Herr Adenauer in order to defend the thesis that these laws are contrary to justice and humanity, and that discussions on the reunification of Germany could only be conducted with persons ready to recognise and guarantee the rule of law, a free form of government, the protection of human rights and the preservation of peace.

In this connection I must say that it is exactly these conditions which we wish to produce by a discussion between Germans round one table. We cannot conceal our astonishment at the contrast between the words of Herr Adenauer and the deeds of the Bonn government. In our opinion the rule of law should not allow lies and slanders to become a weapon used daily in the press. The rule of law cannot tolerate full freedom of development for warmongering elements.

In our opinion the rule of law must be equivalent with freedom for the supporters of peace. The situation in West Berlin and in West Germany is however such that this freedom does not exist there.

In West Berlin and West Germany the principles of freedom are always apparently in abeyance when progressive people give their support to the prevention of a new war, to German unity, to friendship with the Soviet Union, and to the withdrawal of the occupation powers.

Can it be a free form of government which slanders and deprives of public office members of organisations which support friendship with the Soviet Union, peace, and the decisions of the German People's Congress and the National Front? That happens in West Germany however. I think it is urgently necessary to clarify round the table these questions connected with the expression "freedom". Herr Adenauer however simply raises all these questions, defines them in his own way and describes them as irrevocable conditions which must be fulfilled before any conversation can start.

That is not the way to make progress. This is why we demand again, as we demanded before, discussions between Germans round one table without the setting of previous conditions.

That is the very essence of my proposal—to meet without any agenda, without any set rules and conditions in order to clarify in discussion all the questions to be raised by Herr Adenauer and by us.

If we, for instance, should copy Herr Adenauer's methods it would be easy for us to draw up a whole list of conditions. In my letter I intentionally omitted all such arguments and made no conditions. That is why the letter had such a great echo in all parts of Germany. Everybody could see how serious our intentions were, because of the frightful danger with which our people are threatened, particularly because of the remilitarisation. They could see that we seriously intended to leave all the obstacles aside in order to secure peace for the well-being of our homeland, so dear to the hearts of all of us.

That is why the negative attitude of Dr. Adenauer has raised such strong opposition in all parts of Germany. One cannot solve the vital questions of a whole people with maxims from the ill-fated diplomacy of the past. The response which we have found in the population means that we cannot relax in our efforts to reach understanding.

The government of the German Democratic Republic believes that the preservation of peace, the conclusion of a peace treaty, the re-establishment of German unity, and the withdrawal of the occupation troops, depend above all on understanding being reached between the Germans themselves. The government of the German Democratic Republic is determined to continue its efforts to reach an understanding despite Herr Adenauer's declaration. The government of the German Democratic Republic believed and believes that the method of dealing with these vital interests of the German people is the establishment of an All-German Constituent Council, composed on a basis of parity of representatives of East and West Germany.

What more can the government of the German Democratic Republic do? We cannot drag Herr Adenauer and his government to the conference table by brute force. The governments of democratic states are elected by the representatives of the people in order to carry out the will of the people. Since the wishes of the people are the supreme law for us we requested this session of the People's Chamber. I want to ask the deputies to consider, to discuss and to decide what possibilities there are of fulfilling the burning wish of all Germans—the unity of our homeland and the maintenance of peace.

At this critical time the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic can do nothing greater and more important than to speak in the name of the entire German people and to use every possible means to put into effect the urgent demand:

A Round Table Conference for Germans!

Joint declaration of all fractions of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic (January 30th 1951)

on the government statement by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl on carrying out the proposal of the government of the German Democratic Republic on the establishment of an All-German Constituent Council

Appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Parliament of the Federal Republic in Bonn

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic approves the initiative taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic, expressed in the letter sent by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer on November 30th 1950. This letter made the proposal to begin discussions on the establishment of an All-German Constituent Council. This initiative serves the aim of maintaining peace, restoring the unity of Germany and leading to the conclusion of a peace treaty by reaching understanding between the Germans themselves. The proposal was made to call together an All-German Constituent Council which should prepare the creation of an all-German, sovereign, democratic and peace-loving provisional government and draw up the conditions for holding free all-German elections to a National Assembly. Until the time when an all-German government is formed the All-German Constituent Council should make the necessary proposals for their joint approval to the governments of the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France for a peace treaty with Germany.

The initiative thus taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic received the support of the entire German people, who long for an understanding between the Germans in east and west and who see in the restoration of the unity of our homeland the way in which to avert the deadly dangers presented by remilitarisation and war preparations.

Dr. Adenauer, ignoring the clear desire of the German people for peace, unity and national independence, delayed his reply to the offer of understanding made by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl. He did this in order, in the meantime, to carry out important measures for the re-creation of a German Wehrmacht and the re-establishment of German war production.

In the declaration which he made to a press conference on January 15th 1951, Dr. Adenauer rejected the proposal of the government of the German Democratic Republic. He proved thereby that he was following a policy of revenge and militarism which would inevitably plunge the German people into catastrophe. Through this policy of revenge, and through the remilitarisation of West Germany, he has proved that he is not able to protect the national interests of the German people, since he is so closely allied with foreign imperialist warmongers.

German men and women are aware of the great danger which remilitarisation and war preparations represent. The German people desire the maintenance of

peace and the re-establishment of German unity. It is necessary to concentrate all forces in order to achieve agreement between the Germans on the protection of the vital interests of our people.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, basing itself upon this desire of the German people, addresses itself to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic with the proposal to summon jointly an All-German Constituent Council, and thus to reach agreement on all those questions which must be solved in order to maintain peace and reunite Germany. The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic declares its readiness to discuss, in a spirit of honest understanding, all questions connected with the creation and the tasks of the All-German Constituent Council, and also to discuss the following questions which were indicated by Dr. Adenauer in his declaration on January 15th:

1. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic in the All-German Constituent Council will be authorised to deal in practical terms with proposals on the conditions for uniting Germany, and in particular the question, raised by Dr. Adenauer, of the creation of a state of law and of a free form of government in the whole of Germany, as well as with the question of the protection of human rights and the protection of peace.
2. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic in the All-German Constituent Council will be authorised to negotiate with the West German representatives on changes in the "Law for the Protection of Peace" in order to extend the area in which the new law is valid to the whole of Germany.
3. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic will be authorised to negotiate in one of the first sessions of the All-German Constituent Council on the numbers, the armaments, and the distribution of the police in the whole of Germany, including the People's Police of the German Democratic Republic. The German Democratic Republic will, before the re-establishment of German unity, if it is found necessary, reduce the numerical strength of the police in East Germany in accordance with principles to be determined which would also apply in West Germany.
4. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic in the All-German Constituent Council, basing themselves upon Dr. Adenauer's declaration that the Federal Government has until now refrained from military measures and that his government is striving for the maintenance of peace in Germany, will be authorised to join with the representatives of the Federal Government in a joint declaration in the name of the entire German people forbidding the remilitarisation of Germany and the creation of German military formations in any shape or form. At the same

time the necessary measures would have to be taken to ensure that such a prohibition was carried out with the help of the German authorities and the entire German people.

5. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic in the All-German Constituent Council will be authorised to discuss with representatives of the Federal Republic the conditions for holding free, general, equal, secret, and direct elections in the whole of Germany. Account would have to be taken in this respect of the proposals made both by the Bonn Government and the proposals which might be made by the representatives of the German Democratic Republic.
6. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic in the All-German Constituent Council will be authorised to conduct practical discussions on the measures to be taken by Germany in order to press the occupation powers for the swiftest possible conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the subsequent withdrawal of all occupation troops from the whole of Germany.
7. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic will be authorised to discuss joint measures for the extension of inner German trade and for ensuring the free entry of German goods to the world market. In this connection the representatives of the German Democratic Republic will use their best efforts to obtain free entry to the eastern and south-eastern markets for West German goods, in order to encourage the more rapid development of peace industry in the whole of Germany. At the same time the representatives of the German Democratic Republic will endeavour to ensure that this development takes the road of the peaceful co-operation of Germany with other countries, a road which will exclude another blood-letting in Europe.
8. The representatives of the German Democratic Republic will be authorised to discuss, in the sessions of the All-German Constituent Council, other proposals which will serve the re-unification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis.

The deputies of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic expect the deputies of the Federal Parliament to be guided by the unmistakeably expressed desire of the German people for an understanding between Germans in east and west on the vital questions of the nation, when they debate the proposal for calling an All-German Constituent Council.

To discuss the practical questions connected with the summoning of the All-German Constituent Council the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic proposes to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic

that both Parliaments should name an equal number of representatives who should start their negotiations in Berlin as soon as possible. The date for these representatives to meet can be fixed by the Chairmen of the two Parliaments.

Berlin, January 30th 1951.

Socialist Unity Party of Germany: Wilhelm Koenen
Christian Democratic Union: August Bach
Democratic Peasant Party: Berthold Rose
Free German Trade Union Federation: Herbert Warnke
Democratic Women's Federation Germany: Hertha Schmidt
Peasant Mutual Aid Association: Friedrich Wehmer
Liberal Democratic Party of Germany: Dr. Karl Hamann
National Democratic Party of Germany: Vincenz Müller
Free German Youth: Margot Feist
League of Culture for the Democratic Renewal of Germany:
Karl Kneschke
Union of Victims of Nazism: Ottomar Geschke
Co-operatives: Grete Götzelt
Social Democratic Fraction: Erich Geske

All-German proposals for the Preliminary Conference in Paris Appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Parliament in Bonn (March 2nd 1951)

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic addresses itself to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic with the urgent request to submit immediately a joint proposal of both parliaments to the Four Great Powers, whose representatives will meet in Paris on March 5th for a preliminary conference to work out the agenda of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France, asking them to place on the agenda of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers the question of the preparation and conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951.

The peace treaty should be based on the following: the demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany; the re-establishment of the unity of Germany; the granting of unhindered foreign trade and free development of production for peaceful purposes; withdrawal of the occupation troops within one year after the signature of the peace treaty.

Since the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is the question vital for the whole German people the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic appeals to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic, which up to the present has not replied to the appeal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic of January 30th, to set aside all formal objections and to answer this proposal by March 4th 1951. The urgency of this request is due to the fact that the Preliminary Conference of the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Four Great Powers will begin in Paris on March 5th.

Berlin, March 2nd 1951

Socialist Unity Party of Germany:
(signed) Matern
Liberal Democratic Party of Germany:
(signed) Dr. Karl Hamann
Christian Democratic Union of Germany:
(signed) August Bach
National Democratic Party of Germany:
(signed) Vincenz Müller
Democratic Peasant Party of Germany:
(signed) Berthold Rose

Free German Youth:
(signed) Margot Feist

Free German Trade Union Federation:
(signed) H. Warnke

League of Culture for the Democratic Renewal of Germany:
(signed) E. Wendt

Democratic Women's Federation of Germany:
(signed) Schirmer-Pröscher

Union of Victims of Nazism:
(signed) Fritz Beyling

Peasant Mutual Aid Association:
(signed) Biering

Co-operatives:
(signed) Goetzelt

Social Democratic Fraction:
(signed) Geske

Presidium of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to the Four Great Powers (March 5th 1951)

Since the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is the question vital to the whole German people, the Presidium of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic addresses itself to the governments of the United States of North America, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Great Britain and France with the request that they commission their representatives at the Preliminary Conference for the working out of the agenda for the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of these governments, to be held in Paris, to place on the agenda of the Foreign Ministers' Conference the question of the preparation and conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951. The peace treaty should be based on the following foundations: the demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany; the re-establishment of the unity of Germany; the granting of unhindered foreign trade and free development of production for peaceful purposes; withdrawal of the occupation troops within one year after the signature of the peace treaty.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic suggested to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic on March 2nd, that they should submit jointly the above stated request to the governments of the United States of North America, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Great Britain and France. Since the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic has not replied to this proposal, the Presidium of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic feels it necessary to address this request to the governments of the four great powers.

Berlin, March 5th 1951

Johannes Dieckmann
Chairman of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic

Government declaration by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on March 14th 1951

The representatives of the governments of the Four Great Powers are meeting at present in Paris in order to prepare the agenda for the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USA, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. The course and the results of these conversations will have a decisive effect upon interests vital to the German people. On March 9th 1951 Adenauer and Schumacher made statements in the Bonn Federal Parliament which should alarm not only the peace-loving German people but also peace-loving people in all countries. This demands a clear expression of our point of view and increased efforts to save peace, which is in danger.

The government of the German Democratic Republic has regarded it as its duty to do everything possible to preserve German unity, form a united, democratic and peace-loving government and achieve the conclusion of a peace treaty for Germany. On November 30th 1950 I made practical proposals to Dr. Adenauer for a peaceful solution of the critical questions affecting the fate of our people. In doing this I based myself on the responsibility to do everything possible to overcome the tragic partitioning of Germany and the danger to peace which it has produced. These proposals were handed to Herr Adenauer on December 1st 1950, but he waited until January 15th 1951 before he made a declaration to the press. The style of his answer, which was only a tactical manoeuvre designed to make joint negotiations on an All-German Constituent Council impossible, explained why he had been silent so long.

On January 30th 1951 the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, after my declaration of that date, replied to Dr. Adenauer's "No" with an appeal to the Federal Parliament. They did this because they realised their great responsibility for creating a better peaceful future for our people and for the preservation of peace in Europe. The People's Chamber appealed to the sense of responsibility of the deputies of the Federal Parliament and pointed out that the proposal to establish an All-German Constituent Council was based on the unmistakeable desire of the German people for freedom and unity. The People's Chamber proposed that all questions at issue should be discussed and decided upon by an equal number of representatives from each Parliament. By making this proposal the People's Chamber showed its absolute readiness to clarify all contradictory ideas and theories. None of the questions raised by Dr. Adenauer or other West German politicians has been left unanswered by us.

This attitude adopted by the People's Chamber, which was understandable to all people of goodwill, resulted in a wave of support from all parts and all sections of Germany. All really patriotic and peace-loving German men and women regarded this as a possibility to take the first serious steps toward German unity and the conclusion of a peace treaty, these steps which will give the entire

German people national independence and the free development of economy and culture to the advantage of all.

One step in this direction was the proposal which the People's Chamber made to the Federal Parliament on March 2nd 1951 in connection with the preliminary conference in Paris. It was proposed that they should address a joint request to the governments of the Four Great Powers to place the question of the preparation and conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951 on the agenda. Since, owing to the silence of the Federal Parliament, this joint step could not be taken, the Presidium of the People's Chamber felt it necessary to act alone to direct this request to the governments of the Four Great Powers in the interests of the German people. The importance of this step has been shown by the introductory words spoken by our Chairman and the declaration made by Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet representative in Paris, who read the communication from the Presidium of the People's Chamber and who declared that the attitude of the representatives of the Western powers in fixing the agenda for the Foreign Ministers' Conference was not in accordance with the wishes of the German people.

Everything is being done on our side to put into effect the wishes of our people for peace and unity, but at the same time it is becoming ever clearer that Dr. Adenauer simply does not think of respecting the desires of the German people in any way.

Dr. Adenauer's statement to the Federal Parliament on March 9th 1951 has convinced of the contrary even those who still hoped that he represented German interests. We were greatly surprised to see that in his latest speech Dr. Adenauer had completely forgotten all his earlier words about freedom and democracy. As the most striking example I should like to point to Adenauer's previous demand that the clarification of the question of the People's Police must be regarded as one of the main conditions preceding an understanding. After the People's Chamber had however declared that it was ready to discuss the numerical strength, the armament and the distribution of the police in the whole of Germany, Herr Adenauer, with an elegant sweep of the hand, brushed aside this problem which he had formerly found so decisive. In his latest declaration he did not devote a single word to the People's Police.

This is the clearest proof that all Adenauer's promises and demands were never intended as a means of clarifying differences of opinion, but that from the very beginning he was simply putting-on a demagogic tight-rope act. He was doing this simply in order to sabotage the people's demand for a German discussion, for a Round Table Conference for Germany.

Although he knows better Herr Adenauer stated in his declaration that it was impossible to speak of a remilitarisation of West Germany. Facts however speak another language. Facts show that the rearmament of West Germany is not simply planned or intended, that not only have there been practical discussions

on the extent of this armament, but that the remilitarisation of West Germany is in full swing.

In October 1950, according to published figures, there were a total of 456,000 men in West Germany and in the western sectors of Berlin organised in German and foreign mercenary formations, including so-called D.P.s, and in various police units. According to official figures West German police units have a total strength of 150,000, not including village police. The militarised police squads (Bereitschaftspolizei) whether controlled by the provinces or by the Federal authorities, consist of military units living in barracks, fully motorised and of obviously aggressive character. It is characteristic that the commander of the 30,000-man-strong police squads is the very Hitler general who up to 1936 commanded those police formations in the demilitarised zone which were then taken over by the fascist Wehrmacht. In exactly the same way as under Hitler these formations in the Rhineland camouflaged as "police units" were nothing more nor less than military units, the West German motorised police formations living in barracks are the core of a new Wehrmacht. In addition to all these measures of remilitarisation there is Adenauer's promise to Eisenhower to provide him with a first contribution of 200,000 German soldiers for the Atlantic Pact army. By the end of the year this number should be raised to 300,000.

So-called "Emergency Committees of Former Professional Soldiers," an "Aero Club," a "Parachutist's Auxiliary," and dozens of other associations and clubs are actively selecting and training a cadre of officers with the assistance of the Bonn authorities. The Bonn Minister of the Interior is already working on the draft of a conscription law.

There is no secret that a badly camouflaged war ministry has been set up in the guise of an "Office of the Commissioner of the Federal Government for the Accommodation of Allied Occupation Troop". The employees of this office include General Speidel, formerly chief of staff to Rommel; General Heusinger, former chief of operations of Hitler's General Staff; Count Kielmannsegg, Colonel General in Hitler's army, and other Hitlerite military experts.

The functions of the former general staff are fulfilled by another office in Godesberg which is disguised as the "Economic Investigation Department". Preliminary work is being done here for the formation of military districts and local commands.

Remilitarisation is also expressed in the construction of strategic roads and railways, in the building of airfields, in the repair of the fortifications built during the Nazi period on the left bank of the Rhine, in the construction of demolition chambers in bridges and cliffs with the aim of flooding the valleys and the West German countryside generally. Manoeuvre grounds are being laid out and shooting ranges constructed and the peasants concerned are removed by force from the requisitioned land. In recent days alone 137,000 hectares of land have

been requisitioned in West Germany for new manoeuvre grounds. This area alone would be sufficient to give more than 20,000 resettlers a peaceful little farm of their own.

At the same time as German mercenary formations are being raised the West German economy is being converted for war purposes. The consumer goods industry is being cut down in favour of the West German heavy industry, the basis of the armaments industry. Firms in West Germany are receiving "questionnaires on production possibilities for articles of non-civilian use". The production of those sections of industry important to rearmament had, on the average, already exceeded the 1936 figures in 1950, although the production of consumer goods for civilian and peaceful purposes is still well below the pre-war level.

The release from jail of Krupp, the infamous German arms king and war criminal, and the restoration to him of his factories, is clear proof of the re-establishment of war industry in West Germany.

West German factories have already begun the large-scale production of war material. About thirty factories are producing parts or equipment for tanks; some seventeen factories are producing airplane motors and equipment; some thirty-five factories are turning out artillery, ammunition and explosives.

The "Bochumer Verein Projectile Factory" in Bochum is manufacturing artillery barrels and the firm "Hilgers" in Rheinbrohl is producing mortars. In the Ludwigshafen and Rottweil factories of I.G. Farben explosives are being made and new poison gases and rocket fuels are being developed. Tens of thousands of German workers could add to this list every day because they work in these factories.

At the same time it has become known that air-raid precaution measures are being taken in West Germany. The High Commissioners on the Petersberg have informed the Federal government that they are ready to revoke the conditions of Control Council Law No. 23, which forbids both such measures and the air-raid precautions law which is planned. The Steinhuder Meer, a lake in Lower Saxony, measuring 32 square kilometres, and neighbouring parts of the Neustädter Moor have been earmarked as rocket launching ground for the British Air Force. The truth, supported by innumerable facts, is that remilitarisation is in progress all along the line. Herr Adenauer's claim that there is no remilitarisation in West German is a lie. This lie is intended to lull to sleep and delude the masses of the people in West Germany and neighbouring countries, people who have become uneasy and restless. This lie originates with the American aggressive forces who manipulate the governments dependent upon them. These forces use Adenauer and Schumacher to mislead the German people by means of lies, to swindle them and to represent a new war as a defensive war, at the same time as they represent the peaceful policy of the peace-loving countries as an aggressive policy.

Adenauer is the person who is driving ahead, on American orders, with the remilitarisation of West Germany with all means at his disposal.

He is being seconded by Schumacher, who showed his true colours when he gave his full approval in the Federal Parliament to Adenauer's policy of remilitarisation. In this question there is no difference of opinion between Adenauer and Schumacher. Earlier Schumacher used to try to go through the motions of being in opposition, but he has now abandoned this and revealed himself as one of the worst warmongers in West Germany.

The policy of remilitarising West Germany is a crime against the national interests of the German people. The wishes and the hopes of our people, who daily show their desire for peace and against remilitarisation, have been betrayed by this policy.

The demonstrations held in West German towns, the refusal to work on armaments shifts and to produce war material, are clear proof of the rejection by the German people of the American plans for war. Even the German organ of the British Occupation authorities has noted this fact in these words "The overwhelming majority emotionally rejects the idea of bearing weapons once again". The rearmament of West Germany is providing the German and American arms manufacturers with big profits and is loading an unbearable pile of taxes and price increases on the population. From now on the Federal Republic must pay more than 11 thousand million marks annually for the reinforcement of the intervention armies of the occupation powers. That means that every West German citizen capable of working has to work about two months of the year solely in order to finance this intervention army. The West German frontier police and police squads cost an additional 350 million marks, without counting the costs for all the other military formations. The planned creation of dozens of West German "battle groups" will demand a minimum annual expenditure of between twelve and fifteen thousand millions. Herr Schäffer, the Federal Finance Minister, intends to increase annual taxation by 4.5 thousand million marks and in addition the Bonn government will issue new loans to finance the armaments industry and the establishment of military formations.

As a result of remilitarisation the taxes and prices in West Germany are racing upwards. As soon as the prices for steel, coal and petrol are raised, mass consumption goods follow. On March 7th 1951 bread prices were suddenly raised by 20 % in north-west Germany and similar increases for the most important foods are pending everywhere. The price of milk will go up to 41 pfennig and the price of butter will be increased by a further 50 to 70 pfennig in the immediate future. Considerable increases in textile prices have already been announced.

Rearmament is not only accompanied by higher prices and taxes but also by a decline in all branches of industry producing goods for the civilian market. The reconstruction of the towns and villages destroyed by war is being sacrificed to remilitarisation. The building trade is in decline in so far as it is not engaged in

the extension and construction of arms works. In the past year 20 % of the building firms in Kiel and 30 % of subsidiary building firms have gone bankrupt. All sections of the West German population, with the exception of a small number of armaments profiteers, are badly affected by remilitarisation. The re-establishment of military forces and the war industry in West Germany, means only restrictions and shortages, hunger and poverty, for the population. These steps upset the economy and lead to its ruin.

The growing indignation of the working people in the Bonn Federal Republic has caused Schumacher to indulge in social demagoguery which was easy, cheap, and for that very reason contemptible. When the workers demand wage increases to meet the rapidly rising cost of living, Schumacher attempts to divert them with stupid babble about a "policy of social justice". This is nonsense. He who favours remilitarisation is also in favour of rising prices, increasing taxes and bigger profits for arms manufacturers.

Schumacher supports "social justice" with words but his deeds help only big business since, together with the bureaucracy of the German trade union federation, he tries to suppress and throttle every fighting movement of the workers for wage increases and cost-of-living allowances. All sections of the West German population pay for the policy of remilitarisation and war carried out by the Adenauer clique and the Schumacher clique, but the workers pay most of all. Remilitarisation does not lead only to bleeding our people white, however; it also leads, with inevitable certainty, to our people having to shed real red blood. The military experts of the entire world agree that the German battle groups demanded by the Americans and conceded by Adenauer, are only intended to fulfill the role of cannon fodder. Do the German people want to keep silent in the face of this? It would be pitiful if the German people should go with open eyes down the road leading to a final ruin of their economy and the sacrifice of their youth.

Adenauer and Schumacher intend to use all the methods available to them to prevent Germans from the East and the West sitting down round one table in order to discuss the problems vital to our people and to find a peaceful way to solve them. They have a panic fear of joint discussions. Their declarations in the Bonn Federal Parliament showed their open enmity towards the re-establishment of German unity on a democratic basis: towards the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951; and towards the withdrawal of the occupation troops. It is scarcely possible to conceive of the most urgent demands of the German people being rejected in sharper terms than those used in Bonn. Since March 9th 1951 the disgusting nature of Bonn's treachery to the interests of our people is clear to the whole population. The American imperialists charge Adenauer and Schumacher with the task of carrying out acts which are too filthy for them themselves. The proposals which Adenauer and the Federal Parliament made in their note to the High Commissioners on the Petersberg are an attempt, carried out on the orders of Washington, to make great power unity on the German problem

impossible. They fear that the efforts being made by the government of the Soviet Union to achieve great power unity on the German problem, could be crowned with success.

Instead of his original demands, Adenauer raised limitless new claims with the obvious intention of destroying in advance every possibility of reaching a peaceful understanding between East and West Germany. There is not much point in arguing about the content and the meaning of each of these demands. Adenauer and Schumacher, using the method which I have already described, would not fail to find new demagogic objections, conditions and demands. They would find them because they wish to prevent at any price a peaceful solution of the German problem and because, on the orders of their bosses, they have to strive to let American aggression loose in Europe.

Adenauer demanded the subjection of East Germany to the Petersberg and the laws of the Federal Republic. That is to say he demanded the extension of the dictatorship by the American warmongers and of the damnable Adenauer policy to the whole of Germany. When he demands "international security measures" against the German Democratic Republic he can only mean the extension of the American occupation to the whole of Germany, including the area of the German Democratic Republic.

This cynical and far-reaching demand shows the real meaning of the declarations made by Adenauer and Schumacher.

When Hitler was preparing the forcible annexation of Austria he submitted to Schuschnigg a number of completely unacceptable demands, which could not even be discussed. The sole reason for doing this was to claim the right to march into Austria after the unavoidable rejection of these demands had been received. Today the conditions are different since that was a so-called "Anschluss" of foreign territory. The method used by Adenauer and Schumacher is however the same as that used by Hitler, and exactly the same as that used by the Syngman Ree clique in Korea when they were preparing aggression against the North Korean People's Republic. According to Adenauer and Schumacher the Elbe should play the same role in Germany as the 38th Parallel in Korea. That is why Adenauer demanded the extension of the United States dictatorship to the Polish territory east of the Oder-Neisse. For all practical purposes he thus demanded the launching of a third world war.

The German militarists and imperialists, whose loudest advocates are the cliques round Adenauer and Schumacher, are cooking-up the wildest plans for the re-distribution of the world in alliance with the American imperialists. For the German people this could lead to nothing except an even greater catastrophe than that caused by Hitler's war.

The West German "revanche" politicians and militarists, who have been put back on their feet again with the help of Washington, are already dreaming of

carrying out their own plans of intervention. The leader of the West German Industrial Federation declared quite openly at a meeting in Dusseldorf that they intended to recapture the "European markets". The speeches of Adenauer and Schumacher prove that the West German imperialists intend to stand in the first ranks of aggression. The revival of remilitarisation and war industry in West Germany does not menace only the peace and security of the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe. Germany's neighbours in the west are equally menaced. These peoples too are increasingly aware that the alliance between the American imperialists and the re-strengthened imperialists in West Germany bear the seeds of treason against the national interests of their people.

The road to a new war means the road to a German civil war. The training of West German and West Berlin police for street fighting is a sign of the preparations for this civil war. Another sign is the demand raised by Jakob Kaiser, head of the so-called "Federal Ministry for All-German Questions", for "security squads" to be established. By this he means the establishment of fascist murder gangs on the lines of the former S.A. and S.S. The American hate-sheet "Tages-spiegel" has publicly called upon existing terrorists groups to despoil the Tiergarten Memorial to the fallen Soviet liberators, to attack the broadcasting house in the Masuren Allee, and to cause new unrest on the Berlin Elevated Railway. The people who intend to provoke civil war are already following their words with deeds. They also wanted the despicable murder of the three People's Policemen Liebs, Schmidt and Janello.

Last Sunday evening another crime was committed in Essen. Youths and girls who were demonstrating for peace and German unity were beaten-up by the police squads of Herr Lehr, the Bonn Minister of the Interior, and had to be taken to hospital suffering from concussion of the brain and fractured skulls. A special police squad had to be brought from Dusseldorf to Essen to carry out this shocking job, since the Essen police refused to do it. All decent Germans are united in protesting against this revolting deed, which shows clearly how the Bonn Federal Republic is developing into a brutal police dictatorship using fascist methods of force. This is the lauded "western democracy", for the defence of which Adenauer and Schumacher are running their crusade under the hypocritical slogan "Unity in Freedom".

