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3. You will now ask, "Why did this succeed in Russia?" Because class struggle in Russia had become sharper, faster, because the bourgeois revolution had been delayed and coincided with the battle against imperialism. Through the battle against feudalism at this time, the Russian proletariat grew ripe for the great battle and achieved the leading role in the revolution. The proletarian party was still in its earliest beginnings. It was created under the sharpened conditions of class struggle. Lenin postulated the revolutionary party of the working class as a party in which the petite bourgeoisie has no place. The conditions were the same in Germany as in Russia. But whereas in Germany revisionism found support and was not put down, Lenin was in the battle in Russia and made the Russian party the advance guard of the proletariat and showed it the right way, showed that the working class can fulfill its mission in the new period of imperialism only by forging a New Type Party.
4. In Germany we see the increasing influence of revisionism, of the bourgeoisie, within the workers' movement. The leaders of the SPD concealed the teachings of Lenin and presented them to the members in a false light. They hoped that in Germany power would fall in their laps through a coalition with bourgeois democracy. They had not become acquainted with the idea that an imperialistic war might come nor had they busied themselves with the fall of imperialism. The Russian workers went the way of revolution, the Bolsheviks prepared the uprising and possessed the strength to fight and defeat Czarism.
5. Lenin, who had strong ties to Western European workers, offered the German workers his most important theory, the theory of the role of the party. I can still remember Lenin's last speech in Moscow five years after the revolution. He closed his speech with the advice to the Russian workers to master modern technology in order to rule the economy. But to us Germans he said that we must understand the organization, construction, methods, and content of revolutionary work.
6. The struggle for the New Type Party began with a debate over the ideological basis of the Party. Lenin stated the prime thesis that the working class must lead the struggle of a dictatorship of the proletariat, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is that form of government which enables the most efficient form of struggle. He fought with the Mensheviks over the question of the best way. The Mensheviks claimed that the bourgeois revolution must come first and that the bourgeois element must lead and not until then could the working class assume leadership of the proletarian revolution. Lenin said the opposite. The Mensheviks rejected the peasants, believing that they could not be used. Lenin said that the workers cannot win unless they have the peasants on their side. He pointed out the difference between the working peasants and the kulaks. The history of the Russian revolution has shown who was right.
7. It is not my task to speak on the ideological basis of the New Type Party; those were just a few hints, but I might add that it is necessary for us to understand the meaning of this struggle and to do everything now to protect the theory of Marxism-Leninism against defections to bourgeois influences. I say that in connection with the Cominform letter on the error of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia. These errors show clearly and distinctly what basic mistakes a party can make in the present situation and that practically everything said in this letter holds true for us Germans, too. The Yugoslav CP neglected to gain a majority of the workers and peasants. An influential Yugoslav Communist leader remarked at a meeting in Berlin some time ago: "If you come to Belgrade you will see not a single Communist slogan, no banners, no mottoes." If that is true, then naturally the greatest dangers are present.
8. Are such dangers present here? Doubtless! In Yugoslavia it was stated that a special Yugoslav road to socialism has been discovered. Some people say there is a special German road. What is this special Yugoslav road? It means that they place no importance in a firm alliance with the USSR, that they flirt with the bourgeoisie of capitalist nations. The Yugoslavs believe they don't need to go along with the USSR, which is leading the world struggle against imperialism, but scarcely had the Yugoslav Communists started on this road when it became evident that they had landed in the ditches of American propaganda. The lesson for us is that we cannot fight the socialist battle without a firm alliance with the USSR.

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by step in the battle for industrialization of the nation. They did not realize how strong capitalism still is. They did not realize that one cannot achieve socialism except by liquidating the old class, the rich peasant, the feudal lord, the factory owners. That is the international law of the battle of socialism. One cannot allow the big peasant or the big capitalist to merge into socialism. We believed that that was already well known. Now we find there are still people today who think it is possible to slide into socialism with part of the capitalist class.

