

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

Page 1 of 53

Erich Honecker

Jail Notes

("Moabiter Notizen")

Written: In the Berlin-Moabit prison in 1992-93.

Translation: In French, by the Honecker Committee of Solidarité Internationaliste.

Translation into Spanish (from French) by Iñaki Mendiguren Garate.

Digital version: [Rebellion](#) , July 2008.

This edition: Marxists Internet Archive, May 2009.

THE BOOK

Imprisoned by the German Federal Government, Erich Honecker put his reflections on the defeat of socialism in your country. It is therefore the analysis and the testimony of one of the main actors of the drama and also one of the few leaders of the socialist countries that did not deny either their past action or their communist ideals. This text is extracted from a work appeared in Berlin in 1994 under the title "Moabiter Notizen".

The translation has been carried out with the political objective of providing a document Usable to the Francophone, militant or curious reader of recent European history. Do not there is doubt that some of the more than ten thousand signatories of the petition to release Erich Honecker will be interested in getting to know the former leader of the GDR better.

THE AUTHOR

He was born in 1912 in Saarland. Tanner training. Communist Youth Leader from Germany (KJVD) upon the arrival of Nazism. Political prisoner from 1935 to 1945.

Founder in 1946 of the German Free Youth (Freie Deutsche Jugend, FDJ) that He directs for 10 years. Member of the Political Bureau of the SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, Unified Socialist Party of Germany) from 1958, Secretary General in 1971. Head of State of the GDR after Walter's death

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 2 of 53

Page 2

Ulbricht (1973), "resigns" in October 1989, takes refuge in the Soviet Union, is delivered by Yeltsin in summer 1992 to the justice of Kohl. December 3 1992 pronounces before its judges a statement refuting the accusations of complicity in murder of which it is the object and showing the political character of process. Released a month later, he dies in Santiago de Chile in May 1994 [where he had been welcomed by the Chilean communists grateful to the GDR for their political and material support against Pinochet. N. of T.].

He is the author, among other things, of some memoirs ("Aus meinem Leben"), unpublished in French. The 1992 speech, on the other hand, has been published by the Committee Honecker of Solidarité Internationaliste.

NOTE TO THIS TRANSLATION

We perform this translation with the same objectives with which the French translation although referring to the reader in Spanish. Erich's memories Honecker also do not exist in this language, but in English.

"Biographisches has been important for many of the biographical notes Handbuch der SBZ / DDR "in the " Enzyklopädie der DDR. Personen, Institutionen und Strukturen in Politik, Wirtschaft, Justiz, Wissenschaft und Kultur "(Digitale Bibliothek, Band 32, DirectMedia, Berlin, 2000) edited by Gabriele Baumgartner and Dieter Hebig Various other sources have also been used.

Jail Notes

PRELIMINARY WARNINGS

An inner movement pushes me to put on paper certain things that still I remember well. I would also like to write down a series of issues that agitate me deeply and make my opinions known about some concrete events.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 3 of 53

Page 3

I don't know what I will do with these notes. Maybe one day I can accommodate them to the demands of the prose ... I write these lines in Moabit, in this prison that I still know well. The I frequented in the time of Nazism, like many communists, social democrats and other antifascists. Since 1933, he played a very particular role in the repression of adversaries of German imperialism. These lines may be published one day. Is it so intended for those who want to seriously analyze the past. The opposite of pretended "masters of history." [one]

The latter have only one objective: to cover socialism with mud and to delay the inevitable collapse of capitalism is possible.

I will not make any concessions to the ideologies and "morals" that defend society exploitation capitalist. The twenty million unemployed that the free economy Market has launched to the street would not allow it. Does this situation have a way out? The Socialism was a fair social order. We had drawn its great lines and we wanted to go further away. We have lost it with the sinking of the GDR.

The parables of capitalism are sung. That pays well today and it's not just a thing of bourgeois politicians and right-wing journalists. Despite this no one can seriously deny that the situation has become extraordinarily difficult for millions of workers and employees, scientists and artists, whether or not they approve the market economy. The existential concerns are widespread. This cannot continue like this and will not ... But capitalism will not open the way to a world without unemployment and misery.