The position is just the same with the loudly announced alleged restoration of "equal rights" and the "growing sovereignty" of the Bonn separatist state. This development has proved to be a deceptive manoeuvre on a really big scale. It began with a series of demands on the West German government, the fulfillment of which will heap new loads on the shoulders of the population.

These demands, which Herr Adenauer accepted without question in his letter to the High Commissioners, are in outline:

1. The recognition of the pre-war debts of the former German Reich, including private debts, and readiness to pay interest on these debts.

2. The recognition of the post-war debts of West Germany arising from the so-called "economic help" extended by the Marshall Plan.
3. The delivery of raw materials and the provision of goods and services for the arms industries of the foreign imperialists.
4. As a result of these measures the restriction of internal consumption, that is to say consumer goods for the West German population.

The acceptance of these demands by Adenauer will have serious results for the German people.

The foreign indebtedness of the former German Reich, beginning with the debts of the Weimar Republic, and including the Dawes and Young Loans and the private debts which also have to be met, amount to a sum of not less than 11 thousand million marks. Together with the Marshall Plan debts the West German population must therefore bear a total indebtedness of about 30 thousand million marks apart from the current costs of which I have already spoken.

What is the reason for these measures? The recognition of these debts is intended to make it possible for West German monopoly capitalists to obtain credit again. By raising new loans they would then rebuild the West German war industry in the quickest possible manner and to the fullest extent. At the same time the rebirth of German imperialism and the revival of Prussian German militarism is made more easy, is prepared and speeded up at the cost of the German people and without them being asked in any way for their opinion. The most incredible part of these arrangements, for which Herr Adenauer has not received the slightest authorisation from the German people, lies in the fact that the German people are expected to meet not only the debts of the first world war and the cost of preparing and carrying out the second world war, but also the burden of the third world war which is planned.

The Bonn government's action is contrary not only to the most elementary vital interests of the German people but is also contrary to all agreements on Germany reached by the four powers, and therefore contrary to the principles of international law. The question whether the German people should take over the pre-war debts of the former German Reich can only be answered by a united Germany and in connection with the conclusion of a peace treaty for the whole of Germany. We are of the opinion that the German people are not in the position to take over this load of debts, and are just as unwilling to pay for old crimes committed by German imperialism and for the preparation of the road which would lead again, for our people, to an even greater crime. The talk about equal rights stands revealed as a method of getting the German tax-payer to foot the bill for the march into the mass grave planned by the Americans for German youth, and to create the necessary material conditions for a West German contribution to a third world war through the raw material deliveries and so-called services provided for.

The "equal rights", in the eyes of Dr. Adenauer and Schumacher, are equal rights for the German mercenaries to die first in an American war.

After Herr Adenauer, with a total lack of responsibility, accepted the demands of the Western Powers, the High Commissioners "repaid" this gesture by condescending to "revise the Occupation Statute". It is quite obvious that this is only window dressing and does not change in any way the position of West Germany in the field of imperialist power policy. The institution of a "Foreign Ministry" and the exchange of diplomatic representatives is intended to deceive the world with a picture of the sovereignty and equal rights enjoyed by West Germany. However the limitations imposed at the same time show the full extent of this swindle. In Washington, London and Paris, where the real decisions about West Germany are made in the western world, it is specifically stated that there shall be no West German diplomats but only so-called "official representatives". Thus there will be no West German diplomats in the western capitals but only takers of orders.

The fact that Article 3. of the Occupation Statute remains unaltered is of decisive importance. This Article states that the occupation powers reserve for themselves the right to take over full powers in all fields at any time if they consider it necessary. Despite this Adenauer calls the whole thing "equal rights". These are no equal rights but only the entitlement to die, the reason for which Adenauer is selling German youth to the Americans. The well-known American newspaper "The New Leader", in a comment which aroused much interest in Bonn, stated: "Some Germans offer a future to their country: the Bonn Chancellor offers only the past."

When Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher link their arms and support "unity in freedom" for Germany it is necessary to make it clear that this is a new attempt to delude the population about the real intentions and aims followed by Dr. Adenauer's and Dr. Schumacher's policy. I have already described the hypocritical character of the objections which Dr. Adenauer raised to my proposals for an All-German Discussion. We for our part conducted the discussion on a completely practical plane and showed our readiness to discuss unconditionally all the objections which Dr. Adenauer had raised. The result was that he abandoned all his previous objections and suddenly posed completely new political conditions. The objections raised in Adenauer's first declaration were only intended to prevent a discussion between the Germans. In the same way his slogan about creating unity in freedom is designed solely to avoid All-German Discussions and thus to prevent an understanding.

Adenauer and Schumacher have abandoned all their original demands and old conditions and on March 9th 1951 they switched over, brutally and without regard for the consequences, to the one-track policy of the aggressive American warmongers.

The German people must learn to understand the serious meaning of this step. It is pure hypocrisy if Adenauer and Schumacher state that they are ready to carry out really free all-German elections. If they were actually ready they would have to recognise that the holding of all-German elections must be preceded by the formation of an all-German body so that the representatives of East and West Germany can reach an understanding on all questions which must be clarified in order to achieve unity, to co-operate in a peace treaty and, in particular, on the holding of all-German elections. The government and the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic have declared without any shadow of doubt their readiness to settle these questions. The official bodies of the German Democratic Republic have left no doubt that they are ready at any time to send properly authorised delegates to discuss with the representatives of the Federal Republic the conditions for holding free, general, equal, secret and direct elections in the whole of Germany.

Holding elections under the conditions named by Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher would mean not German elections but colonial elections. How is it possible to speak of free, all-German elections and then name as a condition "international security measures", meaning thereby that the American army of intervention should march into the German Democratic Republic? That would not mean unity for Germany in peace but a war between German brothers, a German civil war.

The policy of Adenauer and Schumacher leads neither to unity nor to liberty, independence and strength for Germany. Remilitarisation and warmongering conjure up the danger of destroying the living substance of the nation. If Truman, Attlee, Schumacher and Adenauer were able to carry out their despicable plans Germany would undoubtedly be more weakened and be exposed to a greater degree of destruction than in the Thirty Year War.

There is only one path to equal rights for Germany, to unity in freedom, and to national independence. The condition for taking this path is the re-establishment of German unity on a democratic basis, a condition which is clear to every soberly thinking person. Only a united Germany can be a strong and independent Germany and there is no possibility of forging a better German future except on a basis of democracy and peace. Another obvious condition is the conclusion of a democratic peace treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of occupation troops. Only in this way can a united, democratic, peace-loving and independent Germany be created and only in this way can we ensure education, work, peace and prosperity for the youth of Germany.

We are strongly opposed to the misuse of the expression "liberty" by those who have set up a regime which is the reverse of free, people who suppress ruthlessly every opponent of their policy, and imprison them or beat them up in the fascist way.

Dr. Adenauer and Schumacher should stop talking about freedom and democracy when the Bonn state systematically persecutes all those persons who support

peace and German unity on a democratic basis. Where are the democratic rights in West Germany for those who do not agree with Dr. Adenauer's and Dr. Schumacher's policy? Why is a plebiscite for or against remilitarisation suppressed by all bureaucratic and diplomatic means, by force and terrorism? There are new proofs every day that it has become impossible to speak of democracy and freedom in the Bonn Federal Republic. The democratic rights of the people have been ruthlessly removed and cunning measures are being taken to use economic and political pressure in order to oppress those opposing remilitarisation and to seal their mouths. However those who are carrying out these measures hypocritically demand freedom in the German Democratic Republic. The freedom which they mean is freedom for remilitarisation in the whole of Germany, the return of the monopolists and freedom for them, freedom for Hitler's bankers, for estate owners, and unlimited freedom for warmongers.

Adenauer, supported by Schumacher, is steadily changing West Germany into a state run on the worst police terrorist lines.

We make the sharpest possible protest here against the persecution of, and the interference with, the peace-loving people of West Germany. We protest against the policy of setting one people against another, followed by Dr. Adenauer in cooperation with Dr. Schumacher. We protest and we fight against the spreading of lies and slanders intended to make a new war easier. The Soviet Union has shown again and again that she is in favour of the peaceful solution of all disputed questions between the peoples. It is not the policy of the Soviet Union but the policy of the American imperialists which threatens the peace of the world, prevents German unity and the conclusion of peace treaty, and threatens to plunge humanity into an atomic war.

The population of the German Democratic Republic and the entire peace-loving German people, together with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, supported and helped by the peace-loving people of the whole world, will upset and frustrate the plans of the warmongers.

The declarations made by Adenauer and Schumacher in the German Federal Parliament are a threatening step on the road to a new war. When Eisenhower returned to the USA from his trip to Europe he posed two tactical conditions for carrying out remilitarisation in West Germany. One of these conditions was the winning of the support of the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions in West Germany. The other condition was that the West German authorities must prevent the development of the peace movement and the opponents of remilitarisation. Eisenhower's puppets have done their duty. Schumacher is busily at work leading the Social Democratic Party into the camp of remilitarisation and war. The German workers must ask themselves whether their right place is on the side of the warmongers or on the side of the friends of peace. Adenauer, together with his "Minister against all-German affairs" has imposed bans and is using terrorist measures against the friends of peace and the opponents of

remilitarisation. Adenauer's fateful policy is absolutely contrary to the interests and the desires of the German people who want peace in order to devote themselves in calm and security to the work of peaceful construction.

When the peace-loving population raise the cry "Down with Adenauer" this is the natural result of his attitude and of the desire of the German people for peace and unity. Adenauer and Schumacher want to prevent the German discussions proposed by us for the peaceful solution of the questions vital to our people. Peace-loving people in the whole of Germany, however, have been supporting this demand for a long time and will continue to do so until their efforts are crowned with success. Neither Dr. Adenauer nor Dr. Schumacher are able to prevent these conversations leading to an understanding between east and west and a peaceful re-unification. In both the east and the west of our homeland people know that the attainment of unity means a decision on the question of war or peace.

Even if Adenauer and Schumacher have been able to prevent joint negotiations by the official bodies of East and West Germany I am sure that the people themselves will speak, following the unpardonable casualness of the official bodies in the West. The people must take their own cause in their hands and defend peace to the utmost. The masses of the people must see to it that they do not allow themselves to be deluded and dragged into a new world war.

I believe that the people themselves from all parts of Germany and from all sections of the population must sit down to a round table conference together. Members of all political parties, representatives of the trade unions, business men, peasants, industrialists, craftsmen, artists, scientists, doctors, teachers, engineers and technicians, women, sportsmen, young people, representatives of all groups and sections of the population, must stretch out their hands to each other, across all zonal frontiers, to achieve joint discussions and joint action. I ended my government declaration on January 30th with the words "A Round Table Conference for Germans". Today we must urge that hundreds and thousands of round table conferences must take place between representatives of all sections, all zones, and all parts of Germany.

Peace-loving German men and women and particularly peace-loving German youth are determined to halt home and foreign warmongers; to prevent Germany becoming a battlefield again; and to stop the German people being plunged into frightful poverty and immeasurable misery. All those who are ready to join with us in the fight for peace as the most important task of all must increase the strength of their support for discussions between Germans. The slogan against remilitarisation "Count us out" (Ohne uns) must be developed into a national resistance campaign and a joint fight against remilitarisation and for the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1951.

This is a national policy which expresses the most urgent interests of the entire German people, and under this slogan a great and decisive plebiscite must be

carried out. All democratic and peace-loving forces of the German people will rally round this policy.

Workers, office employees, peasants, scientists, artists, craftsmen, shop-keepers and industrialists, and all peace-loving people, led by the younger generation are called upon to take part in the decisive fight to save our homeland.

The workers, whether Communists or Social Democrats, Catholic or Protestant, must achieve unity of action in order to defend peace, their rights, their wages and their daily bread.

Peace is in great danger. Joseph Stalin, leader of the world peace movement, has shown the way to banish the danger of a new massacre in these words:

"Peace will be maintained and made more secure if the peoples take the cause of the maintenance of peace into their own hands and defend it to the utmost."

These words apply to no people more than to our own. In order to preserve Germany from war and destruction the people will have to speak a mighty word for peace, unity and democracy.

The government of the German Democratic Republic, in the closest unity with the entire German people, continues to fight with determination for the re-unification of Germany by peaceful means. The government calls upon all peace committees to strengthen their work.

The government of the German Democratic Republic, in the closest unity with the following decisions of the World Peace Council:

A Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

The holding of a Plebiscite against Remilitarisation.

For the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1951.

For the establishment of a All-German Constituent Council in order to reach a peaceful solution of the German question.

The government holds out its hand to all men of goodwill, all those in the whole of Germany who want peace, and pledges itself to carry on, with increased energy, the fight against the warmongers. In this we know we are serving our homeland, the people and the youth, and the peace of humanity.

Joint declaration of all fractions of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on the government statement on the fight for the peace treaty and the unity of Germany (March 14th 1951)

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic approves in full Prime Minister Grotewohl's declaration on the speeches delivered by Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher in the Bonn Federal Parliament on March 9th and on the decision taken on the same day by the Federal Parliament.

Dr. Adenauer's allegation that there is no remilitarisation in West Germany is a lie intended to deceive and delude the population and to divert their attention from the fight against the re-establishment of military forces and the war industry in West Germany, these factors which represent a great danger for peace in Europe, the life of our people, and the existence of our homeland.

Adenauer and Schumacher repeatedly attempt, by the use of new arguments, unlimited demands, and other methods, to prevent the East-West conversations on the re-establishment of German unity which are demanded by the German people.

The irresponsible note addressed by Adenauer to the western occupation powers calling for "international security measures" against the German Democratic Republic and demanding the annexation of the western area of Poland is an unheard-of provocation. We are sorry to see that this note was approved by the majority of the Federal Parliament. It is obviously the policy of Bonn to provoke, on American orders, a civil war in Germany and a general European war.

The policy of Adenauer and Schumacher, consisting of the increased remilitarisation of Germany and the hindrance of German unity and of a peace treaty, and the provocative demands which they raise, are a crime against the interests of the people and the homeland. The unity and freedom of Germany can only be reached in a democratic and peaceful manner by means of an understanding between East and West Germany, the conclusion of a peace treaty and the withdrawal of all occupation troops. The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic therefore supports the government of the German Democratic Republic in its efforts to continue the fight for the peaceful solution of the vital questions of the German people. The People's Chamber appeals to the entire peace-loving people of Germany to demand with re-doubled vigour the realisation of the slogan "A Round Table Conference for Germans", particularly since Adenauer and Schumacher rejected all efforts to reach understanding. We appeal to the German people to reach agreement across the zonal frontiers and to close their ranks for the united fight against the remilitarisation of West Germany and for the conclusion of a peace treaty in the year 1951.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic repeats its demand that the question of preparing and concluding a peace treaty with Germany

should be placed on the agenda of the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the USA, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France. The People's Chamber thanks the representatives of the Soviet government at the preliminary conference in Paris for presenting to this conference the letter addressed by the Presidium of the People's Chamber to the governments of the Four Great Powers named and for supporting before the conference the contents of this letter.

The peace-loving German people, supported by the entire world peace camp, will undeviatingly continue their good fight for a united, democratic, peace-loving and independent Germany, and we are sure that this fight will end in success.

Unite all forces against the criminal policy of remilitarisation and war, and for peace, unity and democracy!

Let us devote everything to our German people and homeland.

Berlin, March 14th 1951

Socialist Unity Party of Germany: Matern; Liberal Democratic Party of Germany: Dr. Liebler; Christian Democratic Union of Germany: August Bach; National Democratic Party of Germany: Vincenz Müller; Democratic Peasant Party of Germany: Rose; Free German Youth: Margot Feist; Free German Trade Union Federation: A. Starck; League of Culture for the Democratic Renewal of Germany: E. Wendt; Democratic Women's Federation of Germany: Schirmer-Pröscher; Union of Victims of Nazism: Peasant Mutual Aid Union: Co-operatives: Fritz Beyling; Social Democratic Fraction: Hans Müller.

Resolution of the government of the German Democratic Republic on the holding of the plebiscite (May 4th 1951)

The government of the German Democratic Republic is in complete agreement with the letter from the Central Plebiscite Committee. In accordance with the proposal made by the Central Plebiscite Committee the government of the German Democratic Republic requests the People's Chamber to carry out the plebiscite in the period from June 3rd — 5th 1951. The ballot paper should follow the pattern submitted by the Central Plebiscite Committee. Deputy Prime Minister Walter Ulbricht will speak in the People's Chamber on behalf of the government proposal on holding the plebiscite.

Berlin, May 4th 1951

Speech to the People's Chamber by Deputy Prime Minister Walter Ulbricht on May 9th 1951

Deputies of the German People's Chamber, Representatives of the Central Plebiscite Committee, Representatives of the German Peace Committee!

The Central Plebiscite Committee in Dusseldorf has requested the Federal Government in Bonn, the government of the German Democratic Republic, and all sections of the population, to adopt a clear stand against the remilitarisation of Germany and in favour of the conclusion of a peace treaty. In its session on May 3rd, the government of the German Democratic Republic decided to concur with this proposal and to request the People's Chamber to arrange for a plebiscite to be held from June 3rd to 5th. The government of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that the deputies will unanimously approve this proposal. Our people have got to take a very weighty decision. A great people's movement against the remilitarisation of Germany and in favour of a peace treaty has developed in all parts of Germany. All circles of the population have shown their enthusiastic approval for the manifesto of the Peace Conference held in January this year in Essen and attended by 1700 delegates from all sections, all parties and all organisations. Local polls which have been taken in a number of towns, villages and factories have shown good results, and I should like to quote a few of them. Votes against remilitarisation were:

May 1950, Bonn university	70 %
May 1950, Goettingen university	69 %
August 1950, "General-Anzeiger" Reutlingen	91.3 %
January 1951, "Mann in der Zeit" Fulda	90.7 %
May 1950, Erlangen university	91 %
May 1950, Munich university	96 %
MAN factory, Nuremberg	93 %
Bosch factory, Stuttgart-Feuerbach	94.3 %
UMA factory, Stuttgart	85 %
UMA factory, Uhlingen	85 %
Stahlbau Donger, Darmstadt	95 %
Recklinghausen II Pit	97 %
Siemens Schuckert Factory, Nuremberg	98.4 %
Zeiss Ikon Factory, Stuttgart	90 %

Partial results from villages and towns have been as follows:

Schopfheim	88 %
Solingen (block of flats)	92.4 %
Offenburg (workers' settlement)	98 %
Koburg (resettlers)	99 %
Pfeffebach, Pfalz	99.5 %
Munich-Waldhof	95.3 %
Altenglan, Rheinpfalz	95 %

The idea of holding the plebiscite originally arose in connection with the resignation of Dr. Heinemann, who laid down his post as a Minister of the Interior in Bonn because his conscience forbade him to participate in Herr Adenauer's policy on the question of the so-called "German Defence Contribution", that is to say remilitarisation. Dr. Heinemann, a member of the Christian Democratic Union, Adenauer's party, stated at that time that he was in favour of a plebiscite. Pastor Niemöller speaking in the name of Evangelical Christians also requested a plebiscite. As early as October 3rd 1950 the deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Ollenhauer, told a representative of the German Press Agency that it was necessary "to give the people an opportunity to express their opinion on the question of remilitarisation". Dr. Schumacher stated on October 24th 1950:

"The Social Democratic Party will oppose with all means in its power the use of German territory and German manpower in order to increase the security of foreign states.

Constitutionally only the people themselves can give a decision on each single rifle in Germany."

Schumacher expressed himself at even greater length in the 98th session of the Federal Parliament, in which he stated:

"If Germany now began to arm, then it would demand a basic change in the entire political and social life in the Federal Republic. No provision is made for laws on military subjects in the Basic Law. This is something which was not desired in the Basic Law and something which was definitely rejected both from a home and a foreign standpoint in the discussions on the Basic Law. By using these methods you forcibly awaken the impression among the people that they are being forcibly kept quiet and not questioned. By using these methods without regard to the constitution you are on the highroad to an authoritarian state which rejects democracy."

We recall this speech although we are convinced that Schumacher only wished to deceive the masses about his real attitude towards remilitarisation. This same Schumacher has, since then, demanded the banning of the plebiscite.

There is no doubt that politicians from different parties and mass organisations have declared their approval for a plebiscite.

The holding of a plebiscite is possible both under the constitution of the German Democratic Republic, the constitution of the Federal Republic and under the regulations laid down by the Berlin constitution. Article 3 of the constitution of the German Democratic Republic states:

"The right of the citizen to share in decisions is guaranteed by:

Participation in referendums and plebiscites. The states must serve the well being of the people, freedom, peace and democratic progress."

Article 1 of the Bonn Basic Law states: "The people express their belief in peace."

Article 20 of the Bonn Basic Law says that "all power in the state originates with the people and is expressed by them in elections and plebiscites and by special bodies".

According to this paragraph of the Basic Law the people, therefore, need no special legal permission in order to enforce their rights. In addition Article 17 guarantees all citizens the right to submit, either alone or together with others, written requests and complaints to the competent authorities and to the representatives of the people.

Article 49 of the West Berlin constitution states that a plebiscite must be held when one fifth of the electorate demand that a draft law be submitted directly to them.

I have shown that a plebiscite can be held in accordance with the legal regulations in all parts of Germany, including the capital, Berlin. The Central Plebiscite Committee has, therefore, acted in a completely legal manner in calling for the plebiscite and in declaring:

"The freedom of the person begins with the freedom of citizens to decide for themselves on the question of peace or war."

The fact that the Central Plebiscite Committee has made its approach to the entire German people and to the government bodies in West and East Germany is to be welcomed, since the maintenance of peace is a question which affects the entire German people.

We are in favour of holding the plebiscite in the German Democratic Republic, too, although, both there and in the democratic sector of Berlin, firm foundations have been laid for peace by depriving of their power the militaristic big landowners, the monopolists and the bankers, all of whom were responsible for the Hitlerite war. In the German Democratic Republic, too, all militarist propaganda and all propaganda for racial hatred and war is strictly forbidden by the constitution.

We are in favour of holding the plebiscite in the whole of Germany to show the truth of the fact that peace is indivisible.

We are in favour of holding the plebiscite in the German Democratic Republic because we are opposed to remilitarisation in the whole of Germany.

We are in favour of holding the plebiscite in the German Democratic Republic in order to emphasize that the peace-loving population of the German Democratic Republic feel themselves eternally united by bonds of fraternity with the forces of peace in West Germany and in Berlin, the capital of Germany.

In the past the German People's Chamber has declared a number of times that it not only rejects the remilitarisation of Germany but that it is also ready to negotiate, in an All-German Constituent Council, on the numerical strength, the armament and the distribution of the police in the whole of Germany, and if necessary, on a reduction in the numerical strength of the police.

Why do those gentlemen in West Germany, who are always telling lies about our People's Police, not take advantage of this offer?

The plebiscite has become a question vital for the whole of our people since in West Germany, contrary to the desire of the German people, Adenauer's clique has made agreements with General Eisenhower and with McCloy which are directed against peace and against the existence of the German nation. Truman and Eisenhower have taken over Hitler's campaign of racial hatred and his wild plans of world conquest, and Adenauer has adopted the "revanche" policy of Hugenberg, Papen and Hitler. That is the way to a third world war.

The plebiscite has become the most urgent task for the entire people because:

West Germany is being changed into a military deployment area for American war against the wishes of the population;

Adenauer has illegally promised to deliver 200,000 young people to General Eisenhower for his mercenary army;

Adenauer, against the wishes of the majority of the people, has approved the Schuman Plan which serves only to help re-armament;

West German economy is being converted for armaments' purposes on the orders of the American monopolists, and is thus being ruined, and the additional costs for the American and other invasion troops are being placed upon the shoulders of the people;

the remilitarisation of Germany is deepening the division of the country and is intended to light the fires of civil war.

The cabinet of remilitarists in Bonn has rejected the application made by the Central Plebiscite Committee and has unconstitutionally prohibited the plebiscite. The ban was pronounced one day after McCloy had made his statement on the remilitarisation of West Germany. After this the Adenauer government, following both the order from the American boss, and its own inclinations, banned the plebiscite. Adenauer's government itself confirmed the illegality of its action, stating in the government declaration on April 24th 1951:

"Unofficial determination of public opinion about a question which is not itself a breach of the constitution is actually not unconstitutional, although the constitution makes no provision for holding plebiscites."

The decision taken by the Adenauer cabinet, about which the Federal Parliament was not even allowed to take a vote, has thus no legal basis with regard to the plebiscite, since it is in itself a breach of the constitution.

The German people must ask themselves whether there has been a case in the whole of history in which, six years after a war, a government forbade the people to express their support for a peace treaty by means of a plebiscite. It is a mark of infamy for the Social Democratic leadership that it voted in favour of the ban, and in addition demanded a ban on the working class organisation which supports the constitutional right to hold a plebiscite. This only proves that the Social Democratic leadership has stopped being either social or democratic.

The ban on the plebiscite is a slap in the face for every peace-loving citizen. It is, however, all that one could expect from Herr Lehr, the Minister of the Interior, who was an old supporter of Hugenberg and one of those who blazed a path for Hitler.

The ban on the plebiscite shows only the weakness of Adenauer's government and its fear of the people. The bourgeois newspaper "Aachener Nachrichten" expresses the opinions of many sections of the population when it states:

"The problem could be solved without all this to-do simply by allowing the plebiscite to take place, but that is probably just what they want to avoid."

This means that even bourgeois circles in West Germany regard the ban on the plebiscite as an expression of the weakness of the Adenauer government and McCloy's and Adenauer's fear of the people. Adenauer is afraid that the plebiscite could speed-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and that after such a peace treaty the occupation troops would have to leave Germany. Herr Adenauer would not feel happy in a Germany where there no American occupation troops. He cannot even govern without American bayonets, and that is one of the main reasons for the ban. On May 25th 1951 new invasion troops from the USA and other countries are due to begin marching into West Germany. For the people of West Germany the arrival of the American invasion troops is yet another reason for taking part in the plebiscite and giving the American troops the proper reception with the slogan "Go Home Yank".

In view of the arbitrary rule of the Adenauer government, which tries to carry out its illegal agreements with the foreign gentlemen on the Petersberg by means of dictatorial measures, and which does everything to prevent the holding of elections, there is only one measure open to the German people—to carry out the plebiscite.

We must recall that there would be no "German Question" if the Potsdam decisions, which were formally signed by the USA, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, had been put into effect. Why is the USA preventing these decisions being carried out? After the defeat of German imperialism in the second world

war the reactionary circles of American monopoly capital began systematically to exploit the fact that Germany, Japan and Italy had been excluded from the world market, and that the economy of the other capitalist states had been weakened, in order to extend their own power. The USA not only took over the former German foreign markets but insisted, together with the representatives of Great Britain, on the division of Germany. This means that the two great imperialist powers intended from the very beginning to continue the military occupation of Germany for ever, and to use West German arms potential for their world power politics. It has become clear that the USA did not participate in the war against Hitler Germany in order to destroy German fascism, but rather in order to destroy Germany as a united state and to exclude the German competitor as far as possible from the world market.

The American occupation power relies upon German monopoly capital and the "revanche" politicians and on the reactionary forces who brought Hitler to power. That is why they did everything they could to maintain these circles in positions of power in the state and in the economy of West Germany. The policy of the governments of USA and Great Britain is an extension of the policy of the USA and the English Conservatives during the Weimar Republic, when they did all they could to revive beaten German imperialism and to encourage its "Drang nach dem Osten" (drive to the east) and to use this for their own imperialist aims.

I should like to recall a few facts. The American Commander-in-Chief in Germany after the first World War, General Henry T. Allen, wrote on April 24th 1922:

"West Europe should allow Germany to expand towards the east, so that it will come into conflict with the Russians and thereby reduce the tension in the west very greatly."

Because of this anti-Soviet policy the American monopolists gave their German partners credits and loans amounting to many thousands of millions, intended to modernise and expand German armament potential. The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan played an important role in this development.

With the help of these plans the USA and Britain hoped to make German industry dependent upon the American and British monopolies. The Dawes Plan smoothed the way for foreign capital to enter German industry in greater quantities than hitherto. From 1924 till 1929 between ten and fifteen thousand million marks flowed into Germany in long term foreign capital investments, and more than six thousand million marks in short term investments. 70 % of all the long term loans came from the USA.

It is well known that the American monopolies played a decisive role in financing German industry and in initiating and developing close connection between American and German industry. The close relations between the chemical magnates in American and Germany should be emphasized.

Similar conditions rule in all other decisive branches of industry—the steel industry, the electrical industry, the automobile industry and in shipping. The Anglo-German-American Schröder Bank and the well known New York Bank of Dillon Read & Co played an important part in financing the "Vereinigten Stahlwerke" at that period.

That was not all, however. The monopolists on the Rhine and the Ruhr who were on the receiving end of this stream of American gold were for their part the men who financed Hitler. Hitler received particular support from Wall Street in rearming for "Germany's historic mission"—the war against the Soviet Union. On November 7th 1937, Hitler announced his programme of aggression. Two weeks later his envoys, von Killinger and von Toppelskirch, were negotiating with leading representatives of the American monopolists like Senator Vandenberg, Alfred P. Sloan and others on the way to carry out this programme. The Americans gave their full approval to Hitler's anti-Soviet aims and promised far-reaching support. The negotiations on November 23rd 1937 were not the only discussions of this type. The practical result was that Hitler was supplied with certain raw materials without it would have been impossible for him to make war. One of these practical results was the Nickel Agreement with John Foster Dulles, representing the American Nickel Trust, who described the delivery of nickel-ore from Petsamo in Finland to Hitler as "a desirable protection against a possible Russian grab".