10. The battle for the ideological foundation is of prime importance for us because most members of the SED lived under the hard conditions of Fascism and have had no chance to extend their knowledge to solve the problems. Because the German workers did not learn anything during this period, did not experience the further evolution of Marxist theory and the transition from socialism to Communism, they have stood still. There are some who claim that we can reach our goal by a trade union program, but they say that first we must have enough food and that then all problems will be much simpler. I mention this only to show that there are still such people around and that therefore we must clear up this opinion. If we limit ourselves to the trade union struggle we cannot get hold of the workers for higher tasks. That means abandoning the united battle front of the working class. We know that the workers can improve their lot only by the defeat of capitalism. We don't want little improvements, but the complete destruction of capitalism. This knowledge must be borne by the advance guard into the working class and hammered into each one. Lenin says in his basic work: "Political class consciousness can only be instilled into the worker from outside. The socialist idea cannot arise of itself in the worker's head; he lacks all prerequisites; he had no chance to get an education in colleges and universities." From this thesis Lenin drew the conclusion that we must develop a cadre of professional revolutionaries who thoroughly control socialism, are acquainted with the sufferings and experiences of the proletariat, and can assume leadership on the basis of the Lenin-Marx theory and the general experience of the working class. Lenin says no revolutionary party can do without such a cadre of experienced and continually active revolutionaries.
11. There were some comrades who thought that the Party had become a New Type Party by reason of the merger; to be sure, a new party was created, but this was not a New Type Party. At that time two parties were merged into one which decided on principles and goals with a new content. There were some who thought that the merger took place on a middle line, but actually the SED can fulfill its mission only on the basis of Lenin, Marx, and Stalin.
12. At the time of the merger, one difference between the SPD and KPD was that the KPD had demonstrated in Brussels in 1935 that it had subjected itself to criticism on the basis of experience. The sectarians were revealed at that time and their opinions annihilated. We realized that mistakes had been made. In the SPD only a partial lesson was learned from the past and the old opinions were brought along into the SED. That is undoubtedly why Engelbert Graf left the SED. Why is our Party still not a New Type Party? Well, along came a bunch of people not of our class - big farmers, factory owners, shop owners - and joined one of the workers' parties and were taken over into the SED. It is clear that under the conditions created by our new tasks, not only must there be an ideological strengthening, not only must our traditional mistakes be overcome, but these career elements must be expelled from the Party. The members must absorb the theory of Marxism-Leninism and transform it into living practice. This is not easy because many have the tendency to continue the old policy of opposition; that is easier. Others, who have been influenced by opportunistic affairs, including some who once studied Marxism, have fallen back as a result of the twelve years. Many survivals of other ideologies, even Fascist, are still present. In addition the bourgeoisie is still fighting hard to push its bourgeois idealism into our members. The great size of our party gives the bourgeois parties, the capitalists, a chance to plant persons in our party who actually have nothing in common with us. One may say that by broad educational work plus the living experience of the recent years, important knowledge has been collected and progress made, but that is not sufficient for the solution of our great problem, for the fulfillment of

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so because the class struggle has become acute in the present period. Because the old estate owners, the monopoly capitalists, the reactionary bureaucrats, and all the rest of them, have come to the realization that they cannot regain their profitable positions because they fear that the two-year plan will be crowned with success. They will fight to prevent that with all means. The class struggle will not be softened even by our success. The bourgeoisie will

with special methods, and here in Germany especially, because they have strong positions in our zone and great support from the occupying powers in