I have expressed it several times and would like to repeat it again: the events that are produced in the GDR since my resignation have affected me in the deepest. It affected me hard sinking of the GDR. But like many proven partners, I have not lost faith in socialism. This is the only alternative for a human and fair society. Since capitalism exists, the communists belong to the

field of the persecuted in this land but not to the field of those who have no future. The
 What we do to make socialism live on German soil was not done in vain.
 We work with the Christian Democratic and Eastern parties, of which various
 officials quickly rushed to the new ministerial portfolios after
 1989. We act for forty years in difficult conditions. What was done will play
 A role in the future. I think about the socialist production relations that they offered to
 all a job, a social security worthy of the name, accommodation at prices
 affordable, whether or not cement, kindergartens, nursery schools, youth clubs and
 a high level cultural and spiritual life.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 4 of 53

Page 4

There will be a society that will offer perspectives that value everyone's existence:
 workers and peasants, scientists, technicians, teachers, artists, women, youth and
 elderly. Capitalism has reached its limits. He is described as "economy of
 market "because he is ashamed of his true nature. His disappearance continues
 being safe despite the defeats we have suffered and the mistakes and inadequacies that
 we could have avoided ... also despite all the betrayals of individuals whose
 Duplicity has exceeded all limits.

The world has become completely chaotic and disoriented since socialism
 disappeared from European soil. Self-proclaimed gendarmes of the world, the States
 United they act to their liking and impose, here and there, the "new world order" at the blow of
 bombs and missiles. Although many "theorists" have emerged out of nowhere
 they claim a renewed Marxism, although they have tried to steal the heart
 even of Marxist theory or in refuting it entirely, the facts remain stubborn.
 There are objective laws that decide the evolution of human societies. The capitalism
 it presents a fundamental contradiction: the one that opposes the social character of work and the
 private character of the appropriation. This contradiction remains despite the ability of the
 capitalist system of remarkably changing appearance in the course of its development.

Only when this contradiction is overcome, when it is no longer the benefit that directs the
 world, the conditions of a truly life will be created for each individual
 human There is much talk about the "self-realization" of each one. It cannot consist
 evidently in the perspective of a situation in which, due to the use
 increasing and the constant progress of the leading technologies, only from 10% to 20% of
 The population has a job. A new society must find each one a place.
 Taking into account all these technological developments, but also other limitations.

This means first of all a job for everyone. Capitalism is incapable of that, It is more evident today than ever. The same race for benefits sets the limits of capitalist system. There are therefore deep and decisive social reasons for open the way for an alternative society. This will be of a socialist nature, whatever be the specificities of its structure and the modalities of its specific organization.

That is why, from a historical point of view, my judgment is not as pessimistic as that, understandable, of most of those who were caught by surprise by the "Change" [2] of 1989. The social issue will continue in the future at the center of the public controversies in all capitalist countries. Some devoted their forces to the realization of that famous "change" counterrevolutionary. Believe even today or so They say less, that they acted so that things were better in the GDR.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 5 of 53

Page 5

Today these people must face bitter realities. We all wanted a socialism that was even better. What had been achieved was never enough. Everybody these little "reformers" only managed to deliver socialism to their enemies because they listened to the great "reformer": in 6 years, he managed to disarm the PCUS, from that he was Secretary General, and lead the USSR to annihilation.

The GDR was sacrificed on the altar of the "European Common House" by which Gorbachev He struggled so hard. It was the most painful fact of my existence as well as of numerous comrades We are required today to recognize that this was facilitated by our usual attitude towards Moscow, made above all of discipline and respect for the tradition. The same was true of those who no longer had the will to defend the socialism. And all this was not finally possible but because whole currents of Our Party contributed objectively to the elimination of socialism. There was between they are some conscious and declared traitors who boast today of having used for years his official contacts with the RFA to pave the way that led to the annexation of the GDR.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF A FRIEND