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22nd 1941 leading imperialist circles in the USA openly expressed their approval. A prominent member of the US Senate, the present President Truman, stated in the New York Times on June 24th 1941:

"If we see that Germany is winning we should help Russia, and if Russia is winning, we should help Germany, so that in this way they kill off as many of each other as possible."

Mr. Moore Brabazon, at that time British Minister for Aircraft Production, expressed the real Anglo-American intentions when he said that for Great Britain the best result of the fighting on the Eastern Front would be the mutual exhaustion of Germany and the USSR, which would give Britain the possibility to take up a position of domination.

During the second world war this attitude was the basis of the policy of the Anglo-American imperialists. As is well known the British and the Americans promised the USSR in 1942 that they would open a second front in Europe in the course of the year 1942. This promise was, however, not fulfilled either in 1942 or in 1943. The delay in opening the second front was in no way a coincidence. It arose from the efforts of reactionary circles in the USA and Britain who were following aims of their own in the war with Germany. These aims could not be reconciled with fighting a war of liberation against German fascism. These circles hoped for a weakening of the USSR and that as result of the war

the USSR would, for a long period, lose her importance as a great and strong power and would become dependent upon the USA and Great Britain. This was the aim of the secret and open sabotage against the creation of a second front in the West and the so-called "back-door strategy" which made it possible for the full power of the German army to be concentrated against the Soviet Union.

The various peace feelers which aimed at a separate peace between the Western Powers and Hitler, either without, or even against, the Soviet Union, are typical of the treacherous anti-Soviet policy followed by the Anglo-American imperialists who were preparing the third world war while the second was still in progress. Documents captured by the Soviet troops in Germany show that in autumn 1941 and in 1942 and 1943 negotiations took place between representatives of the United States and Germany on the question of making peace, both in Lisbon and in Switzerland, behind the backs of the USSR. These negotiations were handled for the USA by Allan Dulles, the special representative of the United States government who had "direct orders" and "full powers from the White House". Even at that time signs could be seen of the American policy with regard to Germany which is to-day being put into practice, and America's undisguised plans to dominate the world. In 1944, at a time when the Soviet army was engaged in the bitterest fighting against German Hitlerite fascism, the American magazine "In Fact" cynically stated:

"We shall have to beat up Hitler just enough so that he recognises that we are the greatest world power. Then we shall have to keep him for police duties and for preserving order in Europe."

The present policy of the US towards Germany is thus nothing new. After Hitler fascism had been crushed by the Soviet army the American monopolists declared themselves as open heirs of the Hitlerite aspirations to world domination. On April 6th 1946 President Truman stated:

"The United States are to-day a strong nation. There is no stronger nation... and that means that we have the duty to use our power to take over leadership of the organisation of the world."

Since then this thought has been expressed in hundreds of speeches and newspaper articles. It is nothing more nor less than the claim of the USA to dominate the world and to occupy the role of "Führer". These thoughts are the basis of the entire foreign policy of the USA. The international economic and trade policy of the USA, its diplomacy and its military policy, all of which have been increasingly coordinated since the end of the second world war, are subordinated to this aim. All ideological weapons, particularly cosmopolitanism in all its forms, have been put at the disposal of American foreign policy.

The greatest obstacle to the erection of American world domination is the existence of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, as well as the mighty world peace movement led by the Soviet Union and by Generalissimo

Stalin, the standard-bearer of peace. The American imperialists concentrate their war preparations mainly against the Soviet Union in their anxiety to capture new areas for exploitation, in their piratical hunger to loot the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and in their hate against the Soviet Union which is a country without crises, a country where Communism is in course of peaceful construction.

I should like to point out shortly the various methods being used for this purpose by the American imperialists:

a) the system of military bases:

the 434 military bases set up by the USA during the second world war in the Pacific, the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, in Europe, in South America and in North Africa, have been maintained and expanded, with very few exceptions. In December 1949 the magazine "Foreign Affairs" stated: "The United States should endeavour to get bases from which it is possible to control the old world."

This demand has been, to a large extent, carried out. American maps show that the United States have bases in all parts of Europe and Asia, intended to assist them in carrying out their aggressive plans against the Soviet Union.

b) economic expansion:

the increasing aggressiveness of American foreign policy was expressed particularly clearly in Truman's speeches on March 6th and 12th 1947, in which he proclaimed a policy of open intervention in the internal affairs of other states. The particular role which Europe plays in the American war plans may be seen from the report of the Harriman-Committee (Presidential Committee on Foreign Aid) late in 1947, which said: "The interest of the United States in Europe cannot be judged solely from the economic angle. This interest is at the same time a strategic and political one."

c) The system of military pacts:

US imperialism made sure of its military allies through the Brussels Pact of March 18th 1948, and particularly by the Atlantic Pact of April 4th 1949. The first instrument for American aggression in Europe was the military alliance of the West European states, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, which was signed in Brussels. To carry out the Brussels Pact a permanent military committee of the West European states concerned was established, and later a joint European High Command for the coordination of the forces of the USA and the Western Union under American supreme command.

Mr. Truman entrusted General Eisenhower with the supreme command, the man who is still remembered by the women, the mothers and the young people of Germany as the organiser of "carpet bombing", the barbaric attacks on the dwelling houses of the people.

The American warmongers, at the same time as they carry their aggression in Korea, are engaged in converting West Germany into their military base in Europe. President Truman has called West Germany "Front Number 1". This is the reason why the American government is particularly interested in the remilitarisation of West Germany. That is why, at the preliminary Conference of the Foreign Ministers' Deputies in Paris the Americans are attempting to prevent subjects being put on the agenda "which could be interpreted as obliging the United States not to remilitarise West Germany".

The gentlemen from Washington and the Petersberg attempt to win the support of their "German blood brothers"—the West German monopolists, bankers, armament dealers and "revanche" politicians—by promising them equal rights, equal duties and equal risks. They have made a payment on account by accepting Krupp, Flick and other Hitlerite armaments experts into the circle of their friends and by giving them back their factories. Herr Abs, who was head of the Deutsche Bank during the Hitler period, together with the multi-millionaire Pferdmenges, deputy in the Federal Parliament for the Christian Democratic Union, jointly control the financial policy of West Germany. The Hitlerite General Speidel has set up a military staff which has already worked out plans for the creation of a West German army. On Eisenhower's instructions Dr. Schumacher has been informed about these plans.

With regard to the so-called equal rights, there can be no question of any such thing, since Germany has the "advantage", if the planned American war should break out, of being the first and the main battlefield.

To-day we can see clearly the great blame which attaches to the right wing leaders of the Social Democrats and of the Trade Unions, who have allowed old Hitlerite racial ideology, "Revanche" policy and the glorification of the military crimes of Hitlerism to take firm root in state, in the economy and in public life in West Germany. Fascist war literature is appearing legally in West Germany. General Guderian is again propagandising the Hitlerite theories about the victorious progress of the white race, running a campaign of hate against the French people, protesting against the sentencing of war criminals by the Nuremberg Court, describing as innocent the German war criminals sentenced by French Courts, and demanding the reconquest of the territories which no longer belong to Germany.

What is new in Guderian's conception? He accuses Adenauer, Speidel and the other militarists of not doing enough for remilitarisation, and he appeals to the United States for more understanding and more help for the German war interests. Guderian is just as ready as Adenauer to sacrifice the national interests of the German people to the power interests of the United States.

Thus General Eisenhower and the governors on the Petersberg have undoubtedly been able to win the support of those who are at present in control of political

power in West Germany, as well as some former officers. They want these people to continue the policy of war, which they formally followed under Hitler, under the new leadership of Truman and Eisenhower. The life of the German people and the future of the nation will be recklessly gambled with. This may be seen from the New York Times of April 22nd 1951 which stated:

"All our present strategic calculations are based upon their contribution, not only of bases but on a much larger number of well trained and equipped men than we ourselves are ready to put into the common pool."

The American plan is thus to use more German troops in Europe than American troops. If the American war in Europe depends on the number of German troops and their equipment then it is obvious that war can be prevented if the mass of the people in West Germany refuse to cooperate and oppose remilitarisation.

The aggressive policy of the US imperialists in preparing a new war is underlined by the negative attitude of the USA to the proposals made by the Soviet Union in the United Nations for the prohibition of the atom bomb, an effective international control of atomic energy, and a reduction of the armaments and military forces of the five great powers. The war-like intentions of the imperialist forces in the USA are emphasized by the rejection of the Soviet proposal to conclude a Five Power Pact to safeguard peace.

Unfortunately there are Germans who believe that the question of remilitarisation is only concerned with troop contingents and the quantity of weapons. The remilitarisation programme, started and carried out by Adenauer, Blücher, Reuter, Schumacher, Guderian and so on, is however more than this. It is a programme for re-establishing German imperialism.

Remilitarisation means the establishment of a West German army and airforce in accordance with the plans drawn up by the military staff in Bonn in agreement with General Eisenhower.

Remilitarisation in West Germany means a policy of revenge and preparation for a war to conquer the territory of other states such as Western Poland, the Sudeten area and so on.

Remilitarisation means a campaign of hate against the peace-loving people, in particular against the Soviet Union, against the German Democratic Republic and against the People's Democracies.

Remilitarisation means the restoration of power to the arms monopolies and the banks, and the gentlemen of Hitler's armaments council.

Remilitarisation means putting the Schuman Plan into effect, this plan for arms production intended to equip the West German and West European Armies of General Eisenhower.

Remilitarisation means preparations to destroy our West German homeland by establishing American and West German military bases and by preparing demolitions.

Remilitarisation means a strengthening of the power of armament capital in the state and in the economy of West Germany and the lowering of the standard of living of the working people through price increases and the pressure of taxes.

Remilitarisation means that the rights of the people will be slashed. The measures of remilitarisation of the Petersberg governors and the Bonn government are contrary to the vital interests of the German people. That is why the Bonn remilitarisation government is increasingly resorting to the methods used by the Papen government which, as is well known, paved the way for fascist domination and for war.

These facts leave no doubt that remilitarisation means war.

So much has become known about the details of remilitarisation in West Germany, about military training, about conversion to arms production and so on that I need not go into detail. I shall only mention very pertinent facts.

The Bonn government cannot deny that on August 29th 1950, Adenauer sent a memorandum to the American Governor McCloy requesting an increase in the number of occupation troops. This memorandum stated:

„The Federal Chancellor has repeatedly asked for the reinforcement of the occupation troops and he hereby renews this request in the most urgent form. The reinforcement of the Allied occupation troops has also become necessary because the 'Defence measures' beginning in Western Europe can only be carried out without interruption behind the screen of a sufficient number of well-equipped Allied divisions.”

It is thus intended to carry out the remilitarisation of West Germany and the establishment of a West German army behind a screen of American and British divisions. So far the Americans have demanded 53 barracks and the British have demanded 30 barracks to accommodate the American, British, French and Canadian intervention troops. For this purpose the population have to pay 460 Marks occupation costs per head annually and the working people have in addition to bear the brunt of rising prices. And that, it must be remembered, is only the beginning.

The decisive factor is the completion of the plans for the formation of West German troop units, and the conversion of the economy to an armament economy. Traitors like General Guderian and a number of other German generals have submitted proposals to the Americans on the remilitarisation of West Germany, based on their experiences in the Hitlerite war. General Speidel, General Guderian and others know very well the American plans which are based on the idea that the strength of the expected opponent of American

imperialism should be worn down by hard ground fighting in Germany, at the same time that the centres of production and supply are attacked with atom bombs. The American plan foresees that it may not be possible for them to hold the area up to the Ruhr and that in this case West Germany should be flattened with atom bombs. With this in view American and British troops, acting on Eisenhower's instructions, have constructed demolition chambers in the West German bridges.

On April 20th 1951 the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" pointed out that the United States had concentrated naval forces in Bremerhaven, including a patrol fleet for the Rhine which would have the job of "protecting river traffic on the Rhine and covering a possible retreat by the Western Allies across the Rhine". Western newspapers report that an American Court in Regensburg has sentenced the business man Walter Sieffert to 8 years imprisonment because he had obtained a copy of an "Evacuation Plan of Munich" which stated that in case of a war-like conflict eleven express trains, one hospital train and four Diesel coaches must be put at the disposal of the American Occupation Authorities. The Court stated that this plan was known to only a very few Americans and "was top secret". This statement by an American Military Court shows that the American plan is worked out in every detail and confirms that these are plans to destroy our West German homeland.

The disastrous consequences of American occupation policy and the war preparations can be seen most clearly in the economic field. The preparations for war have provided the US monopolists and bankers with excellent business. The magazine "US News and World Report", which speaks in the name of the American monopolists, stated in an article dealing with the crisis in the USA:

"Following Korea there will always be danger spots in the world which will encourage Congress to grant the sums demanded for armaments. When the war in Korea comes to an end there is always the chance of a conflict with China about the island Formosa. In the near future the USA will remain world arsenal Number One. That is the reason why our economic planners believe that war business will continue to be good business. Our planners do not foresee a serious regression as long as the arms programme continues, even if the tense world situation should ease."

West German economy is ruthlessly interfered with, in order to increase the arms profits of the Morgans, the Rockefellers and the Mellons. The export of West German high quality goods is being restricted, and in particular the American Occupation Authorities are attempting to cut down inner-German trade. The Occupation Authorities have handed the Bonn government directives on the ways in which the West German population should be made to bear the costs of remilitarisation.

West German papers dealing with economic affairs have emphasized that the remilitarisation exceeds by far the economic capacity of West Germany, which

already has to bear high occupation costs. A Panzer division is estimated to cost 2,000 million marks, and from this any West German citizen can work out for himself to what extent his standard of living will have to be reduced in order to meet these expenses.

In the present financial year the tax burden amounting to 21,000 million marks should be raised by a further 10,000 million marks according to Herr Schäfer, the Minister of Finance. Adenauer has stated that prices in the Federal Republic must be expected to rise another 30 %. The rent for flats built before 1924 should be raised by 30 %, and for those built between 1924 and 1939 by 15 %. In addition the prices of electricity, gas and public transport should be raised. The Social Democratic newspaper in Schleswig Holstein stated in an article on the Bonn policy:

"The indirect taxes which are being imposed to-day are the most unsocial imposed by any state at the present time."

Herr Ehrhard, the Minister of Economy, has received an allied plan on the introduction of controls for the economy. A representative of German business described this plan in these words:

"These economic controls go much further than those imposed by Hitler." The working population suffer most from the price increases. Prices for bread and other foodstuffs have been raised. According to a report of the Trade Union Economic Investigation Institute two thirds of the West German population earn less than a gross sum of 250 Marks monthly. The report states:

"6.1 million, that is to say 27.1 % of all wage earners, have a monthly income of less than 100 marks; 8.3 million, that is 36.8 %, receive between 101 and 250 marks. There are thus in the Federal Republic 14.4 million wage earners, that is 63.9 %, who have less than 250 marks monthly."

Average consumption per head is considerably lower in West Germany than it was before the second World War:

	1937 kg	1950 kg	% reduction
Fats	26.9	20.7	—23
Meat and meat products	30.5	17.0	—47
Fish and fish products	12.2	11.0	—10
Sugar	25.0	23.0	— 4

The working man in West Germany pays between 25 and 30 % more for his clothing than he did a few months ago. The fall in retail trade is connected with this development. The price increases are being organised. Ehrhard, the Minister of Economics, explained to the Bonn Cabinet that "purchasing power

was being absorbed by price increases". This means that purchasing power is being forced to decline so that more money is available for investment—that is for remilitarisation.

At the same time the profits of the great limited stock companies are rapidly increasing. The report already quoted states:

"605 limited stock companies have converted their former Reichsmark capital into Deutsche Mark at 1 to 1 for the whole sum of 1977.1 millions; 136 companies have increased their capital from 246.71 million to 313.22 million. The exchange of currency at the rate of 10 to 1, therefore, only applied to the working masses, to the middle classes and to the factory owners and business men with little capital."

The capital increase for the limited companies have broken all records in this field.

These facts show that remilitarisation has produced an economic situation which is worse than it was before the first or the second world war, since West Germany has today no reserves of any sort. As a result the Bonn government, in the course of preparing for remilitarisation, not only increases the burdens on the masses of the people, but at the same time undermines its own bases.

In addition the Marshall Plan, this rearmament plan, increases the economic contradictions between the interests of the USA monopolists and the majority of the West German business men.

American monopoly capital is bringing pressure to bear on the West German economy to make it stop trading with the German Democratic Republic and renounce trade with the East. This is a direct threat to the vital economic interests of West Germany. In this connection the French monopoly capital newspaper "Le Monde" states:

"However you look at it the western market cannot take the place for German trade of East Europe and Asia, either as a supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs or as a purchaser of manufactured goods. Germany cannot regain its economic balance if it does not win back its connections with this part of the earth."

The American and the British Occupation Authorities refuse German business men the right to take part in East-West Trade to the same extent as English, French or Belgian business men. It does not help matters when British Occupation officials state that British orders for uniforms and other equipment will be placed in West Germany, or when American firms order goods in Germany which they then sell at a profit in those parts of the world market where Germany itself could previously trade and sell its goods.

At the same time the restrictions on the import of raw materials from the countries of the Atlantic Pact to Germany are making things increasingly difficult for small craftsmen and medium-sized factories.

The facts which I have mentioned lead to the conclusion that the West German economy suffers worst from the effect of rearmament. The imperialist brotherhood between the monopoly capitalists in America and in West Germany does not stop the American monopolists from the ruthless use of their economic power in order to increase their own profits at the cost of West German economy. The fact that West Germany is beginning to remilitarise with a weakened economy which has not yet overcome the results of the Hitlerite war is bound to increase the conflict between the West German armaments industrialists and their Bonn government on one side and the masses of the working people on the other side.

I should like to deal with some of the arguments used by the supporters of remilitarisation. These people claim, for instance, that the remilitarisation of West Germany will serve the "European Conception". On this trip to West Germany General Eisenhower learned the lesson that it was necessary to try to persuade the people of West Germany and Western Europe that the preparations for war concern them intimately. That is the specific reason for European Union. There are some naive people in West Germany who consider it a success that Adenauer has been allowed to join the representatives of other countries in the European Council in Strasbourg. They even think that the European Council has some weight. Actually the "European Conception" is an idea of that very un-European gentleman Mr. Truman, and it is not in Strasbourg but on the Petersberg that this idea is being put into effect.

The Soviet Union has granted the German Democratic Republic the broadest rights and authority, including the foreign political field, even before a peace treaty has been concluded with the whole of Germany. In West Germany, on the other hand, the American control of the protectorate is being steadily increased. Herr Adenauer was allowed to sign the Schuman Plan and to deliver to American financial capital the control of the coal and steel on the Ruhr and Rhine, the heart of German industry. Adenauer was allowed to recognise the old foreign debts of Germany as well as the new ones, and to approve the annexation of the Saar territory by the French monopolists. He was allowed to join the European Payments Union and thus bring West German economy even more under the control of American, British and French financial capital.

The supporters of remilitarisation claim that they only want "a German contribution to European defence". This contribution is of a special nature and different from the contribution being made by all other states, since it consists of supplying West German territory as a battlefield. The "European Defence" which has been ordered by President Truman and is under the command of the American General Eisenhower, is a curious thing. The fact that American armies and

airforces have been sent to West Germany and Western Europe disposes of the legend of "European Defence" and shows that what is actually happening is an American invasion. After all West Germany and France are not the 49th state of the United States of America. The United States cannot claim that they are in any way threatened by Germany. Remilitarisation is thus obviously a German contribution to the world power politics of the greedy American monopolists.

The documents found in the secret archives of the South Korean government in Seoul contain an important lesson for the German people on the methods by which the United States prepare an aggressive war camouflaged as defence. It is necessary to study these documents very thoroughly since the American governor McCloy has stated:

"What we are doing in Germany is just the same as what our armies are achieving in Korea."

Trumand has underlined this statement by saying:

"General Eisenhower will occupy exactly the same position in Europe as General MacArthur occupies in the Far East."

We find it hard to believe that there could be any normal human being who would like to grant General Eisenhower the opportunity to carry out the same crimes on German soil as General MacArthur has committed in the Far East.

In view of the crimes being prepared by General Eisenhower in alliance with Adenauer, Blücher, Reuter and with the help of Schumacher, the words of our great poet Friedrich Schiller have a message for us to-day:

"Unworthy is the nation which is not glad to sacrifice everything for honour."

The honour of the German nation demands that it does not allow itself to be misused for the egoistic interests of American arms kings. Selfsacrifice on the battlefield in the interests of American monopolist power politics has nothing to do with German honour.

The honour of the German nation demands that the sharpest protest should be made against the entry of the invasion troops of the United States and other imperialist powers into West Germany, these troops which have been invited by Adenauer, Blücher, Reuter and Schumacher.

The honour of the German nation demands resistance to the partition policy of the foreign governors and the Adenauer government. The slogan "A Round Table Conference for Germans" must be made reality.

The honour of the German nation demands firm rejection of the interference in inner-German trade of the Petersberg governors.

The honour of the German nation demands that the plebiscite against German remilitarisation and in favour of a peace-treaty with Germany in 1951 should be carried out in all parts of Germany.

The honour of the German nation demands that six years after the war the German people should finally be granted a peace treaty, and that an end should be put to the impossible state of affairs in which the foreign governors gag and exploit the German people from their robber castle on the Petersberg.

The honour of the German nation demands friendship with the Soviet Union and with the People's Democracies which give us friendly support in our struggle for the national unity of our homeland.

Politicians of the Christian Democratic Union in West Germany allege that remilitarisation is needed to insure security. It is already obvious in West Germany that on the contrary it is just remilitarisation which leads to great insecurity. Security in peace demands above everything else the conclusion of a peace treaty, and that is just what Truman, Eisenhower and Adenauer want to prevent. Security demands that the American troops, who are a continuous menace to security, should be withdrawn from West Germany. Security will only be possible when the people themselves instead of the Bonn American puppets have a voice in West Germany and are allowed to use their democratic rights.

Some people say that remilitarisation is necessary in order to protect West Germany. We believe that there is a cheaper way: for German patriots to reach an understanding, and for the five Great Powers to conclude a peace pact as the World Peace Congress proposed. Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl's proposal for the creation of an All-German Constituent Council and the Eight Point Proposal of the People's Chamber for joint discussions between the representatives of West and East Germany show the way in which such an understanding can be reached.

In intellectual circles one often hears people say that they feel they have close ties with "Western culture" or just with "the West", and that therefore they sympathise with the policy of the governments of the USA and Great Britain. It does not appear to us that the question of Western or Eastern culture is decisive, but that peace must be maintained and that every people must encourage and develop its own national culture and resist the culture of barbarism which is spread by USA monopoly capital. It is untrue to say that the classical cultural heritage of the Western European countries is only preserved in these countries. On the contrary it would be truer to say that the humanist ideas of the great French revolution, of the English, German, French and Italian classics and scientists receive more attention in the Soviet Union, in the People's Democracies and in the German Democratic Republic than in the big cities of Western Europe. In those cities the baboon culture of the American imperialists, imported by American soldiers, is taking the centre of the stage, and decadent detective films, caterwauling music and all sorts of perversities are encouraged.

Some people claim that all countries have an army and that therefore Germany too needs an army. In this connection it must be clearly stated that as long as an American governor rules in West Germany an army would always be used against the interests of the people.

Why should we need an army in Germany, where we require all our strength in order to rebuild, and when there is nobody in Europe who would think of being on bad terms with a peace-loving Germany? The people of Europe would be happy if there was a united Germany led by a government which guaranteed the maintenance of peace and democratic order.

The example of the relations between the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union as well as the relations between these countries and the German Democratic Republic prove the following:

Germany does not need an army but rather the creation of the foundations for a peaceful order in West Germany too.

The German people do not need an army, but a peace treaty.

The German people do not need an arms industry which will impoverish the nation, but rather a peace industry which will enrich the nation.

There are some people who have not yet got over their old Prussian ways of thinking. These people say "if we are strong militarily, then we can bargain better". After two catastrophic wars is it not high time that these Germans should have learned that the strength of the German people is not best expressed in military formations and piles of weapons? The 300,000 men of the West German army will be very expensive, but they are only a miserable drop in the bucket compared to Hitler's army, which, as is well known, was roundly beaten.

The real strength of the German people is expressed in their united wish to secure a peace treaty. Remilitarisation and the deepening of partition which this entails can only serve to prevent a peace treaty with Germany.

Some people's natural sense of what is right has made them adopt an attitude in favour of peace and against remilitarisation, but they cannot make up their minds to take part in the plebiscite because they are under the influence of anti-Communist lies. This undecided attitude can only help the remilitarists.

For anyone who is honestly in favour of peace the first commandment must be participation in the great peace movement without regard to party interests or differences of philosophy or other ideas. The people who say that they pray in their hearts for the maintenance of peace are not doing enough. In the fight for peace only public and conscious action for peace is of importance. The efforts of the warmongers can only be frustrated by the organised strength of the peace movement. The responsibility imposed on every single person for the maintenance

of peace and for the future of Germany is expressed clearly in the appeal issued by the Central Plebiscite Committee which stated:

"Every German can see for himself to-day that remilitarisation conjures up war and still greater misery. No German would be able to make the excuse afterwards: 'I did not know.' Anyone who does not take part in the plebiscite involves himself in the guilt resulting from remilitarisation."

On April 17th Pastor Niemöller spoke in the Allied Press Club in Frankfurt about contemporary problems. He showed the close connection between the question of rearmament and that of re-uniting partitioned Germany, and stated that he was certain that rearmament would make the re-unification of Germany impossible. For this reason the Germans should refrain, for as long as possible, from participating in the Western Forces.

Pastor Niemöller said that he was only interested in preventing, to the best of his ability, a future war. He supported once again the neutralisation of Germany which would provide a breathing space, since there was no immediate danger from the East. Niemöller's words expressed a deep sense of responsibility for our homeland.

I should like to recall that the wishes of the peace-loving people in Germany were clearly expressed in the programme of the National Front of Democratic Germany, issued on August 25th 1950. This programme stated:

"The German people do not want another war. They have learned from experience that war brings only poverty, misery and death.

The 20 million dead and cripples which the first and second world wars cost our people are more than enough.

The women and the mothers have shed enough tears for their dead husbands and sons.

We have seen enough of destroyed towns and villages, for the rebuilding of which the people must sacrifice much.

Our German homeland would be the main battlefield for a new world war. A new world war would exceed all previous wars in the degree of poverty, death and destruction caused, since the American instigators of war threaten to use atomic bombs.

Nobody can doubt the degree of terror and destruction which a new war would bring.

The imperialist warmongers are already preparing to transform West Germany into a waste land. They are engaged in forming a West European aggressive army which should include German mercenaries, and are using West German industry for their war preparations.

Our people and our children should be given a chance to live and a chance to enjoy a secure future.

We must therefore struggle with all our strength for peace and against those who want to light the fires of a new war.

For this reason the whole peace-loving German people recognised the Potsdam decisions taken by the Allies.

War is something which man has created, and therefore, something which man can prevent."

There are people in West Germany who say that the idea of the plebiscite for a peace treaty with Germany is quite a good idea, but that the Soviet Union is certainly behind it. Actually the forces of peace in Germany would be happy if as many countries as possible supported the demand of the German people for the conclusion of a peace treaty. Everybody would welcome it, for instance, if Britain and the United States supported the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Great Powers and Germany. The only practical yardstick for the relationship between peace-loving Germans and the various Great Powers must be the attitude of each of the Powers towards the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the subsequent withdrawal of occupation troops. The Soviet Union has in any case shown that she has a consistent attitude in this question. At Yalta and at Potsdam she opposed the partitioning of Germany. In Potsdam Generalissimo Stalin demanded that Germany be treated as a united state and that an all-German provisional government should be formed. We must be very grateful for this attitude.

Some politicians in Bonn have simply adopted the arguments used by Goebbels during the Nazi "crusade against Communism" and believe that they can use them to drive the German people into war once again. These sable-rattlers in Bonn overlook the following:

First: Large portions of the German population have recognised that the Soviet Union, by defeating Hitler fascism, has achieved the greatest peace work hitherto seen; has liberated a great part of Germany and laid the foundations for a peaceful and friendly coexistence of the inhabitants of the new states where the people rule.

Second: The Soviet Union, as the only great power, has from the very first supported the national unity and independence of a peaceful and democratic Germany.

Third: The Soviet Union does everything in its power to attain a Peace Pact of the Five Great Powers in accordance with the decisions of the World Peace Congress. Such a pact would be of the greatest importance for the maintenance of peace.

Fourth: Even the most hateful propaganda campaigns of the enemy cannot hide the fact that the Soviet Union is a peace-loving and energetic state, where more is done in construction, science and culture than in any other land.

Some of our people may have all sorts of objections to the construction of Communism in the Soviet Union, but every single peace-loving citizen must show his appreciation for the fact that the representatives of the Soviet Union at all international conferences have consistently supported a peaceful solution of the problem of German unity and the creation of a united, peace-loving and democratic German state. At the preliminary conference of the Foreign Ministers' Deputies the Soviet delegate Gromyko demanded once again

"the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the subsequent withdrawal of occupation troops from Germany".