14. A few examples: the present developments in our zone demand that we no longer occupy ourselves with confiscations, that we sequester no more land, but the outstanding element in the present period must be the struggle for superiority of the publicly owned enterprises in the race with the capitalists' enterprises. Operating at a profit, increasing production, and improving quality depend on raising the class consciousness of the worker in the publicly owned enterprise. We must operate at a profit, be economical, and deliver good quality. That proves the class consciousness of our workers. When the capitalists ran the factories, our class consciousness was proved by good strikes; now the situation is different, the factories belong to the people, and we can speak of class consciousness only if we can show increased production, better quality, higher profits, and economic management. We are in favor of increased production in the private factories in order to further our reconstruction and speed the supply of the population, but we are not in favor of private enterprise used for the benefit of black marketeers. Then we will beat them the way they deserve. Private profits cannot grow to heaven. That is a peculiarity of our period with which the entrepreneurs will have to put up. We are also supervising agriculture production; that means that we support the little and medium farmers, that we help them ~~whatever~~ we can, that we lend them implements, that we set up loan stations for machinery and tools, that we assign our best workers to these stations as a support for the workers in the village to assist our natural allies, the working peasants. We send our class conscious workers to the agricultural cooperative and do our best to repulse the big and very big farmers. That is our clear line. There are some people in our Party who made a lot of noise when I said that the little and medium farmers should kick the wholesalers out of the VdgB! Yes, sir, howling isn't going to do them any good. This is our basic principle. One minister-president complained that I promulgated this view in the name of the Party. I wrote him that this is no concern of his, but strictly a VdgB affair, and that we are just helping out a little bit in the kicking out (approving laughter). This means that we are pushing back the big farmers. We are not using any force in the form of expropriation, but we are ruthlessly destroying their economic influence in the mass organizations of the village. You see that the fulfillment of the two-year plan means a battle in the village. The big farmers get the idea that they could regain their old positions. Obviously there is a misunderstanding somewhere; we are quite democratically in favor of throwing the big farmers out the window. There have been cases in which big farmers who are members of the SED have registered complaints. We have asked them quite naively what the hell they think they're doing in our party.
15. We are a workers' party. Farm workers, little and medium farmers, and the representatives of progressive circles of the intelligentsia and of science should be organized in our party. That's the way we want it. We don't need the entrepreneurs who are trying to save themselves from sequestration. We don't need any big farmers who are afraid their land might be confiscated and are trying to get protection from us. There is no place in the SED for these people. The capitalist elements in the field of trade are very strong. In the two-year plan we said that the consumers' cooperatives and the agricultural cooperatives must be developed. There will be a race between the cooperatives and private wholesalers. We are interested in improving the work of the cooperatives; persons indoctrinated with our ideology and not trying to pull deals must be put in charge of the cooperatives.

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have the old intelligentsia - businessmen who attended college and have a good education; we are leaving them in their positions, although they are not democrats, since they are doing their work in the proper manner. But we are not satisfied with that. If the working class is to insure democracy and proceed to socialism, it must have its own intelligentsia. Therefore we are choosing boys to send to colleges and universities. That has caused a storm of criticism. The LDP and the GDU complain bitterly because they are losing their privileges. We told them that the workers are the majority of the population and must have the leading role and must supply the majority of students in the colleges and universities. The SED must educate its own specialists - politically reliable comrades who attend special schools so that they can assume leadership wherever necessary. At the present time we are attempting to gain the cooperation of the old intelligentsia and to win them over. We will gladly allow them special privileges. I tell this to all of you who think we are paying these people too much. We are glad to pay them two, three, or even four times as much as they would get from capitalistic enterprises. That will pay off. The USSR paid even larger sums. It doesn't matter that there are so many of them, for they are supporting democracy. We are doing this not only because we need these people, but especially because we are convinced that we will finally win them over to honest cooperation, because they will see that our goal is good. Suppose a few people do complain about it. We have no doctors now, no druggists, no chemists. It will take many years to develop all these professions. And so it is worth while to pay high salaries because it is necessary.