The disappearance of the GDR was included in the collapse of the community of Socialist states. This was developed in a context of radical policy changes

international. There is no longer any doubt about this since they were updated, no doubt partially, the maps in Washington, Bonn and Moscow. First, the address of the Soviet Party and State introduced the concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost that They preceded these changes. This "new thought" ignored the class struggle and the East-West opposition that resulted, however, from objective contradictions. Even more: yesterday's adversary, who had threatened the Soviet Union of military death, was He suddenly became a friend. All this did not take place peacefully. He was followed by Deep shudder all over the world. Only the common effort of forces present in Moscow, Washington and Bonn allowed these profound transformations of the situation world. This became increasingly clear over time. The set in motion of these forces destroyed the balance of political and military forces in force until so.

The issue of replacing Erich Honecker with a Perestroika man as Modrow [3] did not play in all this more than a secondary role. It was however

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 6 of 53

Page 6

Long discussed in Moscow. It is known today thanks to the revelations of J. Kwizinski [4] . American political leaders aspired for years to evolve the situation in the sense of what it is today. They used the opportunity they were given.

A well-designed staging allowed to achieve the objective they had set, without make it no mystery, the American imperialist centers, German Western and other major capitalist countries: the change of system in the East. The USSR played a central role in that process.

Gorbachev, Yakovlev [5] and Shevarnadze considered the political report to XXVII Congress of the PCUS as a company determined to demolish the system. This is today a recognized fact even if they refused to recognize it at the time. Since 1987 / 88, attentive observers of Soviet reality could understand where they wanted get. Now that the years have passed, it is clearer than ever that the death of Konstantin Chernenko [6] also gave the lace to the Soviet Union. The new group leader arrived at the top of the State and the Soviet party around Gorbachev, Shevarnadze [7] , Yakovlev and Yeltsin already had their goal in sight: "change the system." It is something we can recognize today with foundation. They were willing to sacrifice the allies of the Soviet Union for it. The fact that the first steps in this address would be given using the name of Lenin, founder of the power of the Soviets, not change anything. Shevarnadze writes in his memoirs that he had agreed with Gorbachev,

already in autumn 1984, during a walk to the Black Sea shore, which was necessary to change the whole system. The key that opened the door in this direction was forged during the 1985.

Changes were made in both domestic and foreign policy. In this last domain, the new orientations manifested for the first time when a project of circular prepared by the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CPSU was abruptly transformed by the new leaders. These required a "more global" approach. That is to say that a closer cooperation with the United States be specifically contemplated.

Gorbachev in person presented this to me as a decisive step that "broke with the obstinacy that prevailed until then in foreign policy".

This line led directly to the famous declaration of Geneva. It will be remembered that in the course of this encounter between Reagan and Gorbachev, the two sides put on agreement to call a world without atomic weapons. This goal certainly had a great political significance. To achieve this, one had to take into account that the socialist USSR and the imperialist US had in its hands the military balance of the entire world.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 7 of 53

Page 7

This statement was considered a great success of Gorbachev. But what was of these beautiful intentions? Is the world one step closer to this goal? I know. Does something move in this direction among the Americans turned into gendarmes of the world? When you read what Gorbachev and Shevardnadze have published about these "interviews in Washington", it is concluded that all the evolution that has taken place has been scheduled in advance since the beginning of Perestroika. The agreements still in force in 1989-90 between the USSR and its allies no longer played any role during the negotiations with the US and the RFA. There was a unique and exclusive agreement between the Soviet leadership and these two imperialist states. Having passed a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social order, to a global policy in which the opposition between social systems no longer played any role, foreign policy of the Soviet Union came to accept towards the last period, that the territories under NATO extended to the Oder-Neisse border, This corresponded totally to the plans of the American people. However, until the fall of 1989, the Soviet leadership, when it maintained meetings with the GDR, he considered this his strategic ally in central Europe. Events showed that this last statement was not intended to the maintenance of existing alliances, but only setting a price to be able to sell the GDR in interesting conditions. Since the service plans

American, West German and Russian secrets have been revealed in broad daylight, there is no doubt today that President Bush had a letter in his hands
teacher to destroy the Soviet Union: the attitude of the leadership itself
Soviet At the same time that it radically transformed its foreign policy, the Union
Soviet introduced measures aimed at accelerating economic and social development. But
it was the opposite that occurred: the economic and social situation did not improve, but that
got worse. Self-management of companies, destroying centralized planning and
putting an end to democratic centralism, it derailed the economy.