A sure indication of this policy of peace may be found in the words of the historic telegram which Generalissimo Stalin sent to President Wilhelm Pieck and Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl on the occasion of the formation of the German Democratic Republic. The telegram stated:

"There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving, democratic Germany side by side with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union bars the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe, and makes impossible the enslavement of the European countries by the world imperialists."

The Soviet Union is the sole European country which since its foundation has never done anything contrary to the national interests of the German people. The Soviet Union is a country where there are no crises, a country of great economic growth, and a country which has always opposed the exploitation of other peoples. The Soviet Union is a rich country which has no business interests which stand contrary to the economic interests of the German people. That is why friendship between the German people and the Soviet people cannot be reserved simply to Socialists and to members of the German-Soviet Friendship Society.

All patriotic Germans must become friends of the Soviet Union.

In its government statement the Adenauer government stated that the plebiscite was being banned because it was supported by forces which opposed the democratic order in West Germany. Who has given Adenauer the right to describe West Germany as democratic when the people have not even got the right to hold a plebiscite on remilitarisation? The attitude adopted towards remilitarisation and towards the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951 and also towards the free expression of opinion on these vital questions shows clearly who is for people's rights and democracy, and who is opposed to democracy.

It is no coincidence that in connection with remilitarisation the Adenauer government tries to do away with the constitutional rights of the people, not only by banning the plebiscite but also by measures of oppression directed against the Free German Youth, the Union of Victims of Nazism and the All-German Agricultural Circle. These measures are designed to restrict to an ever greater degree free thought and the right of association. By these measures the ruling circles in Bonn have shown the whole world that they opposed to freedom for the people. On February 28th Dr. Meier, Prime Minister of Württemberg, stated:

"The Federal Chancellor must realise the deep gulf between himself and the people... To learn the truth you must talk to the man in the street."

As is well known the ordinary man in the street is opposed to remilitarisation and war. Adenauer knows only too well what ordinary people think, and it is for just this reason that he attempts to suppress public opinion by banning the plebiscite and by other measures, and that he attempts to enforce the wishes of the West German big business bosses, "revanche" politicians and the Petersberg governors.

People who talked about "the danger of Communism" should realise that in West Germany there is a real danger of the people losing all their rights. Democratic rights in West Germany, small enough as they are, are in danger. That is the real position. Democratic rights will be more and more threatened as remilitarisation proceeds. Every extra troop-unit strengthens the position of power of the old reactionary military caste and the conversion to armaments production strengthens the economic power of big business and the banks. People who think that only a ban against the plebiscite is involved are very short-sighted. The ban on the plebiscite imposed by the Adenauer government is just the first link in a chain of measures against all democratic liberties, and can be compared to the bans imposed in 1932 by Brüning and Papen which simply paved the way for the fascist methods of rule. For this reason the plebiscite against remilitarisation in West Germany is closely connected with the defence of the democratic rights of the people.

In his government declaration directed against the plebiscite Herr Adenauer said that he would like to have an argument with us about democracy. We are quite ready, for the sake of democracy, to show the gentlemen in Bonn what they really look like.

Political power is in the hands of the foreign governors who hand out their orders from their robber castle on the Petersberg. Not far away are the headquarters of the Bonn Government, mainly manned by the same reactionary forces who at one time paved the way for Hitler and who supported the Hitlerite policy of war.

Konrad Adenauer is notorious as an old separatist and "revanche" politician. He holds directorships in a number of firms and is thus closely connected with the interests of big business on the Rhine. During the Weimar Republic he planned to unite Bavaria and the Rhineland with Austria in a block headed by the Habsburg Monarchy.

Dr. Fritz Schäfer, the Minister of Finance, former chairman of the Bavarian People's Party, was described in these words by American Military Government in 1946: In cooperation with the Nazis during his whole political career he was an exponent of the ultra-nationalistic and militaristic ideology which resulted in the Nazi government and war.

Hermann Abs was chief of the Deutsche Bank under Hitler and took part in the exploitation of the countries occupied by the Hitlerite fascists. He was a member of the so-called "Russia Committee". He has a seat on the Board of Directors of 43 of the biggest joint stock companies and is at present a member of Adenauer's "Economic Staff".

Robert Pferdmenges, one of Adenauer's closest collaborators, is the leading figure in West German banking. During the Hitler period he was a director of 20 of the biggest industrial undertakings.

Dr. Blücher is the representative in the government of the Federation of German Industry and is closely connected with leading figures in the steel industry.

Otto A. Friedrich, Adenauer's Commissioner for Raw Materials, occupied a responsible position during the Weimar Republic in one of the biggest American rubber firms. Under Hitler he was a War Economy Controller.

Dr. Friedrich Ernst, who was "Commissioner for the Administration of Enemy Property" under Hitler, is to-day leader of Adenauer's "Economic Staff".

A number of people who were war Economy Controllers under Hitler are back in leading positions in West German business once again. They include Dinkelbach of the "Stahlverein", Roelen of the "Stahltrust", Reuter of "DEMAG", Merten of the Frankfurt "Metallgesellschaft", Monden who headed Hitler's "Djaneprstahl G.m.b.H." and took part in looting the Ukraine, and others.

It is obvious that these people, who occupy positions of power in West Germany, are in favour of remilitarisation, since they are clearly interested in making as much money as possible from armaments. One can really expect nothing else from these old representatives of German imperialism than a ban on the plebiscite.

This clique is able to engage in remilitarisation against the wishes of the people only because the supporters of peace are still disunited, because they are not yet closely enough organised and because they do not fight to save peace with enough determination.

The main responsibility for preventing unity among the supporters of peace must be laid at the door of the Social Democratic leadership, headed by Schumacher and Adenauer, together with the leadership of the Trade Union Federation in West Germany. These people do all they can to prevent the unity of the workers and of the peace-loving forces. Schumacher plays at "opposition" in order to stop large sections of the workers, who are angry at the treachery of the Bonn government, from taking action in support of their vital interests. In his report on December 15th, 1950, McCloy pointed out that the different attitude adopted by the government parties and by the opposition parties express only a difference in tactics. Schumacher's support for the formation of a so-called "People's Army" and his declaration that the decisive battle must be fought out on the Vistula and the Njemen show that he backs Adenauer's military policy, but in other words. The game played by government and opposition is shown clearly by the fact that the Adenauer government carries out its dictatorial measures of remilitarisation without consulting the Bonn Parliament and that it strongly opposes new elections to the Federal Parliament. Schumacher, who knows exactly what is going on, runs a campaign in favour of elections and tries thereby to divert the attention of Social Democrats and Trade Unionists from the immediate struggle for peace and their other vital interests.

Schumacher describes Adenauer's government as helpless and incompetent. Actually, however, the Adenauer government is by no means helpless, since it is very intensively advised by the American governor, and it is not without a plan since it has a detailed plan for remilitarisation and the restoration of German imperialism. The extent to which the Adenauer government can carry out the plan depends upon the struggle of the forces of peace in West Germany. It is absolutely necessary that six years after the fall of Hitler's fascism the members of the Social Democratic Party should finally realise that the path taken by Schumacher and Ollenhauer is false, that this policy only strengthens the position of the United States in West Germany, and that it has made possible the revival of German imperialism and has prevented the foundations being laid in West Germany for a peaceful and really democratic order.

On February 11th the Social Democratic Deputy to the Federal Parliament, Professor Baade, told 500 delegates of the Kiel organisation of the Social Democratic Party that there was a real chance to win peace, and that this chance depended on the Social Democratic policy of resisting unconditional rearmament. Professor Baade stated in no uncertain terms that neither a defensive line on the Elbe nor the defensive strength of the Western Powers could possibly hope to halt the Russian advance in case of war. If in a situation like this six or even ten German divisions were raised, they could only have the job of covering the retreat of the Western Powers to Dunkirk. Professor Baade stated that this provided no basis for German agreement to rearmament. It was not possible to bargain about rearmament in return for "equal rights".

We are convinced that Adenauer's measures of suppression against the peace movement will help to open the eyes of all democrats in West Germany, to show them who the real rulers of West Germany are, and to encourage the forces of peace to fight with determination for the defence of democratic rights. It is certain that the cause of peace will win. There can be no doubt that then the remilitarists of to-day will have to answer to the people.

If the deputies of the Bonn Federal Parliament really represented the opinion of the majority of the people, then they would have demanded a vote after Adenauer's statement on the banning of the plebiscite, and they would have voted that the plebiscite be held. The deputies, by their conduct, have shown that they underestimate the danger of remilitarisation and that they tolerate and support the disastrous policy being followed by Adenauer's clique. Now the peace-loving population must take the cause of the defence of peace into their own hands and do everything which lies in their power in order to prevent remilitarisation being carried out.

The Central Plebiscite Committee reports that a broad movement of protest against remilitarisation is growing among the workers, the youth, the intellectuals and the peasants. Adenauer's plan to drag youth and the population generally quietly into war, must and will be brought to naught. The hoisting of the World Peace Flag on Heligoland by young fighters for peace in protest against the bombardment of Heligoland, which is only a preparation for the bombardment of Germany, is an important patriotic deed. The young workers who pour cement into the demolition chambers in the West German bridges in order to protest against them being mined have helped to protect the property of the German people and have demonstrated against remilitarisation. In a number of towns the administration has refused to hand over the plans to American officers. The town councillors of Bamberg have given a courageous example by refusing to hand over voluntarily the plans of the crossings over the river Main.

The remilitarists have been particularly disturbed by the demonstration of 70,000 workers and employees in Nuremberg who struck work for two hours in nearly all factories, workshops and offices, in order to protest against rising prices, poverty and Adenauer's remilitarisation policy. One of the trade union officials speaking there stated:

"The fine words of the government spokesmen of all sorts are no use to us... We do not intend to support the economic policy of catastrophe of Adenauer and Ehrhard any longer."

Voices were raised at the meeting calling for the resignation of Adenauer and other ministers. In nearly all parts of West Germany factory staffs and trade unions have responded to price rises by making fighting demands for wage increases.

It was of the greatest importance that in the demonstration on the 1st of May trade unionists carried banners opposing remilitarisation and demanding the maintenance of peace. Workers in West German factories have declared the workers' share in management includes the right to have a share in the decision on preserving of peace. In Munich and in some other towns a few union leaders tried to use May Day demonstrations for the campaign of hate against the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, and tried to tell union members that they must tighten their belts. There was such a protest from the union members that some of these speakers could not go on, since their voices were lost amidst the slogans "Down with remilitarisation, we want peace".

After the European Workers' Conference it was possible to organise meetings of factory workers, and particularly of trade union officials, in all West German provinces, despite the efforts of the American, British and French occupation officials to stop workers' unity. The European Workers' Conference expressed the great desire of the workers for peace and their readiness to use all measures to prevent remilitarisation.

In many organisations and associations resolutions have been adopted opposing remilitarisation. I would mention a meeting of the "Windhorst Bund", students' meetings at various West German universities and a number of sports clubs.

On April 23rd more than 8,000 peasants from all parts of the Federal Republic held a great demonstration in Landau. They hoisted the Black Flag and the clog, the sign of the medieval Peasant Revolt, and demanded the solution of the social problems affecting the agricultural population. They protested against the fact that the promises made at Rhöndorf by Adenauer had not been kept; and stated: "We want deeds not words."

The peasants protested against the subsidisation of imported farm produce and the restriction of home production. They condemned the so-called "green Schuman Plan", a so-called agrarian union which would ruin West German agriculture by flooding the country with farm produce from Western Europe. In 1951 alone the Bonn government provided subsidies amounting to 20 million dollars for the import of vegetables and fruit.

The Marshall Plan policy and the rule of the great monopolies in West Germany have seriously damaged the peasants too and they are threatened with a hard fight to defend their rights. If Herr Lehr, the Bonn Minister of the Interior, thinks that he can solve the peasant problem by stopping the activities of the All-German Agricultural Circle, then he will soon be convinced of the opposite. No measures of force imposed by the reactionaries in Bonn can stop the West German fighters for peace from fulfilling their great patriotic task. The sacrifices which must be made to maintain peace are only a minute fraction of the miseries which war would bring. We are convinced that most mothers are more ready to make sacrifices for peace than to sacrifice their husbands and their

children in an American war. Inspired by a firm belief in the victory of the rightful cause of peace, the work of propaganda and organisation, basing itself upon the appeal of the central Plebiscite Committee, will be carried out in every factory department, in every house and in every association. All peace-loving people will be brought together in the great peace movement in order "to defend the cause of peace to the utmost", as Generalissimo Stalin stated in his interview with a correspondent of "Prawda".

The carrying out of remilitarisation would mean a catastrophic deepening of the cleft running through Germany. Now that Herr Adenauer has begun to indulge openly in remilitarisation and has banned the plebiscite, everybody can see the real reasons which made him reject Prime Minister Grotewohl's proposal for the creation of an All-German Constituent Council.

Adenauer's answer of "No", with an American accent, is the result of his agreement with General Eisenhower on West German remilitarisation. Since Adenauer is opposed to a peace treaty with the whole of Germany and the withdrawal of occupation troops, he is naturally also against proposals for a peace treaty with Germany.

Meanwhile, the weeks have passed, and the slogan "A Round Table Conference for Germans" has been adopted by all peace-loving Germans. At innumerable tables Germans from the West and the East of our homeland have met and discussed the joint work of maintaining peace and restoring German unity. They discussed cultural work and work in special scientific fields, and at the same time German sportsmen met each other on the playing fields. The hymn of hate raised by Kaiser and Schumacher was increasingly drowned by the shout of the friends of peace in East and West: "Friendship!"

Despite all Adenauer's efforts the joint "German conversation" has become the order of the day, and is reaching ever-widening circles. Even such a well known politician as the former chancellor Dr. Wirth, who signed the Rapallo Treaty, has stated:

"I cannot understand the attitude hitherto adopted by Chancellor Adenauer. In my opinion the only possibility of solving the political world crisis lies in the resumption of East-West relations on the one hand and on the other hand in the re-unification of Germany. I welcome the fact that the representatives of East Germany have repeated their offer, despite the attitude of certain German circles."

This "All-German Conversation" and the fight against remilitarisation and for a peace treaty will produce the patriotic and responsible men and women who will be capable of reaching an understanding with the representatives of the German Democratic Republic after the Adenauer clique has been overthrown. Some people ask: "What would happen then?" We can give them a clear and

simple answer. This will be followed by an understanding between East Germany and West Germany. This will be followed by peaceful and democratic progress to a united, independent and strong Germany. The representatives of West Germany and East Germany will reach agreement simply in the interests of the German homeland, since there can be no question of "voting down" in the All-German Constituent Council, but only a question of reaching an understanding.

In the German Democratic Republic, where the forces of peace control the state, we must stage a great enlightenment campaign. There are many people who are so wrapped-up in their daily work that they do not realise to the full the threat which West German remilitarisation represents to our peaceful construction work. From this day on, the truth about the plans of the American and West German warmongers, and about the tasks which confront us in the fight for peace must be carried into the smallest workshops, the most distant houses and the most isolated farms.

We want people to vote "Yes" from the heart. The fulfillment of our plan, the increase in our work performance, the strengthening of our democratic state—these are all expressions of the desire to maintain peace. In this sense we must go on guard for peace, we must do better work in all fields.

In connection with the plebiscite we must report on the extent to which the programme of the National Front of Democratic Germany, decided on last August, is being carried out, and we must listen to the voice of the public on this point. Since last August a whole series of laws and regulations have been promulgated putting this programme into effect.

The most important law is the economic plan for the first year of the Five Year Plan. In the meetings and discussions held in connection with the plebiscite we must talk over the lessons learnt in putting these laws and regulations into effect, showing the mistakes and shortcomings and helping to improve the manner in which the government machine and the economic machine work. We can look back on some important successes. In 1950 the gross production plan was fulfilled by 109 %. The plan for goods turnover was fulfilled 107.1 %. Retail prices for food in the state shops (HO) were reduced to 57.4 % between April 1950 and January 1951, that is to say they were practically halved. The state shops increased their turn-over by 73.7 %. The quality of the goods available, including foodstuffs, was considerably improved. The number of trade schools was increased from 1679 to 2169, with a total of 882,000 pupils. Even foreign observers who do not sympathise with us can no longer ignore our economic progress. According to the "New York Herald Tribune" on April 28th, Western Allied officials have declared:

"In 1950 there was a clear economic upsurge in the territory of the German Democratic Republic."

The paper stated that production in heavy industry and in the chemical and engineering industries had increased and continued:

"This ensures a good foundation for raising the standards of living in the German Democratic Republic."

In West Germany, as a result of the policy of remilitarisation and because of the way in which the Adenauer government supports the interests of monopoly capital, prices are continually rising. In the German Democratic Republic on the other hand, the price level is stable and continuous efforts are being made to reduce the prices.

The main jobs to be done in order to carry out the economic plan in the first year of the Five Year Plan are: the introduction of new methods of work based on Soviet experiences; the working out and agreement on factory collective contracts; and the exact calculation of technically based norms of work.

We shall be able to carry out the great tasks of production better the more facilities we extend to the technical intelligentsia, so that they can do their jobs better. Raising the level of expert knowledge of the workers and giving our young people proper training will also help us to solve these problems. It is very important to raise the level of education of the working people through the development of cultural work.

The struggle for higher labour productivity, for better quality and for economy with time, money and raw material; all these things are a contribution to the fight for German unity, and all of these things help to improve the life of the workers more swiftly and to convince the West Germans of the correctness of the path we follow.

Each new invention by our engineers, technicians and activists, each instance of the use of new working methods, each improvement in agriculture, is a blow at the warmongers. These things strengthen our economy and our democratic state and thus help the patriotic forces in West Germany to win the support of the majority of the population.

We want to express the difference between our state and the "Federal Republic of Adenauer and Schumacher" in the following ways:

That we work in accordance with a model economic plan.

That we have no unemployment.

That our finances are in order and we have no budget deficit.

That we are developing a higher productivity of labour than is possible in West Germany under the present circumstances, and are raising the standard of living of the people.

That the trade unions are guaranteed a share in economic decisions.

That we develop a model school system and publish better school books than those in West Germany.

That we cultivate the national heritage in science and art and develop our heritage creatively for the benefit of the whole people.

We are convinced that we can win the support of the majority of the West German population for joint progress to peace and democracy by means of peaceful competition among the workers and the intelligentsia. Our answer to the warmongering and the noise of rearmament in the West is the great work of peaceful construction and of cultural production for the good of our people and for the future of the nation.

The government requests the People's Chamber to declare that the plebiscite against the remilitarisation of Germany and in favour of a peace treaty with Germany in 1951 shall be held in the territory of the German Democratic Republic from June 3rd to June 5th 1951, in accordance with the proposal made by the Central Plebiscite Committee in Dusseldorf.

The hour of decision has struck for the German people.

Every German who believes with all his heart that never again should a mother mourn for her son, must vote "Yes".

The German people must defend peace to the utmost.

Resolution of the People's Chamber on holding a plebiscite in the German Democratic Republic (May 9th 1951)

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic greets the decision of the Central Plebiscite Committee in Dusseldorf to hold a plebiscite in the whole of Germany on the question:

"Are you opposed to the remilitarisation of Germany and in favour of a peace treaty in 1951?"

The People's Chamber can state that the foundations have been laid for peace in the territory of the German Democratic Republic through the removal of the militaristic big landowners and the monopolists interested in war, and through the democratic change in the machinery of government. The constitution bans all forms of "revanche" propaganda, and all propaganda for militarism and war, in the German Democratic Republic. The People's Chamber expresses its indignation that the Potsdam Decisions, which were formally signed by the Three Great Powers, should be disregarded and broken in the West German Federal Republic, and that there the basis for German imperialism is being maintained with the aid of the American, British and French occupation authorities.

The People's Chamber observes that the Adenauer government has started along the road of preparation for war, by means of a policy of revenge, through remilitarisation and by robbing peace-loving citizens of their liberties. The ruling circles in West Germany are thus gambling with the lives of the entire German people, and threatening the existence of the German nation.

By its illegal ban on the plebiscite the Bonn government has itself revealed its "democracy" as the scanty camouflage for a dictatorship in which the government is the brutal tool of the foreign colonial bosses. The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic denounces this breach of the constitution, and is convinced the precisely this policy of force will make the plebiscite a great demonstration for liberty and legality.

The People's Chamber appeals to the sense of responsibility of all peace-loving German citizens, and appeals to them to do all that is in their power to prevent remilitarisation, since remilitarisation means war.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic approves the government proposal to hold the plebiscite in the German Democratic Republic on June 3rd, 4th and 5th 1951.

Every citizen who wants to save peace, and who wants a peace treaty for the whole of Germany in 1951, must vote "Yes" in the plebiscite.

The People's Chamber extends its greetings to all peace-loving citizens in West Germany, and expresses the hope that it may be possible for representatives of East and West Germany, meeting in an All-German Constituent Council, to reach an understanding on a common basis for joint proposals which can be submitted to the Great Powers.

Berlin, May 9th 1951.

Gather all forces for the maintenance of peace!

A round table conference for Germans!

Government declaration by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to the People's Chamber on September 15th 1951

Ladies and Gentlemen: the Government of the German Democratic Republic, filled with deep concern for peace, both for our people and the people of Europe, turns today to you as the elected representatives of the people. In the last few days the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America, Great Britain and France, have met in conference in Washington. The agenda of this conference makes it clear that a decisive stage has been reached in the preparations for a new and frightful world war. The governments of the three Western powers have now reached unity at the Washington Conference on the precise conditions for the remilitarisation of West Germany and for its conclusion in the warlike North Atlantic Pact. The three main points of the new allied policy for Germany are as follows.

(1) The occupation of the Federal Republic by Allied troops will be concluded by spring 1952. The United States, France and Great Britain will however retain the right to station troops in West Germany for the protection of the Federal Republic against possible Soviet aggression.

(2) German troops will be included in the Atlantic Security System. The strength of these troops will be determined later by the military quarters responsible—General Eisenhower's Headquarters. The German units will be included in the European army proposed by France.

(3) The Federal Government will be given equal rights in international questions, and will be sovereign in home affairs. The Allies reserve for themselves the right of intervention to prevent a totalitarian regime coming to power in Germany.

The camouflaging of these three points is so clumsy that it is impossible to swindle a single German with them. The occupation should end in spring 1952, and at the same time the Western powers receive the right to station forces in West Germany to protect the Federal Government against Soviet aggression. This camouflage and this deception of the people must not be allowed to succeed. The claim that security troops will help to maintain security in West Germany is an obvious deception of the German people. Hitler used almost exactly the same words when he began his piratical attack on the whole world and when his troops were already deep in Poland. The inclusion of German troops in the Atlantic Security System is nothing more nor less than the reduction of Germans to the level of colonial soldiers. It is intended that the Germans should be misused solely as tools in foreign hands, like the coloured troops in France. It is proposed to use the German people and above all the youth in the interests of a new war. Reduced to its final consequences the inclusion of German troop units in the proposed European army would serve only the interests of a civil war in which German should fight against German. The establishment of German divisions is not the road which will lead to peace and unity.

The re-establishment of full German sovereignty and freedom for Germany regarding foreign policy and foreign trade is impossible without the unity of the country, without the conclusion of a peace treaty, and without the withdrawal of all occupation troops. A democratic and peace-loving Germany must be given the chance to carry out an independent foreign policy and to determine for itself the character and the extent of its foreign trade. We need equal rights but not "equal rights" to participate in the preparations for war or to die on the battlefields. Such "equal rights" can only appeal to militarists and "revanche" politicians who have fundamentally different interests from those of the people. We need equal rights with other peoples for peaceful development in the political, economic and cultural fields. We want only peace and the undisturbed possibility of building our cities and developing peaceful industry, trade and agriculture. That is the right of every people. We want equal rights in these fields so that we, like all other peoples, shall have the right to determine for ourselves our policy of peace and democracy.

It is difficult to know what to make of a "sovereignty" in which the Americans interfere with German trade between West and East Germany. We are always in favour of East-West trade and appeal in the first place for the abolition of the 10 kilometre closed zone which cuts through the body of our homeland and which creates a danger to European peace and the security of the peoples.

It is clear to everybody that this conference is intended to mark the beginning of a complete step in the re-establishment of German militarism and in the preparations in Europe for a new world war. German militarism is a deadly menace to all European peoples and in particular to the German people themselves. There is no need to cite proofs for this statement, since history has given us proofs which are frightful enough. Since the ruling circles in the United States, and the governments of Great Britain and France acting under pressure from these circles, are obviously ready to conjure up over Europe this danger of German militarism, it is necessary now to mobilise the peoples and the German people above all, to resist this danger. It is obviously correct that war could become unavoidable if the warmongers were able to enmesh the masses of the people in lies, to deceive them and thus to drag them into a new world war. It is also obvious, however, that peace can be maintained and made more secure if the people take the cause of peace into their own hands and defend it to the utmost. The German people have the greatest responsibility in this question since it was their fate which was discussed in Washington. In the camp of war they know full well that without the German people, without its self-sacrifice, the warlike plans cannot be brought to fruition in Europe. That is why today such decisive responsibility rests upon the German people, responsibility which no German can shirk. No German will be able to say in the future: I did not know. Every individual knows what is happening and every individual can hear it today once again.

From the first day of its existence the Government of the German Democratic Republic has opposed the fateful development which threatens to plunge Europe

into a new war and to involve our people in a catastrophe of immeasurable proportions. Only the democratic unity of Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty with the whole of Germany are the sure guarantees for the maintenance of peace. That is why the Government of the German Democratic Republic has worked untiringly to reach an understanding with the Germans in the West.

These efforts reached their climax in the well-known letter which I sent to Doctor Adenauer on November 30th of last year, the letter in which I proposed the holding of discussions on the formation of an All-German Constituent Council. As you will remember Dr. Adenauer tried first of all to ignore this letter but finally, after seven weeks of silence, the pressure of public opinion forced him to tell a press conference of his rejection of the offer. Adenauer in his rejection made great play with all the real and alleged differences of opinion which exist or could exist between the Federal Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

Filled with the desire to reach an understanding on these great and fateful questions for the German people, the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic addressed an appeal to the Parliament of the German Federal Republic on January 30th, 1951. In this appeal the People's Chamber declared its readiness to negotiate and reach understanding on all the questions raised by Herr Adenauer. The People's Chamber declared that the representatives of the German Democratic Republic in the All-German Constituent Council would be empowered to negotiate on a whole list of questions. The attitude of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic towards all the questions raised by Herr Adenauer showed the whole world that we were filled by the honest desire to reach an understanding in the face of the great danger threatening the German people. Herr Adenauer and the Federal Parliament, instead of reaching agreement among the German people themselves, preferred to appeal for help to the Four Great Powers who were, at that time, meeting in Paris. They based themselves upon the absolutely false premise that the question of German unity could be solved without the German people. It is a dangerous and completely false point of view to await the solution of the vital questions of the German nation from someone standing outside. We all know that the Federal Parliament's hope for assistance from the three Western Powers proved both faulty and incorrect. The three Western Powers have no intention of removing the tension in Europe. The partitioning of Germany is the ideal condition for the fulfillment of American political aims. The Washington Conference has not removed the division of Germany, but has rather strengthened and deepened this division. It is thus completely clear that the Western Powers would not permit the Parliamentary elections proposed in the Four Point Programme of the Federal Parliament, since such elections would undermine their aggressive policy in the German question. Without understanding being reached between the Germans themselves the question of unity cannot be solved. Our slogan "A German round-table Conference" was correct, regarded from the point of view of national Ger-

man policy, since it directed the attention of the Germans to their own internal interests and because it suits the life of our people. The point of view adopted by the Federal Parliament on March 9th 1951, was false since it focussed the attention of the Germans on a foreign conference table instead of on their own affairs. The Americans, the British and the French have no desire for understanding among the Germans. They are indeed conducting a policy which prevents the Germans sitting down round a conference table and reaching agreement. American policy consists of setting German against German in order to win German youth as cannon fodder for American interests.

Adenauer's statements showed clearly that certain circles of the Federal Government aim to carry out at all costs the rearmament of West Germany which had been ordered by the American-British controllers and which had been greeted with enthusiasm by the German militarists and "revanche" politicians. In the months which lie behind us the German people have seen that Herr Adenauer and the politicians who surround him have no desire for an agreement between Germans since this would interrupt their plans for remilitarisation. In the face of Herr Adenauer's attitude I can only express my deepest regret that it is possible in West Germany to act against the wishes of the people and the interests of the nation. Herr Adenauer's weakness for secret behind-the-scenes policy is so well known that the question is justified as to what other promises he has made in the name of West Germany to the Anglo-American interventionists without the knowledge of the German people.

The aims of the Bonn Federal Government are shown more and more clearly by its deeds. The re-establishment of the war potential of West German economy has made considerable further progress. On the same day on which Adenauer made his statement, war economic controls were imposed on raw materials. Shortly afterwards so-called Raw Material Commissioners were named for coal, steel, iron, chemical raw materials, non-ferrous metals and for textiles. The whole of foreign trade was put at the service of rearmament. The arms industry has been encouraged and peace industry further restricted.