17. You did a good job on expropriation. You all worked well. But that was easy in comparison with the present tasks. Only a party with iron discipline built up on Marx and Lenin and a class-conscious working class can successfully master the new tasks of reconstruction, guarantee of the food supply, improvement of agriculture, attainment of leadership in industry and trade and the development of a new progressive culture. There is a difference between Party and class, though the difference is often vague. The same backward opinions sometimes found in the Party are reflected in the population as a whole. But there is a difference whether we find these opinions in a trade union, in the broad mass of the population, or in the Party. There can be the most various ideas that are all wrong, but within the Party we must see to it by clear debate that there are no more false ideas after the debate. Persons who are confused cannot lead a trade union and the same is true for a party. The battle for ideological clarity must be our first step.
18. In the police this problem must be discussed from top to bottom. There must be no leader and no organization within the police which does not work out this problem ideologically. We see now that there are people who are politically confused and strange to their class who do not belong in the revolutionary party of the workers. Yes, indeed, there have been some interesting phenomena, such as functionaries' saying: "Paragraph 2 of the Party statute exists, to be sure, but it is not to be taken too seriously, for it is said there that everyone must belong to a basic organization - that everyone must participate actively in Party work." It is interesting that the same question was also raised in Russia. Does this paragraph mean that everyone can join the Party? No! It means that a member can only be accepted if he really wants to be active. Not only the presidium, but also the assembly must approve new members. According to our new regulations, two comrades already active in the party must vouch for the new member. They must be able to say that there is nothing against him. They must be able to certify that he has not falsified his questionnaire. In 1903 Lenin had insisted that no one could become a member simply by registering and paying dues, but he had demanded that every new member join a basic group and submit to the discipline of the Party. Lenin emphasized that the whole class must be led by the Party, but that the whole class cannot belong to the Party. Lenin emphasizes the importance of a permanent functionary corps. He explained that the Party possesses enough workers equipped with an essential minimum of knowledge if we pursue the method of discipline and compulsory cooperation.

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the members can be activated only if a firm corps of functionaries exists. When we have formed a Partei Aktiv equipped with experience, we must mobilize the entire Party with this functionary corps. We must point out that there are people in our Party we must get rid of. The next link is the ideological training of the functionary corps. The development of a New Type Party demands that democratic centralism be accomplished; therefore we must have a full exchange of opinion and discussion of the role of the Party in order to clear this question up completely. There are vacillations in the Party. These we must overcome. False theories and enemy ideologies within the Party must be removed. In order to find out where these false ideologies are, we must look for them and argue with the people who are afflicted by them. If they are too deeply rooted and the people refuse to be converted, they must be removed. Many people thought this battle should be led from above. Naturally the line is laid down by the Partei Vorstand, but now the main point is the development of strength in the lower units. In Saxony things are in good shape and in Thuringia, too, but there are areas where enemy elements, Schumacher supporters, are very strong. There we must attack. I am thinking of Saxony-Anhalt and Brandenburg, too - all areas where the decisions of the Partei Vorstand have not found the right reception. They haven't noticed there yet that these Schumacher supporters are not members of the working class, but agents of an espionage office. Every means is justified in the battle against these bandits. Death to all enemy agents in the Russian Zone sent to us from America or England! Anywhere a conciliatory attitude is taken toward these people, there is at least a Dummkopf present and it is said that there still are a number of such.

20. In the trade unions there are a number of leaders who only think about wage agreements - who fail to understand the two-year plan; in the VdgB there are people who haven't caught on yet - who don't understand the role they must play. We have created little peasants; now it is our job to help them, to convince them. For that we need political comrades - not those primitive ones filled with hate for the peasants, who believe that since the peasant has more and better food than they, they must agitate against the peasant and fight him. These functionaries are no good to us. If we want to accomplish democracy, we must have the peasants on our side.
21. A few words about the Party within the police. I have not mentioned the role of the people's police, which, truly saturated with democracy, with iron discipline, follows the lead of the Party organization of the SED. What does that mean? Within the people's police a firm specially trained Party organization must be created in order that the ideological niveau of all policemen may be raised with the help of the political Kulturleiter - that we may win the battle not only for improved quality of production in the factories, but for improved quality in the police. Every policeman must learn to fulfill his duty completely; he must understand the great economic tasks implicit in the two-year plan; if he is detailed to the Volkskontrolle, he must help prevent espionage activity and carry out this work with full consciousness and high qualification. He must know how to handle his weapon and above all, when and against whom to use it. If he does all that, the improved quality is assured.
22. The Democratic parties have discussed the police question with us; in the Thuringian Landtag they actually discussed it openly. Unfortunately some SED members have joined these discussions and demonstrated a false viewpoint. The bourgeois parties want parity in the police, especially in the leading positions. We told them: "That's just what we were waiting for." (Laughter) At the last meeting of the Partei Vorstand I said, "Because of the attitude of the reactionary LDP a very characteristic situation has arisen; they want parity in the police." But at the same time one of the leading LDP people in Thuringia has established contact with the black police in the west. Thus these reactionaries have given us proof of their conspiratorial work against our interests - against our two-year plan. In the meeting of party chairmen preceding a big meeting of the bloc parties, this question was raised. I seized the occasion and told them that they needn't expect that such an attitude, such connections with the black police in the west, would meet with understanding or toleration on our part. What does that show? It shows that it is normal for reactionaries to exist and to try everything to restore the old balance of power and to mobilize and organize all elements - legal and illegal.