The concepts of Perestroika and Glasnost became for a growing number of
Soviet citizens in synonyms of deterioration of everyday life. The ideas
enunciated in Gorbachev's book "La Perestroika and Glasnost for us and for the
whole world "had a different effect than many expected in their day. They brought
the weakening of the Soviet Union, of the principles of operation and of
discipline in society and the state, and these phenomena have not damaged at all
capitalism: it is still difficult to appreciate the consequences of the disappearance of the Union
Soviet in all its breadth. New perspectives of expansion and maximization of
benefits open of course to the capitalists. For humanity it is announced by the
on the contrary, a period of uncertainty, of wars, of development of unemployment, emigration of
East to West and many other things.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 8 of 53

Page 8

Did Perestroika have consequences in the Soviet Union? Whoever doubts it can
address the minutes of the discussions between the CC of the CPSU and the secretaries of the
Republics, Regions and Districts on July 18, 1989, at the headquarters of the Central Committee.
Numerous speakers then demanded to address the communists and the working class to
that they committed themselves in a determined way to protect and defend socialism.

Former Minister Ryzhkov informed on that occasion that the Party and the State were
They were in an extraordinarily catastrophic situation. Such were thrown
accusations against the Party and the State both in the country and abroad that these
They had lost virtually all confidence in the eyes of the people. The facts that were
predictable then showed that things would become difficult to control in a
context where the Party had lost its influence on the facts. He explained that the
action of the committees and grassroots organizations of the Party was many times
publicly denigrated.

The representative of the Communist Party of Ukraine showed that destructive criticism
and violent attacks against the Party became increasingly frequent. Other

intervener stressed that the years since October 1917 were presented by numerous means as the most terrible in history. On the pretext of looking for new ways and methods of work were often required to throw everything that the Party had performed until then. In such a situation, it was important to restore without delay the Party authority. Another speaker was still of the opinion that the situation had become such that in each domain: economy, ideology, institutions ... everything converged at one point culminating of contradictions. Accelerated restructuring had caused such sinking of the economy that the stream of rallies and demonstrations is It quickly transformed into a wave of strikes. The events of the last period clearly showed, as explained by a representative of the Moscow organization of the Party, that many Party committees no longer controlled the situation.

Which was expressed by the fact that the slogan: "all power to the Soviets" was replaced by that of "soviets without communists". All this shows that at that point of history, the disintegration of the Soviets was already very advanced. The slogan of Gorbachev: "all power to the Soviets" resulted in the removal of Communists out of government action. Available documents show clearly that, for several years, disciplined work had left its place at demonstrations and strikes that were often aimed at reducing influence from the center and replace it with self-management. The ties that existed between companies They were interrupted. It became suddenly impossible to procure numerous products essential for everyday life as soap powder, salt ... The action of the mafia

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 9 of 53

Page 9

He gave an incontestable power. Like fast-growing plants, the "no officers "that existed since 1986 abandoned their camouflage and launched mainly that slogan of "soviets without communists."

The Soviet Union was no longer available, in numerous domains, to control Life in society. Terror and fear took to the streets. Four years of Perestroika and de Glasnost had caused such a collapse of confidence that slander towards Party made their way easily. What they call "Western values" spread without No clipper.

This evolution was possible only because in 1985 the leadership of the Party and the State had fallen into the hands of a group that, despite all the resolutions of the Party congresses until then, finally led the Soviet Union to chaos. In the first place the argument was used according to which this "left" had given the

back to dogmatism that reigned until then to get as close as possible to Leninism. Actually, his line turned its back on Marx and Lenin. This line crashed first with misunderstanding and then the resistance of the Party and society. It led to renewed and savage attacks as well as slander against the proven cadres of the Match. The members of the Central Committee were fed in each session with disinformation. Thus, each CC member received in each session an ad hoc material destined to convince him of corruption and abuse of power committed by numerous picture. All this served to make the Central Committee complacent, to cease its functions to entire layers of leaders of the Party and the State, clear the way for that the directives elaborated by the "Reform Center" of Moscow. There is no doubt that such staging recalls many former officials of the SED a scenario that they know well.