At the same time the preparations for the re-establishment of a German Wehrmacht and the conversion of West Germany into a deployment area for a new war are going ahead. West German police units have been converted into regular troops units, a conscription law is being prepared, and the "Security Office" in the Bonn Government is beginning to look more and more like a war industry. Sea and air rearmament is being pressed ahead. New reports on the conversion of farm lands into air-fields, manoeuvre grounds and shooting ranges are constantly coming in. The National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany has issued a White Book on the American and British policy of intervention in West Germany and the revival of German imperialism. This book is crammed with authentic material on the rearmament of West Germany, material which proves without possibility of contradiction, the warmongering policy of certain circles in the Bonn Government and the men who stand behind them.

The infamous Schuman Plan also serves rearmament — this plan which was signed by Herr Adenauer without proper authority, and to which the leadership of the trade unions and the Social Democrats have agreed, despite the fake opposition put up by Schumacher. This plan puts into the hands of the American war interests control over Ruhr coal and West German heavy industry. The coal shortage in West Germany and the rejection of the German demand for a change in the coal export quota show that the German population already have to make severe sacrifices for the war preparations. The Germans will freeze and the Americans will make money.

It is already obvious that the population of West Germany are being ruined by the policy of rearmament carried out by the Bonn Government on the orders of the American-British imperialists. Instead of granting the German people a peace treaty which they have desired for so long, and thus creating conditions favourable to the development of peaceful construction, the comedy of "ending the state of war" is staged. This does not only postpone the conclusion of a peace treaty and the withdrawn of occupation troops for an indeterminate period, but at the same time it heaps undearable new burdens on the shoulders of the people. A condition for ending the state of war was the recognition of the old German foreign debts amounting to 11 thousand million German Marks, a condition accepted without resistance by the Adenauer Government. This was followed by the annulment of the old German foreign holdings to the advantage of the imperialist powers. The West German population must thus shoulder the tremendous burden of over 30 thousand million German Marks in foreign debts, including indebtedness arising out of the Marshall Plan. In addition there are the occupation costs amounting to more than 11 thousand million Marks annually, costs which have greatly increased owing to the reinforcement of the intervention troops, and the costs of remilitarisation which are swelling daily. It can already be seen that the preparations for a new world war are plunging the West German people into extreme poverty. The stubborn wage struggles of West German workers, the miners, metal workers and other groups, are another proof of the fact that unbearable living conditions are being created for the West German population by the remilitarisation policy pursued by the Adenauer Government. Workers, office employees, peasants and intellectual workers are fighting hard against the progressive worsening of their standards of living. They can be sure of our full sympathy in their struggles.

The greatest danger however is that the prevention of a peace treaty and that the remilitarisation will result in the preparation of a new war, which will menace not only the material standard of living of the West German people but their very lives. The American-British instigators of war and their West German assistants aim to use West Germany as deployment ground and battlefield for the new slaughter. After the experience gained in the last world war every German can imagine vividly what this would mean for our people. Not only would the hundreds of thousands of youngsters in the uniform of American

mercenaries give their blood, but hundreds of West German towns and villages would be laid waste. Millions of women, children and old people would be buried under the ruins, and anybody who had the enormous luck to live through it all would wander like a leper through the desert of ruins which had once been his home. After the appalling experience of the second world war every thinking German realises that preparation for, or participation in, a third world war is nothing more nor less than damnable and suicidal crime.

The overwhelming majority of our people, including those in West Germany, have seen the truth of this, and that is why they oppose almost unanimously Adenauer's policy of remilitarisation. In the German Democratic Republic more than 99 % of the electorate took part in a plebiscite and 96 % voted against the remilitarisation of Germany and in favour of the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1951. That shows the true feeling of the German people in that part of the country where they can express without hindrance their standpoint with regard to remilitarisation. More than 12½ million votes were given in the German Democratic Republic against remilitarisation and these votes will not be without influence in the developments throughout Germany. These 12½ million votes weigh heavy when they are cast into the German scales. These 12½ million people who have decided in favour of a peace treaty in 1951 are not political children who can be satisfied by play-acting or by substitutes.

In West Germany too, in all places where it was possible to carry out a plebiscite, 80 or 90 % of the population voted against remilitarisation. The warmongers in the Bonn Government know well that the overwhelming majority of the German people do not want remilitarisation. That is why they banned the plebiscite, thus breaking their own constitution, the Bonn Basic Law. Well-known lawyers and a number of court decisions in West Germany have proved without a shadow of doubt the illegal and unconstitutional nature of this ban. Even the Bonn Minister of the Interior Lehr has been compelled to confess the illegality of his ban. On April 26th, 1951, in a debate in the Bonn Federal Parliament, he stated:

"The determination of public opinion by means of an unofficial poll is, by and large, nothing unusual in a democratic state, and under normal conditions there can be nothing against it."

If Herr Lehr now wants to argue that the conditions are abnormal, then we must point out that the abnormality in West Germany has been created by the fact that the Adenauer Government is carrying out remilitarisation against the wishes of from 80 to 90 % of the population; that the Adenauer Government tramples ruthlessly upon the desires of this great majority; and that the Adenauer Government prohibits the people from expressing their opinions upon a question which vitally affects every single one of them. The abnormal conditions in West Germany consist in the fact that Adenauer, Lehr, Kaiser and Schumacher, who talk so much of democracy and freedom, have banned a legal ple-

biscite by fascist methods of suppression. It is time to end the suppression of the opinion of the people. It is time to strip the "democratic" camouflage from Lehr and Kaiser so that the people can see them in their true light as tyrants. The German people must be given a chance to express freely their desire for peace and for the prevention of the remilitarisation of Germany.

The West German war instigators attempt to justify this brutal suppression of the wishes of the people by arguing that the plebiscite against remilitarisation is a Communist affair. Apart from the fact that it is idiotic to equate "Communist" with "bad" this statement is a lie aimed against the Communists who have proved themselves to be the most consistent fighters for peace.

It is well-known that the idea of a plebiscite is supported by the former Federal Minister of the Interior Dr. Heinemann, who is today still a member of the West German Christian Democratic Union. It is well known that many men in West German public life who are anything but Communists have made public statements against remilitarisation. In particular the churches and their representatives have repeatedly warned against remilitarisation and called for the safeguarding of peace, basing themselves upon their feelings of Christian responsibility. The courageous actions of Pastor Niemöller should be recalled here. Only a few days ago the Council of the Evangelical Church of Germany, meeting at Tutzing on the Starnberger See, recalled the peace resolution passed by the All-German Synod held on April 1950 in Weissensee, Berlin, and at the same time issued a warning:

"We beg the Government and the representatives of the German people to oppose themselves at all costs to the mad idea that another war would bring a change in our fortunes. We welcome therefore all proposals leading to a law on the refusal to do war service."

A Conference of Catholic bishops in Fulda spoke out with emphasis against remilitarisation and in favour of the maintenance of peace. In addition to church leaders many leading politicians of all views have raised their warning voices against the war policy of Adenauer.

All these facts show the childishness of the allegation that the fight against remilitarisation is exclusively a Communist affair.

The fight against remilitarisation and for the early conclusion of a peace treaty is the urgent call of the German nation, which feels its very existence threatened by the policy of the Bonn Government which would bring destruction.

The campaign of hate against the Soviet Union is also criminal. This campaign is based upon the lie that the Soviet Union menaces other peoples. Word has however probably got around by now that it is not the Soviet Union which is setting up military bases in all parts of the world but the United States; that it is not Soviet troops who are waging war in foreign countries but US

troops who are turning Korea into a desert; that it is not the Soviet Government which rejects the peaceful settlement of international questions but the Government of the United States.

Again and again in their own affairs the German people have received proof of the desire for peace and the readiness to help of the Soviet Government. The Government of the USSR has given untiring help to the German people in their efforts to attain a just Peace Treaty. The Soviet Union has honourably and publicly proposed the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of the occupation troops. Why should this proposal not be followed in the interests of Germany? Why should anyone fear the withdrawal of foreign troops from Germany? The peace appeal made by the Presidium of the People's Chamber to the Paris Preliminary Conference of the Deputy Foreign Ministers on March 5th 1951, was supported only by the Soviet representative Gromyko and ignored by the representatives of the three Western Powers. If, despite these facts, the West German "revanche" politicians and their bosses accuse the Soviet Union of warlike intentions, they only prove thereby that they are steering the same course as Hitler. The German people well remember that Hitler prepared his war of conquest by means of a huge campaign of hate against the Soviet Union. The German people remember even better, however, the bitter lesson of the second world war — the lesson that enmity to the Soviet Union leads to disaster for the German people. The power of the Soviet Union has been greatly increased by the successful fulfillment of the post-war Five Year Plan. The People's Democracies are strong allies of the Soviet Union. Only madmen filled with hate, people like Schumacher, can rave today of the battles of a new world war being fought out on the banks of the Vistula or on the Oder. Anybody who has kept any sound sense of judgement can clearly see that West Germany, as the battlefield for a new war, would be destroyed. The American-British warmongers know that too; otherwise they would not prepare demolition chambers in bridges and cliffs ready for their retreat.

The German people however have no intention of being a nation of suicides. That is why they must finally abandon the course of enmity towards the Soviet Union and strive for honest and close friendship with the Soviet people.

We want to live in peace and friendship with all peoples as with the Soviet people. In particular I should like to express our desire for friendly and peaceful relations with the French people. In modern history France has been three times the victim of Prussian-German militarism. From their own bitter experience the French people know the aggressive character and the brutal terror of the German militarists. It is thus very understandable and correct when the French people feel that their security is menaced by the remilitarisation of West Germany and the policy of its Government. In the second world war the French people were the victims of their own ruling class who hoped, at Munich, to divert blood-thirsty German imperialism from France. The part played in those days by Munich is played today by the Plevan Plan. The

originators of this Plan are trying to convince the French people that French security will be guaranteed by the formal inclusion of the German Wehrmacht in a European army. This calculation is just as faulty as the calculation at Munich. German patriots welcome French opposition to West German remilitarisation and feel themselves at one with the French people in the struggle for security in Europe.

Peace can only be made secure by an understanding between the peoples and not by armaments and war preparations. That is why the German people want an understanding and peaceful co-operation with all peoples including the people of the United States and Great Britain.

A signal of alarm for all peace-loving people is the separate peace with Japan which has just been concluded. It is grotesque that this treaty, pretending to be a peace treaty, should be concluded without the participation of the Soviet Union and People's China, which are the nearest neighbours of Japan and which played a weighty part in the war with Japan. Other Asiatic countries like India and Burma were also not participants in this treaty. The directors of the San Francisco Conference cynically disclosed their provocative intentions by including such vassal states as Salvador and Nicaragua in place of the states named above. The protests made by the democratic organisations of Japan were consigned to the waste-paper basket. The treaty was concluded between the American-British instigators of war and the representatives of Japanese militarism. This treaty is no peace treaty but rather a link in the chain of war preparations. That is why it has not a word to say about the destruction of Japanese militarism and why it was immediately amplified by a "Security Pact" with the United States which does not ensure peace but which certainly prepares for war. What happened in San Francisco with Japan should happen in another form in Washington with Germany. The eastern neighbours of Germany and in particular the Soviet Union were excluded; the clearly expressed desire of the German people was disregarded; and under these conditions decisions were taken on the inclusion of West Germany in the American-British war plans and on the open and undisguised establishment of German militarism. In Washington the warmongers are bargaining about the size of the tribute of blood which the German people are expected to pay to the American monopolists. The Washington negotiations are a serious menace to the lives and limbs of millions of Germans, a menace to the entire German nation.

The communique of the Washington Conference of the three Western Foreign Ministers, published today, shows with complete clarity the lying nature of the chatter about sovereignty and equal rights for Germany, and shows how cunning the plans are which have been made for the further national enslavement of the peace-loving population of West Germany.

I have already shown that the Washington decisions serve the destructive and criminal end of integrating West Germany in the aggressive, imperialist Atlantic

Pact system. This conjures up for our people the danger of being involved in a murderous and destructive war which would also be a war between Germans.

In addition, the special rights which the western imperialist governments reserve to themselves mean a far-going intervention in the sovereignty and democratic equality of rights of the German people.

The governments of the United States, Great Britain and France have reserved for themselves, without any time limit, special rights which according to the text of the Washington communique are connected with the stationing of troops in Germany and the security of these troops. They are not content with this however. The Washington decisions specifically lay down special rights which are equivalent to a brutal dictatorship with regard to such questions as Berlin and all-German questions, including the question of a peace treaty and the re-unification of Germany.

These special rights are nothing more nor less than the unlimited continuation of the Occupation Statute. Only the appearance has been changed, with the aim of throwing dust in the eyes of the population in West Germany and West Berlin. These special rights just mentioned allow the foreign imperialist powers to interfere at will in the most elementary constitutional rights of the population of West Germany and West Berlin. The real aim is further to hinder German unity, and to refuse a peace treaty with Germany until their criminal plan to plunge Germany into the most awful catastrophe of all, a new war, has been put into effect.

Eisenhower, who has been charged with using these special rights in connection with the stationing of foreign troops of intervention on German soil, and the so-called security of these forces, is the real boss of the internal policy of the Bonn government.

The real constitution of the Bonn Federal Republic will be the orders of a foreign general.

It does not make any difference whether the three usurpers on the Petersberg call themselves a High Commission or a Council of Ministers. The American, British and French viceroys intend to rule the West German Protectorate in the future too. This would raise to a new climax the national degradation of the German people.

The communique of the Washington separate conference, published in the western press before today's historic meeting of the People's Chamber, confirmed to the letter the forecast which I had developed for you, and underlined once again the absolute necessity of taking action at this decisive hour.

Our love for the German people, and our sense of responsibility for the future of the German nation, make us raise our voices. We speak in the name of the 12½ million voters of the German Democratic Republic and in the name of the

millions of voters in the Federal Republic who either took part in the plebiscite against remilitarisation and for a peace treaty, or who were forcibly prevented from taking part. The hour has come to take measures to save the German nation. We cannot and we must not abandon our patriotic task because of the rejection by the Bonn Government of our previous proposals. We cannot and we must not wash our hands of the affair and leave the responsibility to those who are already overloaded with blame. The question is literally the fate of our people and the future of Germany. On January 30th 1951, after Adenauer had rejected the All-German Constituent Council, I declared:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic is determined, despite Herr Adenauer's declaration, to continue its efforts to reach an understanding."

Today I will carry out what I proclaimed on January 30th. The events in Washington demand from all Germans with a sense of responsibility immediate and basic measures of defence against the threatening disaster. The first and the most urgent condition for the salvation of the German people is, as it has always been, understanding between the Germans themselves. Anyone who has only a spark of love for his homeland in his heart, anyone who has any sense of responsibility at all, must search for means, at this decisive turning point of history, to clear the obstacles from the road and reach an understanding between the Germans. Basing myself upon this love and this responsibility, and searching for a new way to reach understanding, I have decided not to make new individual proposals. I want to ask the People's Chamber, as the representative of the population of the German Democratic Republic, what new steps we can take for the salvation of the German people.

Our proposal for discussions on the summoning of an All-German Constituent Council have been rejected by the Bonn government and the Federal Parliament. They used the argument that it was impossible to meet on the principles of parity, since the Federal Republic includes two-thirds of the German people. When we proposed parity we did so because we did not think it was necessary in the discussions to outvote each other, but rather to reach an understanding between east and west. The number of persons taking part in such discussions is thus not of decisive importance.

The other main argument used against our proposal was the question of all-German elections. In my declaration to the People's Chamber on March 14th, 1951, I stated:

"The authorities in the German Democratic Republic have left no doubt that they are ready at any time to send fully authorised representatives to discuss with the representatives of the Federal Republic the conditions for holding free, general, equal, secret and direct elections in the whole of Germany."

We stand by this principle of a free election now as then. We consider it obvious that conditions of free operation for all democratic parties must be created in the whole of Germany, and that the elections in the whole of Germany must be held under completely equal conditions. All persons, democratic parties and social organisations must be guaranteed full personal and civil liberties and equality of rights in all parts of Germany. Democratic organisations must be given the right to put up their candidates without hindrance and to create joint electoral lists or electoral blocks. In particular newspapers may not be banned before the elections as has regularly happened, for example to Communist newspapers, in West Germany before elections.

We are ready and willing to overcome all difficulties and to reach agreement on the really decisive points. These points are: the preservation of peace and the prevention of Germany becoming involved in a new world war. We know that a new world war could bring only death to millions of Germans — young people, men and women. That would be no solution of the questions on which the Germans disagree. That is the way of death. All these questions must therefore be subordinated to the great task of preventing war and finally giving the German people a peace treaty.

Basing myself upon these considerations, and after earnest and long thought and in agreement with the government of the German Democratic Republic, I propose that the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic should approach the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic with an appeal for the summoning of an All-German Discussion between the representatives of the German Democratic Republic and West Germany to consider the two questions following:

- (1) The holding of all-German free elections for a National Assembly to create a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.
- (2) The speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

We address ourselves with all possible earnestness to all political, democratic and social organisations in the German Democratic Republic and in West Germany. They should give their full support to the appeal of the People's Chamber for the creation of an All-German Discussion so that the demand for elections for unity and peace shall become a reality as quickly as possible. The partitioning of Germany is a source of degradation. Do we really wish to continue living in such a condition, which resembles the period of deepest degradation after the Thirty Years War, a period when German markgraves sold German soldiers to the foreign powers? Can we allow Herr Adenauer to revive this medieval period of shame with its trade in German soldiers? No, we can never allow this to happen!

I can already hear, ringing in my ears, how those who live only in yesterday, those left aside by developments, the enemies of unity, will say that our proposal

is only propaganda. Our answer is plain: agree to our proposal and you will see that the unity of Germany on a democratic and peaceful basis is no propaganda but can tomorrow be reality.

When we reach an understanding on the two basic questions of the German nation, unity and a peace treaty, this will dispose of the threatening danger of the German people going under. This will lay the foundation stone for a new Germany which will devote its united strength to peaceful construction. In a short period the wounds of war will be healed and the destroyed towns will be built again. The misery of the unemployed, the pensioners and resettlers will be more quickly removed, and above all the entire German youth will have a sure future. The German people will be in a position to cultivate peaceful relations with all peoples and through a free exchange of goods to contribute to the well-being of Germany and of other peoples. After years of national strife and destruction, after a period of poverty and misery, the German people will be able, by their work and their cultural achievements, to take their place again among the peace-loving peoples and make their contribution to the culture of the world.

Time is pressing. There is still time to turn from the fatal road which leads to a third world war. The first condition for this step is an All-German Discussion in which the Germans from east and west can reach agreement on free elections for the restoration of German unity and on the conclusion of a peace treaty.

We hold out our hands, ready for an understanding with all men of goodwill. The need of our people must be understood so that Germans from east and west may strive together in unity for the salvation of the German nation. I address these words to all who are ready to take the peaceful way for Germany. This path leads through All-German Discussions to elections for unity and peace.

Joint resolution of all fractions of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic (September 15th 1951)

To all Germans!

To all German democratic parties and organisations!

The desire of the German people for unity and peace has caused the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic to propose to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic an All-German Discussion between representatives of the German Democratic Republic and West Germany. The All-German Discussion should fulfil the two following tasks:

- (1) The calling of free, equal and secret democratic elections in the whole of Germany for a National Assembly to create a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.
- (2) The demand for the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the consequent withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany.

End the partitioning of our homeland! To achieve a peaceful life we must reach unity by a peaceful path. Germany needs peace and not another war, peaceful construction and not bombs and destruction.

The People's Chamber addresses itself to all Germans, to all democratic parties and organisations, with the request that they should support the proposal for the calling of an All-German Discussion. The enemies of unity must not be allowed to hinder unity and the attainment of a lasting peace for Germany.

Demand the calling of the All-German Discussion!

Fight for German unity and the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty!

Long live united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany!

A round-table conference for Germany!

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic

Berlin, September 15th 1951

Joint resolution of the Presidium and all fractions of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic (September 15th 1951)

The members of the German People's Chamber approve the declaration made by the Prime Minister in today's special session and direct the following appeal to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic:

Danger threatens our homeland. Recent events show that the refusal of a peace treaty for Germany, the continuation of remilitarisation and the retention of the partitioning of our homeland, all lead towards war.

If Germany is drawn into a new war our homeland will become a battlefield, a twilight zone of destruction, and millions of Germans, particularly the young people of Germany, will be plunged into ruin. It would be a fratricidal war of German against German.

The entire German people, all Germans of goodwill, desire peace and a peaceful solution of the vital questions of our nation.

The people have the right and the will to re-establish German unity, to preserve peace, and to ensure economic reconstruction for the benefit of all. The condition for this is that Germans meet round one table and reach understanding between East and West Germany.

This is the desire of the people and it must become a reality before it is too late, before aggressive imperialist powers plunge our homeland into the most awful catastrophe of all.

The creation of a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany can be attained through free, democratic elections to a German National Assembly.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic believes that elections to a German National Assembly are both urgently necessary and possible. Such elections must be carried out under the same conditions for the whole of Germany. Personal freedom and equality must be guaranteed to all citizens, and freedom of operation must be granted and guaranteed to all democratic parties and organisations. The democratic parties and organisations must have the right to submit their own list of candidates and to enter freely into such joint lists and election blocks as they may desire.

The people also have the right and the will to demand that a peace treaty be concluded with Germany as soon as possible, a peace treaty guaranteeing real sovereignty and independence and leading to a withdrawal of all occupation troops.

Together with all German patriots we are firmly convinced that the prevention of remilitarisation, and the ensuring of a peaceful and democratic development,

is in accordance with the interests both of our own people and of all peace-loving peoples in Europe.

In the interests of the life and the future of the nation the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic therefore proposes to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic the holding of joint All-German Discussion between representatives of East and West Germany. This Discussion would have to decide the two following questions:

(1) The holding of free, all-German elections with the aim of establishing a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

(2) The speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

We, for our part, are determined to conduct the negotiations with the representatives of West Germany in the spirit of honest understanding. We consider it necessary that the All-German Discussions should be held as soon as possible in Berlin, the capital of Germany.

Berlin, September 15th 1951.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic

The Presidium

Johannes Dieckmann, Hermann Matern, Ernst Goldenbaum, Vincenz Müller, Gerald Götting, Friedrich Ebert, Erich Geske, Grete Groh-Kummerlów, Wilhelmine Schirmer-Pröscher,

The Chairmen of the Fractions of the People's Chamber

Socialist Unity Party: Hermann Matern; Liberal Democratic Party: Dr. Ralf Liebler; Christian Democratic Union: August Bach; National Democratic Party: Vincenz Müller; Democratic Peasant Party: Berthold Rose; Free German Youth: Heinz Kessler; Free German Trade Unions: Herbert Warnke; League of Culture: Erich Wendt; Democratic Women's Federation of Germany: Erna Schäfer; Union of Victims of Nazism: Ottomar Geschke; Peasant Mutual Aid Association: Friedrich Wehmer; Co-operatives: Gerhard Lucht; Social Democratic Fraction: Erich Geske.

**Letter from Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the People's Chamber,
to the Presidium of the Bonn Federal Parliament
(September 22nd 1951)**

Dear Sirs:

On the 15th of this month I sent by courier a letter to the Chairman of the Federal Parliament, Dr. Ehlers, enclosing the decision taken by the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on the same day. This decision proposed to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic that representatives of East and West Germany should meet in a joint All-German Discussion to take decisions on the tasks of holding free All-German elections with the aim of creating a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany and speeding-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. In this letter I emphasised that the People's Chamber, in its decision, had expressed its unanimous determination to conduct the negotiations with the West German representatives in a spirit of honest understanding, and that it was felt necessary that the All-German Discussion should take place in Berlin as soon as possible.

Statements by individuals, factory delegations and from West German newspapers, prove that this proposal by the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic has awakened a great response. On the other hand it can be seen that a considerable part of the western press is obviously unaware of the full text of our proposal and has not published this text.

I hope that I find myself in agreement with the Presidium of the Federal Parliament when I point out that we have the common duty of seeing to it, as far as possible, that our proposals are discussed in a fair and proper way by the people. This is however impossible if the West German press is not given an opportunity of giving the public the full text of the decision of the People's Chamber. In the same way the government declaration made in the session of the People's Chamber on the 15th of this month by Prime Minister Grotewohl has not been brought to the attention of the West German population.

For my part I am ready to give every chance for a broad public discussion on the proposals of the People's Chamber in the territory of the German Democratic Republic, by seeing to it that the statement made by Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer should be given the widest publicity as a contribution to the discussion. I am convinced that if we, in this manner, give the German people the possibility of discussing our proposals freely we are only doing a duty which we are bound to do for the preservation of the peace and the restoration of the unity of Germany.

Berlin, September 22nd 1951

I am, etc.,
Johannes Dieckmann
Chairman of the People's Chamber
of the German Democratic Republic

**Government declaration by Prime Minister Grotewohl to the
People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic
on October 10th 1951**

It is one of the principles of our government to take the path of understanding, in accordance with our sense of great responsibility towards the German people and in the interests of the co-existence of all Germans.

In September 1951 the results of the Washington Conference illuminated, as by a flash of lightning, the great danger threatening peace and the existence of the German people. As a result we made another attempt to reach an understanding between the Germans themselves.

Speaking in the name of the government of the German Democratic Republic I proposed on September 15th 1951 that the People's Chamber should address an appeal to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic, suggesting the calling of an All-German Discussion which should deal with the following two questions:

1. Holding all-German free elections for a National Assembly to create a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.
2. The speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

The People's Chamber resolved to direct an appeal containing these proposals to the Federal Parliament and to all organisations in Germany.

Twenty five days have passed since then and we have seen what an importance this call by the People's Chamber has assumed, and what a great response our initiative has awakened in the hearts of the peace-loving people of Germany and of the whole world.

The appeal of the People's Chamber was also discussed in the Federal Parliament on September 27th together with a declaration from the Adenauer government, and the decisions of the Federal Parliament were published in the press, as you all know.

We have requested the Presidium of the People's Chamber to call to-day's special session in order to discuss with the deputies the position which has arisen and to take the necessary decisions.

The appeal of the People's Chamber has met with an unusually wide-spread response in all parts of Germany and among all sections of the population. This appeal has entered the minds and the hearts of all Germans. Not only the supporters of German unity talk about the appeal but even the bitterest splitters and enemies of the German people have been forced to devote their attention to it.

The press has given us a picture of the response to the appeal among the public. The answer given by the Federal Parliament does not correspond to the feelings

and the wishes of the West German population. A short glance at the West German newspapers shows this.

The "Weser Kurier" of Bremen attacks the argument that the offer of the People's Chamber was not seriously meant, in these words:

"It would be a mistake simply to hand-on Grotewohl's offer to the Occupation Authorities, claiming that it is wrongly addressed. In the question of restoring the unity of Germany, the Germans themselves are primarily responsible since it is a question of the fate of their nation."

The "Mannheimer Morgen" makes a similar comment:

"The many developments possible either at present or in the future make it useless for us simply to stick our heads in the sand and describe Grotewohl's offer as a trick. The offer may conceal very serious opportunities and our Federal Government would be well advised to get to know what these are by expressing its readiness to negotiate."

The "Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", which appears in Essen, sharply attacks those who stubbornly reject anything originating in the German Democratic Republic, stating:

"The West Germans cannot simply answer each offer from the east with stern rejection."

The "Badische Tageblatt" gives this warning:

"No stone must be left unturned in the effort to find a way for unity with our brothers and sisters across the Elbe... not a few Germans would prefer to live in a Germany which was de-militarised but which was united."

The "Volkszeitung" in Fulda takes issue with those politicians who support a policy of aggression and civil war, stating:

"We should not ignore this warning voice (the appeal of the People's Chamber). All the more attention should be paid to it since there are to-day, once again, enough fanatical and narrow-minded politicians and publicists who believe that the question of re-unification can only be solved with blood and iron. Those who reject the attempt to reach an understanding by peaceful means obviously set their hopes on a solution by force."

The "Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung" speaks out very plainly, stating:

"What is described as the defence contribution of the Federal Republic could easily make coming developments more difficult. We shall never get nearer to our great aim of German unity if we support fictitious solutions

which have their roots only in the torso of West Germany, and only in one half of Europe. In the dangerously exposed position of our divided fatherland between the massive blocks of world conflict it is very dangerous to want to rearm. Would it not be better to exhaust every possibility of a solution, the solution which appears to be presented by the offer to create German unity. Can any German feel secure, when he sees foreign tanks manoeuvring in Franconia, Hesse or on the Luneberg Heath?"

The "Neue Wetzlarer Zeitung" reveals the danger of the position taken up by Bonn, stating:

"Adenauer's declaration that he would not think of sitting down at one table with Grotewohl under any circumstances, does not appear to us to help things. This can easily awaken the impression that some people want to delay the re-unification of Germany until the Federal Republic had rearmed. This is dangerous."

We should pay attention to the opinions expressed in a leading article in the "Fränkischer Tag" which appears in Bamberg. The newspaper said:

"It is important, in the interests of peace, that the conversations on an honest referendum in Germany and about German unity should not be allowed to break down, if this can be avoided. Those in the east should give us a sign of their good will. We should be the last not to respond to such a sign."