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thing in other places. We told these gentlemen: "We beg your pardon, but the police question is not open for discussion. Police questions are questions of public order and cannot be discussed in the bloc. You have complained that CDU and LDP people have been dismissed from the police. I tell you that even SED members have been discharged. The police organs, especially the chiefs in various states, are responsible for public security and they must take all measures which they consider necessary. That is our democratic viewpoint."

24. Another question has not yet been cleared up. We have not yet done everything to popularize the people's police. It seems to me we have great weaknesses here. We have fought for the new order; we have carried on great propaganda campaigns, but we haven't devoted enough attention to this problem. There have, unfortunately, been many cases in which the police did not show the necessary assurance in order to be regarded by the population as the representative of the people. Every policeman must be aware of his great responsibility - that he is the representative of the power of democracy. He must realize that the people's police has taken over the protection of democratic order, and that we must publicize a number of cases where the bandits have been caught. There has been a curious idea among various people that counter-revolutionaries can say anything they want to. I tell you quite frankly, democracy does not mean that every functionary can say what he wants to. Counter-revolutionaries have no right to speak a single word about democracy. A foe of freedom has no freedom. Naturally there are enemy newspapers in our zone. They can be distributed because the Control Council law says so, but it is our job to explain to the workers that these newspapers are calling for sabotage in the interests of the expropriated factory owners and the estate owners, and that such papers cannot be bought or read by any employee or worker who is a true democrat. We will see what government employees read the Tagesspiegel, Sozialdemokrat, or Telegraf. If they are doing it out of curiosity, we will talk it over with them and convince them that it is not good. If they are swallowing these lies, we will see to it that they lose their jobs. That is democracy. We don't exercise any compulsion, but we carry on an open ideological battle and we will see who dares to oppose us. Anyone active in the interests of the enemy is guilty of sabotage and will be fought accordingly. Democracy exists for those who are willing to participate in reconstruction, but not for their enemies. These bandits serve imperialism. I tell you that you, as police, have a special responsibility. Therefore it must not happen that enemy propaganda is spread in the police. I know that even in the police there are certain phenomena; enemy ideologies become manifest at times. I recommend that the police talk this over frankly in SED meetings and prevent it. You must seek to convince vacillating elements. That is the basic task in order that every individual people's policeman correctly executes his orders on his own initiative.
25. Why is this problem so serious? Because naturally the police is affected by its surroundings. The enemy influence will affect everyone who lacks a firm ideological foundation; a permanent daily battle must be fought against enemy ideologies. Among the basic problems I'll mention two: first, in connection with the difficulties in the food problem, the question of a change of the Oder/Neisse line is raised. It is known that the representatives of USA imperialism have frankly announced that they are not only in favor of changing the Oder/Neisse line, but that they would like best to put the border against Bolshevism in Warsaw. We are grateful to these people for telling us this, but since they've let the cat out of the bag we will have to answer this question. We, also, regret that this border had to be drawn, but the reasons for it are well known. Three times Poland was attacked by Germany and laid waste. It cannot be expected that a nation attacked twice in such a short period will allow a third attack. And if people say, "But we Germans only want peace," or if individual resettlers claim, "I won't do anything wrong," then we must point out it is not a question of this person or that, but rather a question of whether or not Germany has created guarantees for peace. And here we can only say that the British-American imperialists are already sending the German war criminals out on a terrible campaign against the USSR and Poland. We support the declaration of the Warsaw Conference of Peoples' Democracies in which it is clearly stated that the Oder/Neisse line is final and that a change