The ambassadors in the socialist countries were given the mission of informing the General secretaries of the sister parties. They explained on this occasion that this session of the CC concluded in the hope of a true renewal of the Party and the State Soviets All this happened under the same conditions as the communication about a decree on alcohol that was presented as having to improve the situation in the businesses and families, particularly in the interest of women. This decree was evoked by the Warsaw Pact Advisory Policy Commission. Was immediately repealed and considered harmful. But he did not communicate about it. The rapid succession of slogans Constantly changing was shocking. First it was: "acceleration of development economic and social ", then: " all powers to the soviets ", which was replaced by: "All powers to the President". All this eventually led to the collapse of the USSR The flag of the Soviet Union stopped waving over the Kremlin in December

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
 Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
 Page 10 of 53

Page 10

of 1991. It was a symbolic and brutal conclusion. He also demonstrated the way in which a Village can be carried out of the light. Shortly before, however, citizens of that great union they had pronounced for their maintenance. It shows what it is possible when the destiny of a town is entrusted to demagogues and adventurers. At the end of this unfortunate evolution, these revealed that they had always been considered Social Democrats, who were determined advocates of the market economy and that the RFA It was for them a model. We can only say in this regard that if we had attended this episode of Perestroika in a previous period, many citizens of the GDR They would have hesitated to become their defenders.

At first there was complicity between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, once he left the Match. Towards the end, however, their relations tensed. Yeltsin's position is

He became so strong that he could decide the dissolution of the USSR by creating a Slavic triumvirate: Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.

The Warsaw Pact sank during the course of these events, not without having adopted a defense doctrine that already provided for abandoning the GDR in case of aggression of NATO. But this point was not known until later. It was however for the NATO the signal that important changes were taking place in Moscow and consequently within the Warsaw Pact, and that these changes would be beneficial for the achievement of the objectives of the Atlantic Pact. The inclination to a overheating of relations with the main imperialist power and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union ended the disappearance of the community of Socialist states. The political map of Europe and the world was transformed with it. The relationship of forces was staggered worldwide. This was evidenced by The Gulf War. The civil war ravaged Yugoslavia. In one night the policy of interference initiated by the West led to the danger of a new world war. During the "hot" period of the Gulf War, pacifist demonstrations they showed that the people had understood the character of this war. Indeed, they paraded shouting: "No to the war for oil!"

There is no doubt that the world lost its balance of forces. In this period full of serious consequences for the human race, the domination of the US that is now clear and open, it could not have been made without the changes that occurred on the map European politician The same goes for the brutal participation of the military apparatus American in the achievement of political objectives.

The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact effectively took the Americans a great Overweight in Europe. They were able to get into the Gulf adventure. With his victory,

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 11 of 53

Page 11

They want to consecrate their dominant position in the world. This situation is pregnant with dangers for peoples, particularly in the Middle East, in Africa and in the Balkans. Victory speeches held after the barbaric bombings against the population civilian in Iraq and the massacres of women and children overflow known expressions: "the greatness of the USA ", now able to handle the destinies of the world alone. Does not fit doubt these intentions. His action seeks to obtain world domination by means military It is a new major danger to humanity. It is also the objective result of the "new economic policy" and the "new thought".

Global thinking led the USSR, a great socialist power, to a catastrophe global. The tragic nature of events appeared completely clear when the power of the soviets was destroyed. These developed according to a rhythm that did not leave even even time to repeal treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance concluded between the Soviet Union and the GDR, which remained in force until it signed the 2 + 4 Treaty [8] .

Kohl stated that the unification took place in a short luminous moment of the history of the world and could not have taken place before or after it. That moment was not a product of chance. The conditions were created very consciously.