In a leading article the "Kasseler Zeitung" stated:

"These talks on unity should be held in the interests of Europe."

The "Süddeutsche Zeitung" in Munich replied to the negative attitude adopted in Bonn with these words:

"The Chancellor has rejected Grotewohl's proposal but this does not mean that the whole business is finished and done with. Even the faintest possibility of re-uniting partitioned Germany is attractive to very many people."

To bring these quotations to a conclusion I should like to quote from the "Pfälzische Volkszeitung" which appears in Kaiserslautern:

"The new discussion on all-German consultations is extremely important as a really German activity, and it can win European importance. Nothing can justify us in rejecting in advance a feeler put out like this across the split occasioned by the 'cold war'. If we did this it would mean that we had turned our backs on peace, since peace cannot be saved through hate and sable-rattling, but only through arranging conversations on arbitration. For the Germans on this side and on the other side of the Elbe it is more

important to come together than to pull in opposite directions. German unity in peace cannot be attained in any other way. Discussions between Germans are always correct, in every single case."

And so it goes on. I could quote from many other West German newspapers. All these papers had to express the same opinion as the majority of the West German population: either we have an All-German Discussion or the danger of war will be greatly increased.

The unusual response of the international press to the appeal made by the People's Chamber emphasises the fact that this appeal had world importance. It must be emphasised that the proposals made by the People's Chamber were approved and supported by the peace-loving peoples of the world, and in particular by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the People's Democracies.

"Izvestia", the organ of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Soviet government, stated on September 17th:

"The People's Chamber has shown a practical way to re-unite all Germans who have an interest in a peaceful solution of the German problem and in the speedy signature of a peace treaty with Germany. The response to the proposals of the People's Chamber has shown their great necessity and importance. All peace-loving peoples give their support to these proposals."

On September 20th, General V. I. Chuikov, Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission in Germany, told a correspondent of the ADN:

"We believe that the German people and the bodies elected by the German people have the right to take into their own hands the re-establishment of German unity on a democratic and peaceful basis. In the same way they have the right to express the opinion that it is necessary to speed-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The right of the German people to take this action is derived directly from the decisions of the Potsdam Conference.

The present partitioning of Germany cannot and must not be allowed to last much longer. This division can be removed by the efforts of the German people themselves, with the support of the other peace-loving peoples...

You may, therefore, be certain that all efforts in this direction made by the representatives of East and also of West Germany will receive the most energetic and completely unselfish support of the Soviet Union."

On October 6th V. V. Kuznetsov, who headed the government delegation of the USSR to the celebrations in Berlin of the second anniversary of the formation of the German Democratic Republic, stated:

"It is absolutely natural that the Soviet people should honestly hope that the proposals made by the People's Chamber for the calling of an All-German Discussion, which should discuss the question of holding free democratic elections in the whole of Germany and the speeding-up of the conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, should be turned into practice as soon as possible. The German people themselves must play the decisive role in ending the partitioning of Germany caused by the American-British imperialists."

These quotations show the completely clear position taken up by the Soviet Union, which supports the efforts of the German people for a peaceful re-unification of Germany and the speeding-up of the signature of the peace treaty. Press comments from China and the People's Democracies have been just as friendly and just as positive.

Even the hostile foreign press has not been able to avoid making it clear that the People's Chamber has supported the cause of national German unity, while Adenauer has been speaking and acting for the imperialist foreign countries. The anti-Communist Paris newspaper "Combat" stated:

"The Germans now regard Adenauer as the spokesman of the Western Allies."

Particularly the Western neighbours of Germany are aware of the dangers created by the Washington Decisions not only for Germany but also for world peace. The Paris newspaper "Libération", stated:

"The Washington Decisions will create a 38th parallel in the heart of Europe, on the Elbe. On the other hand the unification of Germany would do away with all the arguments which the Bonn government needs to support the militarisation."

The semi-official Paris newspaper "Le Monde" said:

"America wants Germany to be rearmed immediately but the great majority of the German people are completely hostile to this rearmament."

It is this resistance which worries Washington and Wall Street. It is this resistance which the merchants of death wish to overcome. It is this resistance which, as soon as it takes more decisive forms, will wreck all the warmonger's plans. We learn all this from the "Washington Post", a newspaper in particularly close contact with the American government circles which states angrily:

"The West Germans are at the moment looking towards the East. Everything must be done now in order to regain the attention of the West Germans for a treaty with the West."

We should like to tell the gentlemen of Washington that the West Germans have absolutely no desire for an armaments treaty with the American warmongers.

Even the American press has had to recognise the enormous power behind the offer of the People's Chamber. It is the power which arises from the hopes of an entire people. It is quite obvious that the American policy must come to an unhappy end. Even the "Wall Street Journal" states in a tone of resignation:

"The integration of a German 'half nation' in a united Europe must fail because of the deep longing of the Germans for the re-unification of their country."

The "New York Times" comments in the same way, stating:

"The Germans, both those taking part in political life and those outside, attach much more importance to the unity offers than is done by the office of the American High Commissioner, Dr. Adenauer and his cabinet, and the leadership of the Social Democratic party."

When such a weighty newspaper as the English "Manchester Guardian" remarks upon the great effect of the proposals of the People's Chamber in West Germany, it is clear that public opinion in the West has noticed something happening in the face of which only Adenauer and Schumacher hide their heads in the sand. It is an event which drives the imperialist powers to fury, but which fills the peoples with hope.

There are signs of the beginning of a new development in West Germany. The path taken by the splitters ends in a blind alley, since they find themselves facing the mass of the people, who have formed themselves into a wall which cannot be climbed. The Paris newspaper "Combat" which certainly does not sympathise with us, has described the entire hopelessness of American policy in Germany in these words:

"Germany is moving towards unity, and there can be no obstacle placed on this path in future."

That is the position. We only need to glance at the movement which has been started in the widest sections of our people by the appeal of the People's Chamber. Parties of various sorts, organisations with the most diverse ideas, clergymen of all denominations, economic and professional groups, workers in the factories, peasants in the villages, employees, technicians, well-known scientists, women's and youth organisations, are all convinced that German unity must be attained for the good of our homeland. This aim is impossible without mutual understanding. It is impossible to impose conditions on each other by force.

We quite understand that there are people in West Germany who do not agree with some things in the German Democratic Republic. Such feelings are mutual, however. There are naturally many things in the Federal Republic with which we are absolutely not in agreement.

I will only mention the fact that in the West of Germany fighters for peace are persecuted and thrown into prison, and that, up to the present day, attempts have been made to stop the plebiscite on the question of the remilitarisation of West Germany, although dozens of courts have decided that this plebiscite is legal.

Does it help us to get any further when we throw our differences of opinion at each other's heads? Is it not much more necessary to sit down round the table and negotiate seriously and earnestly about these things in an All-German Discussion? As long as there is any chance to talk, it is better to negotiate than to deepen the cleft between us. It is obviously impossible to hope that we can achieve a change in conditions and in thought in various fields all at once in a country in which the people have been divided and set against each other for more than six years by a systematic campaign of hate, launched by the Western Occupation Powers. It is no help to our common cause if we provocatively lay those things which divide us upon the table. We believe rather that we must all try to negotiate first about those things which unite us.

Those who emphasize the questions which divide us do not wish to bridge the gap but to deepen it. Those who emphasize the things which unite us can have the hope of reaching agreement on certain questions by means of negotiations. We, therefore, judge it to be right to concentrate the discussion on the questions which concern all of us. We are moved to this attitude by a sense of inner responsibility for our people.

At the present moment it is quite clear what these questions are. Our slogan must be: "Through All-German Discussions to elections for unity and peace." In our proposals for an All-German Discussion we have not made a single demand or condition. We are deeply convinced that this attitude is in accord with the feelings and the wishes of the great majority of our people.

It is a great mistake to believe that the foreign powers can re-establish the unity of Germany without our help. Even if the Occupation Powers make a decision on the unity of Germany, we Germans still have the responsibility of reaching an understanding between ourselves in order to put such a decision by the Occupation Powers into effect. At the very best such decisions can only provide the outward organisational framework. It is the task of the Germans to substantiate politically the formal decision. The re-establishment of German unity and the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty is a question for the Germans themselves, and for this we need the All-German Discussion.

On September 27th 1951, the Federal Parliament of the Federal Republic discussed the appeal of the People's Chamber. The Federal Parliament did not agree to the proposals made by the People's Chamber, although these proposals had received the full support of the majority of the German people, as the response among the public showed. The Federal Parliament has given the People's Chamber no direct answer on the proposal to summon an All-German Discussion. It is

impossible to understand why the Federal Parliament gave no answer to the clearly formulated proposals of the appeal of the People's Chamber on September 15th. Although a clear agenda was proposed for the All-German Discussion the Federal Parliament restricted itself to defining its attitude towards all-German elections for a National Assembly. Election regulations can obviously not be dictated by the Bonn government or by the Federal Parliament. They must be established by mutual agreement. It is impossible to say: "We shall propose an election law and anyone who wants really free elections will have to accept this law." That is a curious sort of democracy. We cannot share such an attitude. We are ready to discuss all questions. We do not want to omit single question about which we can negotiate. The majority of the proposals on the conditions for holding all-German elections, the 14 points made by the Federal Parliament in its session on September 27th 1951, are acceptable.

Apart from these questions there are other questions which must be dealt with by the representatives of East and West Germany at the All-German Discussion, in order to ensure democratic elections in the whole of Germany. This applies particularly to the question of the international control over the elections. We think that it would be most practical to discuss these important questions at the All-German Discussions.

There are no sensible reasons for rejecting an All-German Discussion. Only a man like Adenauer can do it, a man who is capable of refusing to negotiate with Germans about Germany, while at the same time he is meeting behind closed doors with the foreign gentlemen McCloy, François-Poncet and Kirkpatrick, to barter away German youth and send them as cannon fodder for a third world war. Adenauer feels closer to these foreign gentlemen than to the 18 million Germans who live in Leipzig and Dresden, in Schwerin and Rostock, in Weimar, Halle and Potsdam. Adenauer refuses to negotiate with these Germans. The German people do not understand this. They will never be able to understand it. One day this man will receive the same sort of reply to his misdeeds as he already received on Sunday from the electors in Bremen.

We regret that the Federal Parliament only took a partial decision. The appeal of the People's Chamber proposed an All-German Discussion with an agenda including all-German elections for a National Assembly and the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

We, therefore, ask the Federal Parliament to-day to deal with a question it has not yet answered. The question of speeding-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is of extraordinary importance for the fate of Germany and is one of the main demands of the German people at the present time.

Everybody can understand that the question of speeding-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is the main question affecting the German future. A lasting peace in Europe cannot be secured without a decision being taken on

this question. That is why the peace-loving peoples of all European countries are interested in this question. Lacking a peace treaty, the German people cannot achieve real equal rights in the family of peace-loving peoples and cannot devote all their strength to peaceful construction. The conclusion of a peace treaty must be followed by the prompt withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany and the complete restoration of the independence of a peace-loving, democratic German state. This will also ensure the establishment of German unity and bring to an end its fragmentation in the Saar, and on the Rhine and Ruhr.

Since the Federal Parliament has dealt with one part of the appeal of the People's Chamber, the German people have a right to know what its attitude is on this other point. The German people cannot allow the Federal Parliament silently to worm its way out of defining its attitude on an All-German Discussion and on peace.

The government, therefore, proposes to the People's Chamber that it should demand clear answers from the Federal Parliament to the clear questions put. The questions are:

1. Does the Federal Parliament agree that an All-German Discussion, composed of representatives of West and East Germany, should be summoned in the near future to talk over the vital questions affecting the German people?
2. Does the Federal Parliament agree that this All-German Discussion should deal with these two questions: The holding of free all-German elections with the aim of establishing a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany, and the question of speeding-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

At a time when the entire German people are talking about holding an All-German Discussion, the peaceful re-unification of Germany, and a peace treaty, Adenauer has begun to hold secret negotiations with the three Western High Commissioners. These negotiations behind closed doors are aimed at widening the split in Germany and dragging Germany into a third world war. The government proposes to the People's Chamber that it should make a sharp protest against Adenauer's secret machinations. The Adenauer government must under no circumstances be allowed to drag the German people into the North Atlantic Pact, which would mean certain catastrophe for the German people, without consulting the German people and the Federal Parliament.

The government propose that the People's Chamber should request the Federal Parliament to pass a resolution forbidding the Adenauer government to carry on these negotiations, which are hostile to the people. At the same time the People's Chamber must appeal to the entire German people and to all German democratic parties and organisations to demand from the Federal Parliament

that it immediately prohibit Adenauer's negotiations with the Western High Commissioners on the integration of West Germany in the Atlantic War Pact and on West German participation in an European army.

The Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation expressed the feelings of the broad masses of working people, when it stated:

"The appeal of the People's Chamber is of the greatest importance for the maintenance of peace and the existence of the German nation. At this, the hour of the greatest national danger, the united strength of the 11 million members of the German trade unions and the entire working class must give the most effective support to these proposals."

It is impossible for anybody to ignore the clearly expressed desires of the German workers and employees who are organised in the trade unions.

The proposal of the People's Chamber has received great support from the entire population of the German Democratic Republic. In many meetings and demonstrations, in the press, in letters to the government of the German Democratic Republic and to the People's Chamber, and in many other ways, the people have shown how they are struggling to support these proposals and have demonstrated how determined they are to do everything to create a united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany and to achieve the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

In our Republic the appeal of the People's Chamber has led to a new wave of work competitions, a fact which we consider as particularly encouraging and which we welcome with all our hearts.

As is well known all democratic parties and organisations in the German Democratic Republic have given their support to the proposal of the People's Chamber, and this alone is enough to expose the ridiculousness of Adenauer's statement that only Communists supported the proposal. In the same way the West German population, with the exception of a small minority, welcomes our proposals and demands that an All-German Discussion should begin.

Never before has the desire of all honest Germans for German unity and for peace been expressed with such strength, and never before has discontent with Adenauer's policy, and the rejection of the imperialist warmongers been so clear as it is to-day.

We have repeatedly pointed out that the people are increasingly aware of the difficult situation in West Germany and that the masses are in a state of turmoil. Discontent and indignation with the policy of partitioning Germany and the policy of delaying a peaceful solution of the German problem is on the increase. The people want a peaceful re-unification of Germany on a democratic basis, the safeguarding of peace, and the possibility of peaceful construction. The more the Anglo-American imperialists and their agents in Germany attempt to suppress

by force this natural and logical drive by the German people, the more the forces of resistance arise amongst the people. The mighty democratic forces of the German people are showing greater and greater energy in their efforts to end the degradation and oppression of West Germany by the imperialists. Only the short-sighted and the timorous can doubt the victory of our rightful cause.

I should like to sum up some of the results of the appeal of the People's Chamber and its importance in the national liberation struggle.

The appeal of the People's Chamber on September 15th was an event of the greatest international importance and was a great contribution by the German people to the fight for peace. The peace-loving peoples of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism give their unanimous support to the rightful struggle of the German people, which is expressed in the proposals of the People's Chamber. Progressive people in all capitalist countries are also on our side. Prudent and clear-sighted bourgeois politicians in the Western countries consider it necessary to give their serious consideration to the possibilities of a peaceful re-unification of Germany opened up by the proposals of the People's Chamber. On the other hand the American, British and French instigators of a new war desperately oppose the acceptance of these proposals.

The working population of West Germany, the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the craftsmen and the patriotic part of the middle-class, support our proposals and are in favour of an All-German Discussion. The people's movement supporting these proposals is steadily developing and will continue to develop in West Germany.

There are signs of differences of opinion and a rift in West German bourgeois reactionary circles. Some are in favour of risking everything on one throw, rejecting the proposals of the People's Chamber on an All-German Discussion, and backing the Washington Decisions of the three Western Powers, that is to say of marching side by side with aggressive American imperialism along the path which will plunge Germany into the abyss of war. Others think it opportune to take a more cautious line and in some cases to support negotiations for a peaceful re-unification of Germany, but with all sorts of reservations.

The appeal of the People's Chamber thus mobilises the strength of the national resistance of the entire German people, makes it very difficult for the Americans to drag West Germany into a new war, and helps to develop the National Front of Democratic Germany against the imperialist conquerors in West Germany.

Since we are interested in reaching agreement we must be very conscientious and careful in drawing our conclusions from the decision taken by the Federal Parliament on September 27th. It is completely clear that Adenauer's government and its backers are hostile to the proposal made by the People's Chamber on September 15th.

As everyone knows, an anonymous spokesman of the Bonn government unconditionally rejected the appeal of the People's Chamber on September 16th, one day after it had been issued. This spokesman declared that German unity did not depend upon all-German elections but upon agreement between the four Great Powers. He described the German unity, at which the appeal of the People's Chamber aimed, as a mirage. This made all honest Germans uneasy.

On September 18th Adenauer thought it was necessary for him to reject the proposals of the People's Chamber, although they were not addressed to him at all. His radio speech said in effect that the Adenauer government had no desire for discussions with representatives of the German Democratic Republic on the peaceful re-unification of Germany and on all-German free elections for a National Assembly. Adenauer stated that he intended to negotiate with the three High Commissioners on the realisation of the Washington Decisions of the three Occupation Powers, which are aimed at turning West Germany into an American military base and deepening the split through Germany. In his speech in the Federal Parliament on September 27th, Adenauer was obliged to disguise himself as a supporter of German unity. Facts show, however, that Adenauer remains a frantic opponent of the peaceful re-unification of Germany. Together with his bosses, the German and the American imperialists, he has no thought of peace but only of war and revenge. That is the explanation for the refusal by Adenauer, Schumacher and their supporters to allow negotiations between Germans in an All-German Discussion. This is the explanation, too, for the innumerable conditions and restrictions with which they deck their declarations on German unity and on elections. They need all these conditions and restrictions in order to mislead the masses and to stop the peaceful re-unification of Germany.

The fact that the Adenauer government has started negotiations with the three High Commissioners of the Western Occupation Powers at the same time as there is talk of the peaceful unification of Germany is a deed of shame unparalleled in the history of Germany. Every patriot understands that Adenauer's negotiations threaten the German people with untold miseries.

I believe that there is no reason for arguing with Herr Adenauer here, since the anti-national character of his policy and position is clear to all. All his cunning will not suffice to hide his true position from the German people.

A united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany will be able to assume friendly relations with all states which are ready to work together with such a Germany on the basis of equal rights and respect for each other's interests. This will be possible above all with the powers which signed the Potsdam Agreement, with China, and with all our neighbours.

The determination of the entire German people to develop Germany in a peaceful and democratic way would win for the German people the confidence of the other peoples of Europe and would create the conditions necessary for Germany to flourish in peace. It is also plain that the conclusion of a peace

treaty and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany would remove the heavy burden of occupation costs and all other open and hidden drags on the economy. The conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of the occupation troops would give our homeland the right and the possibility to follow an independent policy at home and abroad and to release our people, once and for all, from the frightful menace of a new war.

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that we should neglect no possibility of bringing about an All-German Discussion in order to re-establish the unity of our homeland and to secure a just peace.

Only the opponents of German unity and those who want a new war would rub their hands in glee, if we should weaken in our efforts to achieve an All-German Discussion and an understanding between the representatives of East and West Germany on all-German elections and the peace treaty.

Close examination of the decision of the Federal Parliament on September 27th shows that the Federal Parliament has left several questions open. This could lead to new misunderstandings and false ideas about the real state of affairs. After considering the position very carefully and thoroughly the government of the German Democratic Republic, therefore, thinks it necessary to ask the deputies of the People's Chamber to approach the Federal Parliament and ask for clear and exact answers to the following questions:

- a) Does the Federal Parliament agree to the prompt summoning of an All-German Discussion of representatives of West and East Germany to deal with vital questions affecting the German people?
- b) Does the Federal Parliament agree that this All-German Discussion should deal with two questions, the question of holding all-German free elections for a National Assembly with the aim of creating a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany; and the question of speeding-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany?

At the same time the government of the German Democratic Republic thinks it necessary that the People's Chamber should draw the attention of the Federal Parliament to the dangerous character of Adenauer's negotiations with the three High Commissioners and to take measures to stop these negotiations which threaten the German people with frightful misery.

That is what must be done. In these questions there can be no evasion or retreat. From Bonn we expect a prompt, clear and full answer.

Appeal addressed by the People's Chamber to the Federal Parliament (October 10th 1951)

The joint declaration of all fractions of the People's Chamber to the Bonn Federal Parliament on October 10th 1951 has the following text:

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States of America, Great Britain and France, held in Washington in September of this year, has revealed the great danger threatening Germany and the existence and the peaceful future of the German people. For this reason the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic addressed an appeal to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic and to all Germans and all German democratic parties and organisations on September 15th 1951.

In the interests of the life and the future of the nation the People's Chamber proposed in this appeal a joint All-German Discussion between representatives of East and West Germany to consider the vital questions of the German people. At the same time the People's Chamber proposed that the All-German Discussion should consider and decide upon the following two questions:

(a) The calling of free, all-German elections for a National Assembly with the aim of creating a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

(b) The speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

On September 27th 1951, the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic dealt with the appeal of the People's Chamber. Although these proposals have received the unanimous support of the German people, the Federal Parliament did not agree to them. However the Federal Parliament has given the People's Chamber no direct answer to the proposal for the calling of an All-German Discussion. It is not known why the Federal Parliament gave no answer to the clearly formulated proposals of the appeal of the People's Chamber on September 15th.

Although a clear agenda for the All-German Discussion was proposed, the Federal Parliament confined itself to defining its attitude to the question of all-German elections for a National Assembly. The Federal Parliament was completely silent about the second point of negotiation proposed, the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The question of the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is however extremely important for the fate of Germany, and is at present one of the main demands of the German people.

The People's Chamber believes that the majority of the proposals on the conditions for all-German elections (the fourteen points), made by the Federal Parliament on September 27th are acceptable. Apart from these questions

however there are a number of other questions which must be considered by the representatives of East and West Germany at the All-German Discussions in order to ensure democratic elections in the whole of Germany.

The People's Chamber believes that it would be useful to consider at All-German Discussions the question of an international control of the elections.

The People's Chamber expects from the Federal Parliament a clear answer to the two questions put by the People's Chamber in its appeal on September 15th 1951:

(a) Does the Federal Parliament agree that representatives of West and East Germany should meet in an All-German Discussion in the near future to consider the vital questions of the German people?

(b) Does the Federal Parliament agree that the following two questions should be dealt with by the All-German Discussion: the holding of free, all-German elections with the aim of creating a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany and the question of speeding-up the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany?

The People's Chamber stands unanimously behind its appeal of September 15th 1951, for the immediate summoning of an All-German Discussion and is ready at any time to grant plenary powers to the members of its delegation to the All-German Discussion.

Protest of the People's Chamber against Adenauer's war conversations (October 10th 1951)

The fraction of the Christian Democratic Union proposed the following protest declaration, which was unanimously accepted by the People's Chamber:

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic considers it its duty to warn all peace-loving Germans that, at a time when the overwhelming majority of the German people expect measures for a peaceful reunification of Germany, Adenauer's government has begun negotiations with the three High Commissioners which aim at the integration of West Germany in the system of the warlike Atlantic Pact. This would deepen the division of Germany and convert West Germany into a deployment area for American aggression in Europe.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic protests most sharply against Adenauer's anti-national action and demands that negotiations be ended. The People's Chamber calls upon the deputies of the Federal Parliament to resolve the immediate ending of these negotiations, which threaten to bring untold harm to the German people. All the same time the People's Chamber calls upon all peace-loving Germans to join in this protest.

Government declaration by Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on November 2nd 1951

On September 15th 1951, the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, acting in the interests of the life and the future of the nation, proposed to the German Federal Parliament a united All-German Discussion of representatives of East and West Germany which should decide on the two following questions:

1. The holding of free, all-German elections with the aim of constituting a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.
2. The speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

This declaration made by the People's Chamber to the Federal Parliament received the widest possible support from the German population in East and West Germany. Reports on this support are arriving daily in great number, from all parts of Germany. The appeal of the People's Chamber for the summoning of an All-German Discussion on the question of elections and the peace treaty have played a great role in increasing activity in the fight of the German people for German unity, against West German remilitarisation, and against its integration in the North Atlantic Bloc.

Despite the wishes of the Americans and of Adenauer the population of the whole of Germany support the summoning of an All-German Discussion and the speeding up of the German peace treaty.

The second appeal of the People's Chamber on October 10th increased the efforts being made by the German people for an All-German Discussion to be called. It also strengthened the belief of the West German people in that fact that the proposals made by the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic could be carried out.

At first Adenauer rejected our efforts to point out to the German people the question "to be or not to be" which stands before the German nation in these critical weeks. The German people did not permit him to maintain his sterile position of rejection. Public opinion, which had been aroused in all parts of Germany, forced him to make a statement on the questions affecting the German nation. What Herr Adenauer managed to reply however was very puny and insignificant. He sought excuses and tricks by which he could avoid dealing with the principles of the German question.

We had proposed the holding of general, equal, secret and direct elections in the whole of Germany for a National Assembly. Basing himself on this, Adenauer proposed 14 points as his government's programme for the holding of elections to the Federal Parliament and the German people. As he did this he rubbed his hands gently and smirked, hoping that we should reject these

14 points. We did not do Adenauer this favour. We could not do him this favour because we are determined to investigate in detail every proposal with the greatest earnestness and the greatest responsibility. We shall investigate these questions with the earnestness which they demand in order to achieve common action by all Germans.

The great majority of the German people understand our point of view and agree with it. This agreement cannot be changed by the results of the sessions of the Federal Parliament on September 27th and October 16th and 17th 1951. The People's Chamber, in its session on October 10th 1951, asked for a clear answer to the two questions which it had put on September 15th 1951.

The Federal Parliament did not answer these two questions in the sessions on October 16th and 17th 1951. Suddenly, during the debate on the budget of the Foreign Office, Adenauer plucked an arrow from his quiver and without previous notice shot it into the middle of the Federal Parliament, to the great surprise of the deputies. Parliament, thrown into great confusion, showed its worst side, and found little conclusive to say about the theme which troubles the entire German people.

Herr Adenauer purposely and knowingly gave false information to the Federal Parliament in its 168th session on October 16th. In his speech he made three allegations about my declaration on October 10th 1951:

1. He said that I had not adopted a positive attitude to any single point of the declaration made by the Federal Government and the decision of the Federal Parliament.

As a matter of fact I had said, and Herr Adenauer knows this very well: "We are ready to discuss all questions. We do not want to omit one single question about which we can negotiate. The majority of the proposals on the conditions for holding all-German elections, the 14 points made by the Federal Parliament in its sessions on September 27th 1951, are acceptable." In my declaration on September 15th of this year I had expressed our readiness to take part in joint discussions on holding free, general, equal, secret and direct elections in the whole of Germany.

If Herr Adenauer will compare my statements, which are not unknown to him, with the 14 points which he was forced to accept because of the opposition within his own party, he will easily find that agreement can quickly and easily be reached on the majority of the 14 points.

2. Herr Adenauer alleged in his statement to the Federal Parliament that I had been silent about the demand for an investigating committee from the United Nations.

This allegation too is false and is designed solely to muddle the West German population. In my government declaration on October 10th 1951, I stated on this point: "Apart from these questions there are other questions which must

be dealt with by the representatives of East and West Germany at the All-German Discussions, in order to ensure democratic elections in the whole of Germany. This applies particularly to the question of the international control over the elections. We think that it would be most practical to discuss these important questions at the All-German Discussions."

3. Herr Adenauer alleges that All-German Discussions would only disturb his negotiations with the western allies. These negotiations are supposed to have the aim of providing freedom for the whole of Germany.

Here again I can repeat word for word what I said in my declaration of October 10th of this year: "There are no sensible reasons for rejecting All-German Discussions. Only a man like Adenauer can do it, a man who is capable of refusing to negotiate with Germans about Germany while at the same time he is meeting behind closed doors with the foreign gentlemen McCloy, François-Poncet and Kirkpatrick, to barter away German youth and send them as cannon fodder for a third world war. Adenauer feels closer to these foreign gentlemen than to the 18 million Germans who live in Leipzig and Dresden, in Schwerin and Rostock, in Weimar, Halle and Potsdam. Adenauer refuses to negotiate with these Germans. The German people do not understand this. They will never be able to understand it."

The situation is absolutely clear and simple. Judging from the previous results of his policy we know that when Herr Adenauer speaks of freedom for the whole of Germany he means nothing more nor less than freedom for destruction, the freedom for the German people to commit the suicide which remilitarisation would entail.

Let us recall how the debate in the Federal Parliament went on this question. Six deputies criticised Adenauer and expressed the opinion that a way must be found to unite Germany peacefully. Only the Communists, however, found themselves able to vote against Adenauer's proposal and in favour of the proposals of the People's Chamber for an All-German Discussion on the question of elections and a peace treaty. The rejection by the Federal Parliament in its session on October 17th of the proposals made by the People's Chamber on October 10th was criticised by the broad masses of the population in West Germany although, under present conditions there, public opinion cannot be freely and properly expressed. Many English, American and French licensed bourgeois papers and bourgeois politicians also criticised the decision. The standpoint adopted by the West German press and the bourgeois politicians is a reflection of the opinion of the working masses and the patriotic sections of the German people. All of these desire the restoration of German unity on a democratic and peaceful basis and the securing of a steadily developing economic construction, and at the same time reject the American road to war, the arms race, and the destruction of German towns and villages. The "Hamburger Echo", organ of Adenauer's opposition, which, led by Schumacher and other people is generally ready to spring to Adenauer's assistance,

has the following to say about his negotiations with the western allies in its issue of October 31st:

"The Federal Chancellor has made himself a prisoner of allied tactics through his policy of granting advantages and making offers. The allies scarcely bother to conceal that for them this game with Dr. Adenauer has only the importance of an entracte in the great drama. Contacts between the big four are foreshadowed, and Adenauer is standing in the shadow."