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the question in the viewpoint of world politics, then it is in our interest for the power of the peoples' democracies and the USSR to be strengthened as rapidly as possible. We are in favor of reparations; as Germans we must deliver them for moral reasons. In the Eastern Zone we know how high reparations are. We have complete control. In the West that is not the case. There everything is being carried off without anyone's knowing how much. The same is true in Berlin. The USSR has allowed us to make an accounting. They take nothing which is not entered in the reparations account. Some people say, "In the difficult situation we find ourselves in, perhaps the USSR could renounce reparations." These people know that the USSR needs these reparations to complete its reconstruction. T as long as possible so that USSR imperialists. But it is our hope possible with all its agriculture and industry so that in the interests of the world balance of power the USSR may be as strong as the others and that we may have the support of the USSR against the forces of imperialism. We realize that without the USSR the battle for the unity of Germany cannot be won. Therefore, we are interested in the rapid strengthening of the USSR and the other democratic nations.

27. The imperialist press today is outstripping Joseph Goebbels. What does that show? It shows that we are not doing everything to explain the principles of socialism. There was a false theory that capitalism by developing great concerns and trusts would finally become so centralized that only a single cartel would remain and that it would then be easy to take over this cartel. That was Kautsky's idea. We older comrades know that the workers fail to realize that the battle for socialism must be fought during the periods of capitalist crises and in the same way that the development of socialism, of the SED today, takes place under the most difficult conditions. They fail to understand the essence of socialism. Liquidation of private capitalism, liquidation of private ownership of the means of production, and liquidation of the big farmers are the prerequisites of socialism. It is our fault that they have failed to understand this and continue to dream of a western socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat.
228. We can fulfill our task only in closest cooperation with the USSR - by making full use of the advice and experiences they have gained. A close connection with the USSR is the basic condition for a workers' victory in Germany and without the USSR at our back, without the fraternal comradely help of the USSR, we cannot be victorious. That is reality. It follows that, for you as policemen, close comradely cooperation with the officers and soldiers of the Soviet Army is necessary. It follows that every policeman must learn that only a friendly comradely relation with the Soviet Army can bring us to our mutual goal. The Soviet Army in Germany and the working class in the Eastern Zone both want the same thing: a free German working class.
29. It is our duty to continue the battle for democracy with the goal of liquidating the power of the war criminals, the trust directors, and the land owners in western Germany. We must see to it that the industrial police in western Germany - the worst enemy of the working class - is annihilated. We have the goal of establishing the unity of Germany on a democratic basis. The battle of Berlin is the next step on the road to the liberation of Germany. We are fighting in Berlin to destroy the influence of these agencies of monopoly capitalism, and with the help of the Economic Commission, the working class, and the occupation power, to develop our power step by step and so weaken the enemy until we have pushed him out of Berlin and out of western Germany. These gentlemen are well aware that the battle of Berlin is not just a Berlin problem. They are afraid that the same thing will happen to them in the West that faces them in Berlin. We can assure them that we will try hard. (Tempestuous applause.) That requires that we so strengthen our ranks and so accomplish our mission as a Party organization in the police, that we are a thousand times stronger than the industrial police in the West, and if you work this way, and if you gain the friendship of the population, if you live in friendship with the Soviet soldiers, if we are filled with respect for Soviet humanity, then we may be sure that the battle for a united Germany will be fought and won - that our example will be followed by the people of western Germany and that we will gain the victory in Germany.