First of all Dr. Adenauer tried to hide his point of view behind the 14 points, then he got mixed up in a network of terminological inexactitudes and lies, and now he is standing in the shadow. What Adenauer had to say in his government declaration on October 16th, apart from his inexactitudes, was simply to repeat some sentences from the note on the question of all-German elections sent on October 15th by the governments of the United Kingdom, France and the United States. Quoting from this note, which he had requested from the Petersburg to help him out of his troubles, he told the Federal Parliament that these three governments had formally declared that they were striving for the restoration of German unity.

We must be very sceptical about this declaration from the three western governments, since they are the same powers who first of all partitioned Germany and later deepened the division. Quoting from this note from the three governments, Herr Adenauer stated that they wished to apply to the UN to set up a commission, which should investigate conditions in the whole of Germany in order to ascertain whether free elections could be held. Adenauer alleged that the necessary conditions for free elections were not present in the German Democratic Republic. If this slanderous allegation should be confirmed by a commission under American control, Adenauer would thus make it impossible to hold elections. These are all only manoeuvres however, which are being staged in order to delay elections so long that they simply fade away. We Germans ourselves have the prime responsibility for deciding whether free elections are necessary and possible.

In Karlsruhe on October 19th Adenauer spoke to some 500 delegates of the Christian Democratic Union from all parts of the Federal Republic and from Berlin, who had gathered to work out a new policy for the party. What Herr Adenauer offered his party colleagues and the German people is fatally reminiscent of the speech which he made on July 1st 1945 when he was Lord Mayor of Cologne. At that time, six years ago, he stated:

"It will be very necessary for the allies to occupy Germany for a long period. Germany is incapable of governing itself. In order to give the people courage and hope however, we must retain as much freedom of action as possible, like a horse which is held in harness but with the reins loose."

If he regards the German people as a horse in harness with reins which must be held, then it is not surprising that he has a Minister of the Interior like Dr. Lehr, who makes dark threats such as "We shall blunt the fangs of the leading ravaging wolves". Herr Lehr must be told that terrorism does not work. Although the forces of darkness in West Germany control all means of influencing the population such as press, radio, police and administration, public opinion in West Germany is steadily changing in favour of the re-unification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis.

We absolutely reject the arrogance with which Adenauer said to 200 journalists in Karlsruhe "I would ask you to join me in a toast to the political education of the German people". Adenauer thus regards the German people as people who have not left their mother's apron strings and need to be educated. That is his real attitude to the German people. And his false sense of superiority makes him prevent them from deciding their own future. A responsible German policy which intends to create a peaceful and a better future without war and civil war must be conducted on the basis of an understanding between the east and the west of Germany. There is no room here for setting conditions. We have never left a doubt open in this question, and when we yesterday debated our Five Year Plan of peace and construction we repeated clearly once again that this plan could present no obstacle to an understanding between Germans.

We and the entire German public were astounded to hear that the Bill drawn up by the Federal Cabinet on "The Principles for the Free Election of a Constituent German National Assembly" was not intended to be a German law but an allied law. What should be held in Germany — allied elections or German elections? Herr Adenauer has chosen this path in order to rob the German people of the chance to decide for themselves on their election law and to provide instead an allied decree. The government of the German Democratic Republic believes that a German election law must be drawn up by Germans as the result of an understanding reached in Germany.

In his Karlsruhe speech Adenauer stated emphatically once again that the attitude of the occupation powers would be decisive for the restoration of German unity. This is what Adenauer understands under equal rights for the German people. We naturally have nothing against an agreement between the allies. It is obviously urgently necessary that the great powers reach an understanding in view of the international situation. The Soviet Union has made many efforts in this direction. This is proved by facts. On September 20th 1951 General Chuikov, Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission, speaking in the name of the Soviet Union declared:

"The present partitioning of Germany cannot and must not be allowed to last much longer. This division can be removed by the efforts of the German people themselves who enjoy the support of the other peace-loving peoples."

In addition the Soviet government, in its declaration to the government of the USA on October 18th 1951, stated quite clearly:

"The Soviet Union has repeatedly attempted to reach an understanding with the United States on other important questions affecting Soviet-American relations and on other international problems of first rank, such as for instance measures to make more easy the creation of a united, peace-loving, democratic, independent German state and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany."

In political circles in West Germany, despite the strong campaign of hate against the Soviet Union, there are signs of a growing feeling in favour of the creation of good neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and opposed to West Germany's one-sided western orientation as sponsored by the Bonn government. This is not surprising if you consider that the present situation of Germany and the most intimate interests of the country demand a good neighbour policy and lasting friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

It should be obvious that the geographical position of Germany in the vicinity of the Soviet Union, together with the common interests arising therefrom, are the basis for the necessity of friendly and neighbourly relations with the USSR. All far-sighted and clear-thinking German politicians in the past and the present have been decisively in favour of such a policy. On the other hand the United States of America are far away from Germany and there is a resultant lack of mutual neighbourly interests. This demands from every German politician particular caution with regard to the policy of the imperialist United States of America which have repeatedly in the past allowed other people, and particularly the Germans, to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them and which now wish to make enormous profits from a conflict between Germany and Russia.

There is no doubt that a sober appreciation of the importance of good neighbourly relations between Germany and the Soviet Union and the countries of central and south-east Europe may also be found in bourgeois political circles in West Germany. It was not by coincidence that in the session of the Federal Parliament on October 17th Frau Helene Wessel declared that a restoration of German unity was impossible without the Soviet Union, and that "it is necessary

to include the Soviet Union too in the sphere of our politics". Frau Wessel stated that "if we regard the restoration of German unity as the central question of the German problem, then we cannot slam the door to the East and to the Soviet zone". In August last year Herr Adenauer had raised to such a pitch his campaign of hate against the Soviet Union and against the German Democratic Republic that he could talk to our compatriots in the west in the darkest terms about the danger of an attack from the east. At that time he demanded a quick

decision on the participation of the Germans in a West European army. At the same time he demanded the reinforcement of the occupation troops in Europe to act as a security screen against the east. This policy, which would have to be paid for with the lives of innumerable people, is being put ever more swiftly into effect.

At first there was talk of a planned West German troop contingent 250,000 strong, but today the papers in West Germany report on plans to put into effect quickly the expected Paris decisions on West German remilitarisation which are already being worked out in the offices of the Bonn government. According to these plans the West German troop contingent should not consist simply of 250,000 men but of 450,000 men organised in divisions, each 30,000 strong. According to these reports recruiting is due to begin in January 1952. The towns of Hamburg, Hanover, Münster, Kassel, Frankfurt on Main, Stuttgart and Munich are earmarked for divisional command staffs and will be the main garrison centres of the new Wehrmacht. What Adenauer begged from the western allies a year ago, allegedly for the security of German, has thus become the more than bitter truth. Not simply 250,000 but 450,000 young Germans are due to be sent to a senseless death. The "security screen" bargained for by Adenauer is also due for completion through the Washington decisions. According to these decisions the occupation troops will be renamed "security troops" in an effort to swindle the German people. Occupation costs which have hitherto amounted to 4 thousand millions annually will be raised to far more than double this figure.

Adenauer wants to make this sell-out of German goods and German blood attractive to the German people by the alleged restoration of equal rights. This is nothing more nor less than a bad propaganda trick on Adenauer's part, and it has been described in the foreign press as deliberate misleading of public opinion.

We, the Germans in the east and the west of our homeland, have the responsibility to take ourselves the most energetic measures to overcome the catastrophic partitioning of Germany, and to end the dangerous remilitarisation of West Germany. Thus we shall be able to go forward jointly in east and west towards a better future, in which German aggression shall never again endanger any of the peoples of this earth.

In the first place this entails the creation of a German election law at an All-German Discussion. In order that this particularly German question should not be placed in foreign hands, as Adenauer has done, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has decided to establish a commission to work out the draft of a law on free elections to a Constituent German National Assembly.

The government will submit this draft to the People's Chamber, with the request that complete agreement should be reached upon it in All-German

Discussions. The draft election law will contain the proposals of the German Democratic Republic on the ways and means in which all-German free elections should be carried out. We stand by the proposal made by the People's Chamber to the Federal Parliament on September 15th 1951 for the summoning of an All-German Discussion. We are ready to submit the draft election law to this All-German Discussion. We have no intention of forcing it upon anybody, but wish to confer on it with West German representatives and to reach agreement on it so that all-German free elections for a National Assembly should actually take place, thus achieving the re-unification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis.

This is the only path which can lead us out of the fruitless manoeuvring which serves only to delay and confuse the issue. The men of Bonn want to deprive the German people of their rights. We shall continue to work with all our strength to give the German people the possibility, by means of an All-German Discussion, to decide for themselves on unity, peace and peaceful progress.

Declaration of the People's Chamber (November 2nd 1951) Establishment of a Commission to work out an Election Law

The People's Chamber approves the declaration made by the Prime Minister on the negative attitude adopted by Chancellor Adenauer and the Federal Parliament to the proposals made by the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on September 15th 1951, and October 10th 1951, for All-German Discussions. The Federal Parliament attempted to assign the question of free, secret and equal elections to a National Assembly to the competence of the allies. The People's Chamber regards this as a surrender in the face of the great national duty of Germans themselves to create German unity. By giving no answer to the question of the speeding-up of a peace treaty, and by attempting to hand over the running of the elections unconditionally to the UN, the Federal Parliament has also capitulated.

The representatives of the people cannot be relieved of their national responsibilities by decisions taken by the allies.

The People's Chamber therefore empowers the government of the German Democratic Republic to set up a commission to work out a law on the holding of free elections for a German National Assembly. This draft law should form the basis for the creation of an election law in an All-German Discussion.

Berlin, November 2nd 1951.

**Letter from President Wilhelm Pieck to Professor Heuss,
President of the Federal Republic (November 2nd 1951)**

The President of the Federal Republic,
Professor Heuss,
Bad Godesberg,
Viktorshöhe

Dear Mr. President,

I turn to you at a time which is heavy with decision for our people. The decisions taken by the Adenauer government during these days and weeks will have a fateful influence on the future of the German nation. They are leading to a still greater deepening of the division of Germany. The integration of the Federal Republic in the aggressive Atlantic Pact, and remilitarisation, the aims laid down by the Washington decisions, mean a growth of the danger that Germany will be made the scene of an incredibly destructive war, a war to which the entire German people would fall victim.

For these reasons the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic proposed to the Federal Parliament the holding of an All-German Discussion to consider the holding of free all-German elections with the aim of establishing a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany, and to consult on the urgently needed speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The fact that the Adenauer government and the majority of the Federal Parliament have rejected all proposals made by the government and People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic make it plain that they wish to prevent any agreement between East and West Germany.

This means that the Presidents of both parts of Germany have the duty, in accordance with the great responsibility which they bear to the people, to take steps to see to it that the questions which decide the fate of Germany should not be put in to foreign hands but that above all an understanding should be reached between Germans themselves.

I therefore propose a meeting at which we should consider how to prepare the way for the summoning of All-German Discussions in order to achieve a peaceful unification of Germany, and to speed up the urgently necessary conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Regarding investigation of the conditions for holding free elections I beg to inform you that the Government of the German Democratic Republic is agreeable to an investigation in all parts of Germany. The government believes however that such an investigation could best be carried out by the Germans themselves, through a commission composed of representatives of East and

West Germany under the Four Power Control of representatives of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France. I hope that the reasons which led me to take this step will be decisive for you too. I would propose meeting in Berlin, the capital of Germany. I should be very grateful if you could fix the earliest possible date for this meeting.

I am, etc.,
Wilhelm Pieck

Berlin-Niederschönhausen, November 2nd 1951

**Second letter from President Pieck to Federal President Heuss
(November 20th 1951)**

Dear Mr. President,

It was with regret that I saw from your letter of November 7th 1951, that you do not agree with my suggestion for a meeting. Concern for the peaceful future of the German people caused me to make this proposal. My responsibility towards the German people induces me to try everything to promote an agreement between the East and West of our homeland through All-German Discussions.

You do not agree with my negative attitude towards the policy of the Adenauer Government, although it is this policy which deepens further the partitioning of Germany and which, through the intended incorporation of the Federal Republic into the aggressive Atlantic Pact, and by means of rearmament, conjures up the danger of Germany being made the theatre of a devastating war to which the whole German people would fall victim. You state that this attitude of mine had made "the suggested talk questionable from the very beginning". However, in the judgement of the policy of the Adenauer Government there are differences of opinion not only between East and West Germany but even within the Federal Parliament and even within the Adenauer Government itself. Moreover, simple, sober consideration will show that if there were no differences of opinion no necessity would exist to seek the path leading to agreement. If there is honest endeavour for a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany and sincere preparedness to place the interests of the unity of our homeland and the recovery of its full sovereignty above narrow party or group interests or the desires of certain foreign forces, there can be no obstacle to an understanding.

I am firmly convinced that it is possible to reach an understanding on the two decisive questions through All-German Discussions:

a) on holding free elections for a National Assembly with the aim of creating a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany; and on the Electoral Law necessary for this.

b) on the demand for a speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

To these two questions, essential for the existence and peaceful future of our country, all special interests must be subordinated. That is why the high responsibility placed upon the Presidents of both parts of Germany must force them to promote in the most effective way an agreement on these vital questions of the nation.

You try to see a "positive and constructive proposal" in the decision of the Adenauer Government and the majority of the Federal Parliament to ask the United Nations to examine the conditions for free elections. In turning to the

United Nations with such a request the Adenauer Government reduces the German people to the level of a colonial people, a cause for resolute protest. It is the natural right of the Germans to reach agreement themselves on the carrying out of free elections and to examine the conditions for it in all parts of Germany. It must also be added that all international agreements concluded since the end of the Hitlerite war exclude the intervention of the United Nations in internal German affairs.

You describe as "a step backward" my proposal that an examination of the conditions for the carrying out of free elections in all Germany can best be carried out by the Germans themselves in a commission comprised of representatives of East and West Germany under Four Power control. I am, however, of the opinion that an agreement between the Four Great Powers on a peaceful solution of the German problem would be an important step forward.

I have answered you to the point, Sir, without going into the slanders and insinuations you direct against the German Democratic Republic and myself. I reject such a dispute, the origin and purpose of which are obvious. For the sake of peace and our people I consider an understanding the most important thing.

Berlin-Niederschönhausen, November 20th 1951

I am, etc.,
Wilhelm Pieck

The Electoral Law for all-German elections

Communique on the first session of the Government Commission on November 26th 1951

The Commission appointed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to draw up an Electoral Law for all-German elections for a National Assembly met for its first session on November 26th under the chairmanship of Walter Ulbricht, Deputy Prime Minister. The Commission consists of: Otto Nuschke, Christian Democratic Union of Germany; Dr. Lothar Bolz, National Democratic Party of Germany; Ernst Goldenbaum, Democratic Peasant Party of Germany; Herbert Warnke, Free German Trade Union Federation; Erich Hon-ecker, Free German Youth; Elli Schmidt, Democratic Women's Federation of Germany; Kurt Vieweg, Peasant Mutual Aid Association (Peasant Trade Co-operative); Hans Müller, Social Democratic Fraction; Walter Ulbricht, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Friedrich Ebert as representative of Berlin, the capital of Germany.

After a full debate the rules for working out an Electoral Law for holding all-German elections were formulated. The representatives of all parties, mass organisations and associations agreed unanimously that the overwhelming majority of the population in all parts of Germany considers as the foremost task the holding of all-German elections for re-establishment of a united, democratic, peace-loving and independent Germany. The joint declaration made by Dr. Adenauer and the Foreign Ministers of the USA, Great Britain and France, in their Paris communique, that the General Assembly of the United Nations should determine "whether free elections could be held simultaneously in the Federal Republic, in Berlin and in the Soviet Zone of Germany" is at variance with the will of the German people. For the German people the question of holding all-German elections is no longer a matter of discussion. It is solely a question of agreeing on the conditions for elections and the Electoral Law in an All-German Discussion between representatives of West and East Germany. Neither can it be a matter of "simultaneous elections" as the Paris communique puts it, in each zone. The German people desire all-German elections.

The Commission made the following suggestions for holding the elections:

The Commission reached agreement that the Electoral Law of the Weimar Republic of March 6th 1924 should be taken as a basis for working out an Electoral Law for all-German elections in order to facilitate an agreement between the representatives of West and East Germany at an All-German Discussion. The elections should thus take place on the basis of a free, universal, secret, equal and direct franchise with the use of proportional representation. The elections are to be held throughout Germany on the same basis and all fundamental democratic rights of the people must be observed. Freedom of political activity is guaranteed to all citizens. All democratic parties, organi-

sations and associations have the same freedom for their activities. They have the right to nominate candidates for the National Assembly and full liberty of electioneering. The right to express opinions freely in word, in print, in picture and otherwise is guaranteed throughout Germany. No one may be arrested or persecuted or suffer disadvantage in connection with his political activities. Each candidate to the National Assembly is guaranteed free political activity and personal freedom. With the adoption of the Electoral Law through the All-German Discussion all restrictions are to be abolished on passenger traffic between the zones and with Berlin.

The deliberations of the governmental commission for working out an Electoral Law will be continued on the basis of these principles. In the debate the representatives of all parties, mass organisations and associations stressed the fact that the partitioning of Germany was at all times detrimental to the interests of the people. That is why the utmost efforts should be undertaken to establish the unity of Germany. The great period of the re-unification of Germany has begun.

Working out a German Electoral Law

Communique of the Government Commission session on December 4th 1951

The Commission appointed by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to draw up an Electoral Law for all-German elections for a National Assembly continued on December 4th, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Prime Minister, Walter Ulbricht, its deliberations on the rules for the Electoral Law. The leaders of the parties, the representatives of the mass organisations, as well as the representative of the capital of Germany were all in attendance. The representatives of all parties and mass organisations of the German Democratic Republic heard with indignation of the Paris talks of Dr. Adenauer on a so-called "General Treaty". This treaty aims at hindering all-German elections and preventing a peace treaty with Germany. Such an agreement is directly contrary to the 14 point proposal made by the Bonn government for all-German free elections. Dr. Adenauer's agreement sanctions by treaty the arbitrary presence of foreign occupation troops in West Germany for an indefinite period. Every patriotic German sees that Dr. Adenauer is doing his utmost to deepen the split, and that his phrases about a subsequent restoration of the unity of Germany are intended to mask a policy which is directed against the national interests of the German people. The agreements made by Dr. Adenauer are incompatible with the national dignity of the German people.

The Commission is of the opinion that the Weimar Electoral Law was undoubtedly democratically adopted and approved by the German people. If this law were taken as a basis in an All-German Discussion of representatives from East and West Germany for working out an Electoral Law for all-German elections for a National Assembly, it would facilitate an understanding. It can only be beneficial if the traditions of the German people with regard to elections are taken into consideration. The Commission considers it possible that agreement can be reached on particular questions in a commission comprised of representatives from East and West Germany. It would also be the task of such a commission to agree upon guarantees for the carrying out of all-German free elections in all parts of Germany.

The application of the Bonn Federal Government to the West German Federal Constitutional Court for prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany stands in contrast to Dr. Adenauer's 14 points and is directed against the democratic liberties of the people. The banning of the Communist Party would be a step further in the preparation of an American war.

With regard to the control of the carrying out of all-German elections, it would appear suitable to reach understanding in the All-German Discussion on the setting up of a German Central Election Committee which would control the preparation and carrying out of the election throughout Germany. The question of international control can be discussed in the All-German Discussion. The plan

for the appointment of a UN-Commission, ruled by the dollar, to examine whether the conditions exist for free elections, is obviously contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the German population, who want all-German elections for a National Assembly. It would be a fundamental breach of democracy for the UN to provide the German people with an Electoral Law. The right to vote is the basic right of every people, and the people themselves must determine the conditions. Every people is sovereign in shaping its electoral system. Only on this basis is the sovereignty of a people and their National Assembly possible. After all, the German people have sufficient experience in preparing and carrying out elections, and absolutely refuse to be treated as a colonial country by the governments of the USA and Great Britain.

With regard to the Electoral Law itself the Commission believes that everything must be avoided which would give the elections the character of zonal elections. They must be all-German elections at which all democratic parties, mass organisations and associations have the right to nominate their candidates in all constituencies. It is most practical to arrange the constituencies in accordance with the division of Germany into provinces, with Greater Berlin, the capital of Germany, forming one constituency.

The Commission has received application from youth circles to grant the right to vote to all young people over the age of 18. In view of the co-responsibility of youth for the maintenance of peace and for the re-establishment of the unity of Germany, and in view of the fact that young people at the age of 18 have finished their apprenticeship and take part in the production process on their own or are engaged in study, the Commission is of the opinion that the right to vote should be granted from the age of 18 and eligibility for election from the age of 21.

The Governmental Commission for the working out of a draft of an Electoral Law for all-German elections will concern itself with the details of the wording of the law at its next sessions.

Declaration delivered by the government delegation of the German Democratic Republic to the Second Political Committee of the UN General Assembly (December 11th 1951)

Speech by Dr. Lothar B o l z , Deputy Prime Minister

Mr. President, Gentlemen,

I have the honour to make a declaration, in the name of the government of the German Democratic Republic and of the peace-loving German people, on the item on the agenda upon the establishment of a United Nations Commission to investigate the possibility of holding free elections in the whole of Germany.

The government delegation of the German Democratic Republic appears here as the spokesman of the new, democratic and peace-loving Germany which has arisen on the ruins left by the criminal Hitler regime. This new Germany is determined to abandon the old imperialist path of destructive wars of aggression in Europe, and to take the new path of peace, democracy and friendly cooperation with all peace-loving peoples. The German Democratic Republic is the basis for the development of a new, peace-loving, democratic Germany in accordance with the decisions of the Potsdam Conference. Our government, which was only formed a little more than two years ago, has already achieved important successes in peaceful construction, despite the short period of its existence. Its policy of peace, unity and peaceful construction is in accordance with the dearest desires of the overwhelming majority of the German people in the East and the West of our homeland. It is only natural, therefore, that the German people should expect their proposal for the re-establishment of German unity to be carefully considered. The government of the German Democratic Republic is trying to do everything to see to it that elections for a German National Assembly can be held as soon as possible under the same conditions of freedom throughout Germany. I should like, therefore, to explain the attitude of peace-loving and democratic Germany towards the various questions which arise in this connection.

The German people have been put into a very difficult position by the policy of the Western Occupation Powers, and of the Adenauer government dependent upon them. Six and a half years have passed since the capitulation of Hitlerite Germany and the ending of the war in Europe. Both before the end of the war and immediately afterwards, at the Potsdam Conference, the Allied Powers took a formal pledge to guarantee the transformation of political life in Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis, and at the same time to secure the unity of the German national state. The Potsdam Conference also foresaw the preparation of a democratic peace treaty with Germany, and this decision underlined the provisional and transitional character of the occupation of Germany by foreign troops. The German people welcomed with all their heart these generous decisions, which were taken on the initiative of Generalissimo Stalin who represented the Union

of Socialist Soviet Republics at this Conference. The German people, who had been sobered by the war and all that it brought, regarded these Potsdam Decisions as the expression of their own desires to break once and for all with the imperialist warmongers in Germany, and to join the camp of those nations which love peace and freedom, under conditions of full equality of status and national independence.

The entire history of Germany shows the German people, and all other European peoples, that the old path of aggressive wars of conquest and the enslavement of other peoples was of advantage only to the militarists and imperialists. The German people, like the other peoples of Europe, had to pay for this policy with millions of dead and with destruction and misery. The principles of humanity upon which the decisions of the Potsdam Conference are based give the German people the chance to build, by their own exertions, a peaceful and independent life and to construct a peace economy speedily.

The breach of these principles by the Western Occupation Authorities has led to the fact that Germany is still forcibly partitioned. There is no all-German democratic government, no uniform legal code, no unified economy and not even one single currency for the whole of Germany. As a result of this division the German people are threatened by a new and destructive war which should be waged in the interests of foreign multi-millionaires. For the same reason Germany, up to the present, has no peace treaty. This is unparalleled treatment for a great nation.

German imperialism, militarism and fascism are being restored in West Germany contrary to the Potsdam Agreement. Heavy burdens are imposed upon the economy and the population of West Germany by the presence of the occupation troops, and by remilitarisation. This makes it completely understandable that under such conditions the main demand of the German people, the main demand of all honest Germans, is the demand for the speedy restoration of German unity on a peaceful, democratic basis and the demand for the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the subsequent withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany. The efforts of the German people to put these demands into effect are supported by their awareness that only the peaceful unification of Germany can ensure peace in Europe and prevent a new war.

Although the Soviet Union suffered more from the Hitlerite aggression than any other country, the Soviet Union gives the German people her complete and generous support in these just and legal national demands.

The new peace-loving Germany also enjoys the support and the sympathies of the governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, the great Chinese People's Republic and the forces of peace in the whole world.

Unfortunately we cannot say the same for the governments of a number of other countries which play a leading role in the Atlantic Block. Knowing that their

rightful cause is supported by the democratic countries, the German people fight doggedly for the unification of their homeland, for the creation of a united, democratic, peace-loving, independent, German state, and for the conclusion of a just, democratic peace treaty with Germany.

It is impossible to leave a great nation in the centre of Europe without a peace treaty six and a half years after the end of the war, but this is what the ruling circles in the USA, Great Britain and France want to do. It is high time to give the German people the peace treaty which it had been promised and it is high time to withdraw the occupation troops from Germany. The German people fail to understand why the proposal that a draft peace treaty should be worked out within two months has not yet been put into effect, although it was suggested by the representatives of the Soviet Union at the Four Power Foreign Ministers' Conference in London at the end of 1947. This can only be explained by the fact that the representatives of the Western Powers have delayed putting this proposal into effect. In the same way the governments of the USA, Great Britain and France rejected the declaration of the Soviet government, made in June 1949 in Paris, on its readiness to work out a draft peace treaty within three months.

The German people demand the holding of all-German elections to a National Assembly and at the same time the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, followed by the withdrawal of all occupation troops. We have been authorised to make this demand here in the strongest terms.

The new democratic and peace-loving Germany is naturally ready to carry out honourably and conscientiously the conditions of a peace treaty signed by its representatives and to remove all grounds for differences between Germany and other countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, France, Britain and the USA. In this connection it is not necessary to mention the great Soviet Union which has shown herself to be the best friend of the peace-loving German people.

Since its formation the German Democratic Republic has regarded as its main tasks the unification of Germany as a democratic, peace-loving and independent state, and the safeguarding of peace.

In his first government declaration on October 12th 1949, Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl stated:

"The threatening danger of a new imperialist war gives us a convincing reason for establishing an active and firm leadership in the fight for the re-creation of German unity, for democratic renewal and for peace. That is why we have proclaimed the German Democratic Republic and have formed a provisional government...

In the basic questions of national unity and the conclusion of a peace treaty the government of the German Democratic Republic aims at a coalition of

all healthy political forces in Germany. The government will do everything which serves the unity of Germany and which serves peace; it will oppose everything which endangers the reaching of these goals.

The West German politicians, the Western Powers and the people of the whole world should know that the German problem can only be solved if the German people are granted the right of self-determination in their state."

With this aim in view the government of the German Democratic Republic, after making a number of other efforts to re-unite Germany, proposed to the West German government on November 3th 1950 that an All-German Constituent Council should be formed from representatives of East and West Germany with the task of creating an all-German, sovereign, democratic and peace-loving provisional government; of preparing a peace treaty; and of forwarding to the governments of the USSR, USA, Great Britain and France proposals in this connection for their approval. Further this All-German Constituent Council should take over the job of working out the conditions for holding all-German elections for a National Assembly.

On January 30th 1951 the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic decided to grant the representatives of the German Democratic Republic in an All-German Constituent Council full powers to negotiate on a practical basis on all proposals for the unification of Germany. Such proposals would include questions like those raised by the Federal Chancellor Adenauer in his declaration at that time about the creation of a state of law and a free form of government, as well as the question of protecting personal liberty and of ensuring peace.

Although these proposals by the government of the German Democratic Republic received the support of the broad masses of the people in East and West Germany they were rejected by the West German government.

On September 15th 1951 the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic addressed an appeal to the Federal Parliament of the Federal Republic proposing to hold a joint All-German Discussion of representatives of East and West Germany. This All-German Discussion would have two tasks:

First: To fix, for the whole of Germany, free equal and secret democratic elections to a National Assembly for the creation of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany.

Second: To achieve the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the subsequent withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany.

The People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic expressed its determination to negotiate with the West German representatives in a spirit of honourable readiness to reach an understanding, and underlined the necessity of holding the All-German Discussion as soon as possible in Berlin, the capital of Germany.

Speaking on this appeal, Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl stated, and I quote:

"We consider it obvious that conditions of free operation for all democratic parties must be created in the whole of Germany and that the elections in the whole of Germany must be held under completely equal conditions. All persons, democratic parties and social organisations must be guaranteed full personal and civil liberties and equality of rights in all parts of Germany."

On September 27th 1951, Adenauer in his government declaration to the Federal Parliament laid down 14 points for a German election, which were approved by the Federal Parliament of the Federal Republic.

On October 10th 1951 the People's Chamber defined its attitude towards these 14 points and stated in a resolution in this connection:

"The People's Chamber believes that the majority of the proposals on the conditions for all-German elections (the 14 points) made by the Federal Parliament on September 27th are acceptable."

On November 2nd 1951 the President of the German Democratic Republic, Wilhelm Pieck, wrote to President Heuss of the West German Federal Republic, proposing among other things that if it was desired to investigate the possibility of holding free elections such an investigation should be carried out in the whole of Germany by the Germans themselves. President Pieck stated:

"Regarding investigation of the conditions for holding free elections I beg to inform you that the government of the German Democratic Republic is agreeable to an investigation in all parts of Germany. The government believes, however, that such an investigation could best be carried out by the Germans themselves through a commission composed of representatives of East and West Germany under the Four Power Control of representatives of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France."

In a later letter to Herr Heuss, Herr Pieck expressly repeated this proposal. On November 2nd 1951 Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl announced in the People's Chamber the decision taken by the government of the German Democratic Republic to establish a commission charged with the task of working out the draft of a law for elections to a Constituent German National Assembly.

This Commission has taken the Electoral Law of the Weimar Republic as the basis for its work. This Electoral Law, which dates from 1924, is a democratic law. It can only be of advantage and can only serve the purpose of making more easy an understanding between the Germans if we respect the traditions of the German people with regard to elections, and base a new German Electoral Law on the Weimar regulations.

This fact, too, shows the clear desire of the government of the German Democratic Republic to do everything which can help the representatives of East and West Germany to reach free agreement upon the creation of equal possibilities for free, democratic elections in the whole of Germany.

To sum up on this question I should like to state:

First: An understanding between the Germans themselves is necessary for the peaceful re-unification of Germany.

Second: Free elections to a Constituent National Assembly are the quickest way to re-establish German unity.

Third: A law for the elections to a Constituent German National Assembly should be worked out in free agreement by representatives of East and West Germany at an All-German Discussion, in order to guarantee the same conditions for really free elections everywhere in Germany. The All-German Discussion should in addition reach agreement on all appropriate measures for the speeding-up of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Our proposals for holding free German elections and the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany through calling an All-German Discussion have received the support of the entire peace-loving German people in East and also in West Germany. Even the most reactionary newspapers have admitted this fact and it is well known throughout the world. Despite this the Western Occupation Powers, and the West German government dependent upon them, have brusquely rejected these proposals. They revealed themselves as opponents of all-German elections to a National Assembly for the creation of a united, democratic Germany and as opponents of the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with the whole of Germany.

This negative attitude is not a matter of chance. It is the result of their basic policy regarding Germany. Anyone who is in favour of remilitarisation cannot be in favour of free, all-German elections since approval of the German people to a policy of remilitarisation could under no conditions be produced by such elections. On the contrary, elections to a German National Assembly will lead to the creation of a united and peace-loving German state. That would be a decisive blow to all plans for preparing and unleashing a war. It would at the same time be an important contribution by the German people to a peaceful Europe.

At the present moment a peaceful solution of the German problem by removing the division of the German state would mean at the same time guaranteeing peace for the people of Europe, since this step would make it impossible for big business bosses from overseas to unleash a war in Europe and to enslave the European peoples.

The real aim of all-German free elections is to save the German people from the dangers of a new war, and to ensure the peaceful development of a democratic Germany by means of the peaceful re-unification of the country. The people who want war are using all their efforts to drag West Germany into the aggressive war block, since they need West German cannon fodder and because they wish to lay once again the main burdens of the war on the German people and the other European peoples. The Foreign Ministers of the three Western Powers, with Adenauer's participation, have reached agreement in Paris about the so-called "General Treaty". This "General Treaty" is, like the infamous Plevan Plan which was earlier agreed with Adenauer, an American plan for remilitarising West Germany and integrating the new West German Wehrmacht in Eisenhower's European Army. This agreement is in sharp contrast to the interests and the wishes of the German people and all other peace-loving people, and is an extreme danger to European and the security of the peoples.

Adenauer's signature of the agreement on the "General Treaty" on November 22nd 1951 in Paris is an act of national treachery unparalleled in the history of the German people. By means of the "General Treaty" and the supplementary agreements planned with the West German government the governments of the USA, Great Britain and France wish to reserve for themselves special rights which mean, in effect, the preservation of the occupation regime for an unlimited period instead of its abolition. By means of these special rights the three Western Allies retain the right of decision on the decisive questions vital to the German people, among them the regulation of all-German questions, i. e. German unity and the conclusion of a peace treaty, as well as the regulation of all problems having to do with Berlin.

The special rights which the three Western Powers obtained by pressure regarding the stationing and the so-called "security" of their forces in West Germany can be particularly catastrophic for the German people. These special rights give an excuse for any arbitrary act, for every interference in the internal affairs of West Germany, and can lead to the cancellation of the most elementary democratic rights of the people.

Dr. Adenauer's agreements with the Foreign Ministers of the three Western Powers in Paris give treaty sanction to arbitrary action by the occupation troops in West Germany for an unlimited period. It is well known that the USA, Great Britain and France steadily reinforce their troops in West Germany and that they are building up reserves of arms, ammunition and other war supplies.

There is no need of any special proof of the fact that the governments of the USA, Great Britain and France have as their open aim the remilitarisation of West Germany. The re-establishment of military forces in West Germany is already under way and according to the plans of those who initiated this development it should be speeded-up.

Since the beginning of this year military experts from the Atlantic Pact Powers have held a series of negotiations with West German military experts on the Petersberg near Bonn, in London, Paris and Rome. These German generals got their experience by preparing and carrying out piratical wars of conquest in the fascist German Wehrmacht. At the same time as the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations began in Paris, new negotiations of this sort were taking place at which the details of the establishment of a West German mercenary army were dealt with.

Nobody can be fooled by the talk of a so-called "defence" of the West in this connection. History teaches us that the aggressors and the instigators of war always wear the mask of "defence". Even the fascist government of Hitlerite Germany concluded a so-called "Defence Pact" with Italy and Japan and, thus camouflaged, then prepared the most criminal and sanguinary war of conquest hitherto seen.

The Schuman Plan treaty, signed in Paris on April 18th 1951, aims at re-establishing the armaments industry in West Germany which is to be joined to the war potential of the USA. The establishment of the European "Montan Union" is intended to create an arsenal in Western Europe and to provide the war-economic basis for the aggressive North Atlantic Block. The Schuman Plan is a plot against the peaceful development of Germany and a danger to the peace and security of the people.

As a result of rearmament, the creation of a West German mercenary army, and the steady reinforcement of the occupation troops, the people of West Germany are being loaded with an unbearable burden of occupation and armament expenses. Prices and taxes are steadily rising, and only a few days ago the West German government announced big new price increases. The real income of the working people of West Germany is steadily sinking. The conditions of the people are steadily becoming worse.

The West German budget and the West German currency are becoming more and more unstable. This is not surprising, considering that the West German people have to raise 10.7 thousand million marks for the annual occupation costs alone. In addition, according to official Bonn figures, they will have to provide at least 13 to 15 thousand million marks annually for West German military formations.

These are the results of the policy of remilitarisation and rearmament for the West German population. In the German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, we see the results of the peaceful work of construction in the German Democratic Republic. We are happy to be able to declare from this platform that the government of the German Democratic Republic, after a whole series of price reductions in the past, has now been able to carry out a great new 15 to 30 percent reduction of prices for foodstuffs and consumer goods for unrationed sale, with ever greater reductions for some articles.

There can be no doubt that in West Germany, too, the people feel the result of the two completely different policies which are being followed, and that they draw their own conclusions. As a result the just national resistance against remilitarisation and an arms race is growing in Germany daily. The Adenauer government, acting on the orders of the High Commission on the Petersberg, responds to this simple expression of the vital rights of our people with further restrictions on democratic rights and liberties.

As a result of the policy being pursued in West Germany, fascism has begun to raise its ugly head there once again. Clear proof of this is given by the fact that such a supporter of the Adenauer policy as Minister Seehofer is able to praise the Hitlerite war and fascist mass murders at public meetings. The Minister of the Interior of the Adenauer government, Herr Lehr, systematically tramples upon the democratic rights of the people. He has suppressed the democratic plebiscite on remilitarisation and the conclusion of a peace treaty; he has banned the Free German Youth who fight actively for unity and peace; he pleads in the Supreme Court for the prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany, in order to muzzle the West German workers; he drives a "Lightening Law" through the West German Parliament, which has a great resemblance to the Nazi "Heimtücke Law"; he makes provocative anti-democratic speeches nearly every week and uses his new storm detachments, composed of fascist rabble, to organise riots at public meetings as happened lately in Bremen. All these facts show that Adenauer's Minister of the Interior has just as much resemblance to a democrat as had Frick, Hitler's Minister of the Interior.

The increasing use of fascist methods is an aid to war preparations exactly as in the period after 1933. A proof of these war preparations is the fact that the Social Democratic Deputy, Frau Lilli Wächter, has been imprisoned by an American Military Court because of her accurate reports on atrocities in Korea. It is also proved by the fact that sentenced war criminals have been released from prison and given leading positions in the West German economy and in the government.

The process of fascisation now going on in West Germany would receive a decisive blow from all-German democratic elections. Such elections would undermine the influence of the militaristic and fascist groups of adventurers and people searching for revenge in West Germany. These groups rely on the bayonets of the occupation powers and form the real basis for Adenauer's government and also for the leadership of Schumacher's Social Democratic Party. All-German elections would also end the unlimited power of the German financial oligarchy who put Hitler in the saddle in 1933, who were the main instigators of the second world war, and who now once again hope to see their old aggressive plans of war put into effect.

After the frightful experiences of the second world war it must be clear to every intelligent German that the preparation for, and participation in, a third

world war would be nothing more nor less than an act of national suicide, would be nothing less than mass death, annihilation and destruction.

This new crime is being prepared by the remilitarisation of West Germany. Remilitarisation means war! West Germany is being prepared as a deployment area and theatre for a new massacre of the nations. Hundreds of thousands of young people would lose their lives, towns and villages would be laid in ashes, millions of women, children and old people would be buried under the ruins, and anyone who had the astonishing luck to come through alive would wander like a leper through the ruins of what has once been his homeland.

We demand fully equal rights for our German people, but not equal rights in preparing for war or equal rights to lie as corpses in shell-holes. Those are not the equal rights we want. For the German people we demand equal rights in peaceful construction, in the peaceful cooperation of the nations, in the free self-determination of our future.

The reduction of the danger of war and the re-conversion of the industry of West Germany, and of other countries, to peace production will naturally lead to an increase in the production of goods for peaceful civilian consumption, and to an improvement of the standard of living of the German people. The development and strengthening of German peace industry will be a great contribution to the development and strengthening of the economy of Europe and the world, a great contribution towards decreasing unemployment and misery. Peace means happiness and well-being for all peoples.

In the discussion on all-German elections the opponents of such elections emphasize the question of the different conditions prevailing in East and West Germany. They try to show that these differences would make elections in the whole of Germany impossible. Last Saturday the representatives sent from West Germany and West Berlin spoke here in the special Political Committee. We have noted the declarations which they made. They produced all imaginable unproved allegations, fantastic accusations and distortions of the truth directed against the German Democratic Republic. What sort of governmental, economic, and public order actually rules in our Republic?

We have carried out the democratic land reform as the Potsdam Agreement demanded, and thus liquidated the basis for the wild, sable-rattling militarism of Prussia. It is not surprising, therefore, if the Junkers and militarists who have flown to West Germany hate and slander the German Democratic Republic. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, which was also signed by Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee, we have removed the excessive economic concentration in the form of trusts and cartels of the armaments industry. That is why the arms kings like Krupp, who are reconstructing their trusts and war industrial cartels again in West Germany, hate the German Democratic Republic like the pest, and slander it in every possible manner.

As the Potsdam Agreement demanded we have purged the nazis from the educational system and the judicial system. It is not by chance that these dark enemies of humanity have all gone to West Germany, since there they find new jobs in the schools and universities, in the lawyers' offices and in the courts, and are able to exert their evil influence once again.

It was alleged here that a total of 185,000 so-called "political prisoners" had been sent to concentration camps in East Germany. Even those who quoted this figure here, however, know that there is not a single concentration camp in the German Democratic Republic and that there has not been one in this territory for a long time. All the other statistics quoted here in this connection were sheer inventions also. I accept the full responsibility for every word which I say here.

The appearance of these delegates was intended only to create new obstacles to an understanding between the Germans and to the holding of all-German elections. It is, therefore, unnecessary to say anything further about this unedifying subject. We propose that such elections should be held in the whole of Germany on the basis of a common Electoral Law. I should like to emphasize that our proposal is that this law should be drawn up by voluntary agreement between the representatives of East and West Germany, and that it should be based upon the Weimar electoral regulations of 1924. The Electoral Law of the Weimar Republic was accepted by the German people and proved itself in practice. The claim that it was necessary first to investigate the possibility of holding free elections was only raised in order to bury finally the demand for all-German elections and thus to prevent a peaceful development of the entire German people, and to make it impossible to overcome peacefully the present partitioning of Germany. Only those who are opposed to free all-German elections can be interested in doing this.

The decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations to place the question of forming an Investigation Commission on the agenda of the present General Assembly, places the possibility of holding all-German elections in jeopardy. The majority of the German people, who are striving for the unity of their homeland and for peace, have no doubts about the necessity and the possibility of holding free elections in the whole of Germany. The only question is, and the only question can be, how the question of holding such elections should be discussed by the Germans themselves and how to reach a solution. We have repeatedly made clear, definite and positive proposals for this purpose to the representatives of West Germany. The German people have already taken the first steps. We are absolutely convinced that the German people will stride forward along this peaceful path towards the solution of the questions affecting their future. In the interests of the peace of the nations nothing should be done to obstruct the German people in their path.

Gentlemen. I have been charged with the task of making the following declaration here. The Government of the German Democratic Republic considers that the holding of free all-German elections for the National Assembly is an internal matter of the German people themselves.

The creation of an Investigation Commission of the United Nations would represent an intervention in the internal peaceful affairs of the Germans. This would be contrary to the interests and the desires of the people and contrary to the principles of the United Nations.

Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations expressly lays down, as one of its basic conditions, the equality of rights of all peoples, and the national right of self-determination. In addition article 2, paragraph 7, lays down that nothing can give the United Nations the right to interfere in affairs which by their nature fall within the competence of a state. These principles of the United Nations regarding the rights of the nation to self-determination, and the non-intervention in the internal peaceful affairs of a people must obviously be applied to such questions as the holding of democratic elections. In accordance with the demands of the overwhelming majority of the peace-loving German people, the government of the German Democratic Republic therefore states that there is no legal basis for intervention in the holding of German elections for a National Assembly.

We are determined to do our part to see to it that the question of holding elections in Germany does not become bogged down in months of futile discussions, discussions in which it would finally be drowned. The peace-loving German people will use all their strength and determination in order to ensure that this plan is frustrated. The German people firmly reject the creation of a United Nations Investigation Commission as an intervention in their internal affairs.

This is the opinion of the government of the German Democratic Republic on the question dealt with by the Ad Hoc Commission of the United Nations. The policy of the government of the German Democratic Republic is in accordance with the real interests of the German people and of all other peace-loving peoples. This policy will, therefore, undoubtedly win the support of all Germans who love their homeland and of the supporters of the cause of peace in the whole world.

**Speech by Friedrich Ebert, Lord Mayor of Berlin
(December 11th 1951)**

I have the honour to address this Committee in the name of the Democratic Administration of Berlin and in the name of the population who are working on the peaceful construction of the German capital. I shall express our opinion on the proposal to establish a commission to investigate the possibility of holding free all-German elections.

In dealing with this question it seems to me be more useful to recall a number of important facts rather than to give, with a thousand details, a history of how the city was split.

The agreement on the Four Power Administration of Berlin is an integral part of the agreement on the Four Power Administration of Germany. This agreement on the mechanism of allied control pledges Great Britain, the USSR, the USA and France to pursue a coordinated policy with regard to Germany as a whole and also with regard to the establishment of the status for any part of that territory.

There can be no doubt that the Foreign Ministers' Council, for instance, would have been able to fulfil its tasks with regard to Berlin if it had retained the position laid down in the decisions of Yalta and Potsdam. In 1947, however, it became clear at the Moscow and London conferences that Great Britain, the USA and France had decided to prevent a policy towards Germany, which would produce a peace treaty and re-establish the unity of the country.

On June 18th 1948, the American, British and French Commanders in Chief of the occupation troops in Germany informed their Soviet colleague, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolovsky, that the separate currency reform which they had just jointly carried out in the West German zones of occupation would not be extended to the West sector of Berlin,

"because of the specific conditions existing to-day on the subject of the Four Power Administration of the city as a unit".

Although the entire German people indignantly condemned this decisive step taken by the Western Allies to destroy German unity, it was hoped in Berlin that economic considerations regarding the unbearable situation created by having two currencies in one city would prevent its partitioning.

Despite their formal declaration on June 18th, however, the Western Occupation Authorities extended the currency reform to the West sectors of Berlin on June 23rd for reasons which had nothing to do with the interests of the German population and which could not be reconciled with economic necessity.

This action taken on June 23rd 1948, was the final cause of the partitioning of Berlin which had been deliberately prepared.

Great Britain and France, and above all the United States of America, are fond of emphasizing that they are in occupation of their sectors in Berlin because of the right given them by the defeat and the unconditional capitulation of Hitler Germany. In making this claim they base themselves on the Four Power Agreement on Germany and Berlin. By doing this they confirm that the exercise of this right in Berlin is inseparably bound up with the observation of the Four Power Agreement on the treatment of Germany as a unit. By introducing the separate currency reform, however, they have torn apart not only Germany but also its capital Berlin. Since June 23rd 1948, there is thus a so-called "Berlin Question", which did not exist before this date.

The thesis that it was possible to strengthen or maintain the unity of a country or city by introducing different currencies for various parts would not win the support of even one reasonable person in the whole world.

It is obvious that this creates confusion in the entire economy, in the lives of the people, and that it has its effect on their morals, particularly the morals of Youth. On June 24th 1948, the liberal English newspaper "Manchester Guardian" stated:

"We must consider carefully whether we do not complicate our own position in Berlin by introducing a second currency and making life harder for the Germans ... We must admit that what the Russians tried to do, introducing a common currency for the whole of Germany, would be the best for the Germans."

The poverty of the 900,000 unemployed and pensioners in West Berlin would alone be enough to confirm the correctness of what this British newspaper forecast more than three years ago would be the result of the separate currency reform on the life of the population in West Berlin.

The Allied governments gave their Commanders in Chief a directive on August 20th 1948, which stated in part:

"b) The German mark of the Soviet zone is to be introduced as the sole currency in Berlin and the Western 'B-mark' is to be withdrawn from circulation."

All the efforts of the Soviet government and of the Soviet Commander in Chief in Germany to reach positive results in the negotiations on the Berlin question, on the basis of this directive, remained fruitless.

The air-lift and other methods were used in an attempt to reach a solution. All these exertions, however, showed clearly the attempt to maintain and continue the difficult situation which had grown up in Berlin as a result of the actions of the Western Occupation Powers.

At a special meeting the democratic representatives of the workers in the then Soviet sector of Berlin established a Democratic Administration, in order to stop

the population of the whole of Berlin from falling into the same and even greater economic difficulties. The entire population, at the greatest mass demonstration seen up to that date, gave its approval to the Democratic Administration.

The task of this Democratic Administration was to act as the representative of the population of the entire city in overcoming the need created by the separate currency reform, to restore a constitutional state of affairs, which had ceased to exist as the result of the partitioning of the city, and to normalise the life of the capital.

In carrying out these tasks, the Democratic Administration has repeatedly offered its services to the people of West Berlin and has paid particular attention to seeing that they are well supplied. Since that date hundreds of thousands of West Berlin families do their shopping in the democratic sector of Berlin. They buy not only their food-stuffs and their fuel there but, with their increasing poverty, goods of all kinds. The constantly increasing supplies, the greater variety and the good quality and the sweeping price reductions, helped them to overcome their worst poverty, the poverty which the policy of remilitarisation and war has brought to all West Berlin citizens.

As a result of the terroristic measures taken by the West Berlin Administration against those citizens who bought their supplies in the democratic sector, our efforts to restore as a minimum a united supply-system for the population could not be successful. More and more medium and small factories had to close down and more and more men, women and particularly young people became unemployed.

In this situation the Berlin Committee of the National Front of Democratic Germany made the proposal to both Administrations in November 1950 that free democratic elections should be held in the whole of Berlin in March 1951. A joint committee, composed of representatives of the East and West Berlin Administrations should prepare and carry out the elections. The sector borders should be removed and all occupation troops should be withdrawn from Berlin.

The Democratic Administration of Berlin, basing itself on this proposal, wrote to the West Berlin Administration, expressing its support for free democratic elections in March 1951. We expressed the hope that the joint efforts of both Administrations would suffice "to restore the unity of Berlin and thus make a valuable contribution to the creation of German unity and to the maintenance of peace".

The united administration to be set up as a result of these elections would have been in a position to banish unemployment in West Berlin within three months to take immediate steps to reduce prices and to raise the standard of living of the population, and to give effective support to all actions against the remilitarisation of Germany.

That was exactly what the American masters of the West Berlin Administration did not want. Those who received our proposal made a few platonic speeches in favour of elections in the whole of Berlin but left a decision on this proposal to the parties in West Berlin, which are so "democratic" that they have, until to-day, supplied no reply.

Despite this I proposed to the West Berlin Senate on September 21st 1951, by means of letters to the governing Lord Mayor and the Chairman of the House of Deputies, that "a discussion between representatives of both Berlin Administrations" should take place in order to "name the Berlin representatives to the All-German Discussion" which the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic had proposed to the Federal Parliament of the German Federal Republic on September 15th, 1951. The answer given by the West Berlin Senate to this proposal was to talk of Berlin elections.

A National Assembly, created by free, equal, secret, democratic elections would have the great national tasks of restoring German unity and demanding the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the subsequent withdrawal of all occupation troops. In view of this, every unprejudiced person must regard the demand for elections for the whole of Berlin as an attempt to avoid the real problem.

It is true that the situation in West Berlin is very serious. A comparison of the developments in both parts of the city gives the following picture of the results of the separate currency reform and the partitioning.

For years more than 300,000 people able to work have been unemployed in the west sectors of Berlin. They include more than 70,000 youths and girls. In the democratic sector of Berlin, with growing production, there is an increasing shortage of skilled workers. Since 1948 the number of persons employed have increased by more than 70,000, which is more than 15 percent of the total figure.

Despite all help from West Germany and the Western world, industrial production in West Berlin is to-day not even half what it was in 1936.

In the democratic sector of Berlin, since the property of active nazis and war criminals passed into the hands of the people, production has been increased 80 % by our own efforts and the level of the pre-war year of 1936 has been exceeded. In West Berlin they need an average of 65 million marks monthly from the Federal Republic and further sums from other foreign funds in order to meet the budget deficit.

The Administration in the democratic sector of Berlin closes its budget with a bigger surplus every year. In the financial year 1950 we had a surplus of 200 million marks. This year, despite the tense financial situation, it was possible, among other things, to devote 80 million marks more than had been foreseen in

the plan to the reconstruction of the city and to the improvement of living conditions.

In the west sectors of Berlin nearly half the population lives on public assistance. In the democratic sector, as a result of the full employment of the entire population, the taxable income is three times as great.

Not long ago the former Christian Democratic Mayor of West Berlin, Dr. Friedensburg, had to admit in the "Tagesspiegel" the complete bankruptcy facing the "Great Coalition" in the West Berlin Administration, after less than a year of activity, as a result of the policy of partition and remilitarisation. He stated that Berlin had become a community,

"which had lost the main part of its foundation, which in the past year had not been able to meet even half its expenses from its own income, and a third of the working population of which is unemployed."

This man, who must know what he is talking about, explained quite openly that in the long run Berlin could not be held as a military bridge-head and source of provocation for the arms kings, but that it could only live and work as the centre of the whole of Germany.

The policy of war preparation and aggression which, according to the investigations of United Nations bodies, has forced hunger upon half of mankind, has also condemned West Berlin to misery. Where barracks and tanks are being constructed, where the entire product of the work of busy hands is thrown out of the window for occupation costs and for a new army, or flows into the greedy claws of the arms kings; there the working people, the peasants, the craftsmen, the teachers, the professors and the artists suffer bitter need. The frightful Nazi phrase "Guns not Butter" becomes current again.

To-day the Social Democratic leaders in the western part of the German capital say "Berlin is worth a new war."

The real Berlin, however, the working, progressive, democratic and peace-loving Berlin does not intend to be a front-line city or to be "worth a new war." Berlin only wants to be the capital of Germany, a city of peace, as which it was dedicated by the youth of the world in summer 1951, a city in which people can live in prosperity and happiness.

If we confine our demands to a Berlin Municipal Election, this high goal cannot be achieved and the great economic misery of West Berlin cannot be overcome. Still less can one single German problem be solved in this manner.

The whole world, and particularly that part of the world which aimed at, and carried out, the destruction of German unity and the partitioning of Berlin, must recognise the close connection between the Berlin question and the German question as a whole.

As a result of this connection it can be seen that only the solution of the main German problem can solve all other problems affecting Germany or any part of Germany.

This means in our case that the election of a National Assembly and the creation by this Assembly of a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany would overcome the partitioning of the city and the misery which it has caused, all as a result of the introduction of a separate currency in West Berlin.

The Democratic Administration of Berlin, therefore, gives its full and determined support to the proposal of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic for bringing about an All-German Discussion to prepare all-German elections for unity and peace.

If the question is raised as to whether such elections can be carried out in a democratic manner in Berlin too, then I must declare from this platform that this is undoubtedly possible.

It will, however, be necessary to have good will on both sides and to be led only by the interests of the German people, if the desired results are to be achieved. It is not enough to praise "personal freedom". One must also respect it.

Criminals who slip across the sector boundaries at night in order to destroy the property of the people in the democratic sector with the aid of phosphorus remind us all too much of the "democratic" methods used by Hitler's SA and SS. Policemen who strike down and kill the servants of peace like our friend Ernst Kamieth remind us too much of the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

In the West Berlin House of Deputies the Social Democratic fraction, acting in the name of "the freedom of the person", is preparing a law directed against the most primitive personal liberties. This law threatens to withdraw the licence from any unemployed craftsman who seeks work in the democratic sector. This law threatens to deprive of his job every worker who eats the plentiful cheap potatoes and the good bread which come from our nationalised estates and the farms which our peasants have received as a result of land reform.

This sort of "freedom of the person" reminds us too much of the old Junker proverb from the east of the Elbe "the king can be absolute as long as he does our bidding". Instead of this we must have real democratic liberties for all in order to carry out free, general, secret and democratic elections in the whole of Berlin at the same time as the whole of Germany.

In conclusion I should like to give you another proof of the honest endeavours of the democratic people of Berlin.

The population of this city experienced all the horrors and all the terrors of the criminal Hitlerite war before the glorious Soviet army liberated it from fascism.

The population of the democratic sector of Berlin, in alliance with all peace-loving people in the whole of Berlin, have accomplished a work of reconstruction which makes it impossible to doubt their good will. This work of reconstruction has not been carried out and will not be carried out for one part of Berlin alone, but for the whole of Berlin, for the capital of the future united, democratic and peace-loving Germany.

A short while ago the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany presented to the entire German people a proposal for a national programme of construction for Berlin in 1952. The great response to this proposal for the construction of a capital city worthy of the new Germany and this miracle of patriotism, should be convincing for all people of good will. The enthusiastic approval to which this proposal has moved our people is a demonstration in favour of a peaceful future for the German people and for the coming generation.

Our people have learned a lesson from the bitter experiences of the past. They hate war. Our people struggle with their entire strength, and their struggle is not confined to the democratic part of Germany and Berlin, against those who wish to lead them once again along the bloody path of war against other nations; those who are in favour of partitioning and rearmament, those who give economic and military power to the active nazis, Hitler's war economy experts and his war criminals.

In full accord with the government of the German Democratic Republic the Democratic Administration of Berlin is determined to remove all obstacles an All-German Discussion which will provide free, secret and democratic elections. We adopt this attitude since we are in favour of the restoration of the unity of our homeland, without any reservation.

The population of the capital agree, together with the great majority of the German people, that these all-German elections are not only possible but necessary, and that they must be carried out quickly since we wish to secure peace for our country, our people, and for Europe.

We need no bureaucratic procedure, no investigation of the "Whys and Wherefores" by a United Nations Commission. We only need a German understanding on how to carry out all-German elections for unity and peace in accordance with the desires of the German people, and freely decided upon by the German people.