Refusing to characterize the events that unfold today as they are, would have serious consequences. It is about the world class struggle. Such is the starting point necessary to analyze the causes of the defeat of the community of socialist states. Without that, you can only end up in theories built on your own ends, such as those that speak of the collapse of a socialist model.

Those who reject this view are simply not willing or not in situation of judging events in terms of class. It is true that the 1989 demonstrations were of great importance and expressed real discontent. This does not prevent me from repeating, with the seriousness that suits the subject, what I already said in 1991. It was and still is a mistake to believe that the 1989 changes occurred immediately. All who had this conviction should abandon it without hesitation. The changes of 1989 resulted from a radical transformation of world politics. This is what I know You can understand today even more clearly than at the time. This transformation resulted in turn from the new orientations adopted by Gorbachev and the management Soviet

Gorby's proclamations dissipated. Millions of people, particularly those inhabitants of the former Soviet Union, they will suffer for a long time yet the

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 12 of 53

Consequences of this policy. In the wild competition society, which is our turn today Luckily, there will be no place for stable social openness. The facts show it already. The capitalism, where man is a wolf to man, in the image and likeness of the Current situation in the RFA does not represent the alternative to a socially just world. By I don't feel comforted by the events of 1989/90, more than the fact that that show that the socialist idea is not dead at all. Many call this a Thinking away from reality. They show only their misunderstanding of the

historical processes or their incorrigible positioning in antisocialism or the anti-Marxism

THE YEAR 1989

Virtually no one thought, at the beginning of 1989, about surprises and tragedies that this year was going to bring to the world.

As every year, statesmen from all over the world exchanged messages full of wishes for peace and prosperity for the people. Millions of people they exchanged their wishes of happiness that united friendly to transmitters and receivers. As usual during the last years, the glasses collided a first time between friends at 10 pm for the Soviet New Year and then at midnight for the Year New German The most sincere wishes crossed the borders of the Elbe to the Ocean Peaceful. All aspired to a peaceful future for the socialist world, of which I hoped it would retain a strong influence on the evolution of the world, despite the Perestroika and the Glasnost. This influence should be exercised in the sense of socialism and peace.

Before the end of the year that had just ended, the Central Committee of the SED had gathered and had addressed issues related to the situation and the future of the GDR in a world full of threats but still peaceful. We started from the need for an analysis Exactly of the society to prepare the decisions that would be imposed in the matter of Society structure. The XII SED Congress was convened for 1990. Internal and international issues prompted us to gather this instance. Everything seemed Until then, good soldier. It could start 1989.

The XII SED Congress was therefore scheduled for spring 1990. Its preparation should open wide the doors of a vast discussion and a popular expression about the future structures of the socialist society in the GDR. I

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 13 of 53

Page 13

particularly underlined two issues in the report of the Political Bureau to the VII Plenary of the CC. Firstly: the strengthening of the friendship between the GDR and the USSR and the deepening relations to this effect, whose intensity and diversity were already without unparalleled embargo. Secondly: that of our contribution to the solution of

Central problem of our time, ensuring peace on a world scale. My speech to him
The plenary had been collectively prepared by the Political Bureau and approved. I responded to those who had the illusion of putting tares between the PCUS and the SED. In the interest of a reinforcement of our own ranks, I evoked the mutual support convention concluded during a meeting held a few weeks before with Gorbachev; this informal agreement implied the implementation of the decisions of the XII Congress of the SED and the XVII of the PCUS. It indicated that those who wanted to rewrite the history of PCUS and the Soviet Union in a sense that corresponded to the interests of the bourgeoisie should not deviate from our objectives in terms of strengthening our relations with the Soviets. He explained that Gorbachev had qualified the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the "renewal cultural " [9] of events of historical dimension for the reinforcement of the power of the Soviets.

It was in his speech for the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution and it was not possible That all this was not true at once.

In early 1989 the Political Bureau adopted important resolutions regarding this VII Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the SED. Commissions were established to which They integrated scientists and technicians. These received the mission to prepare proposals for improve the work of the Party and the State. It was about eliminating everything that was opposed to the march forward of socialist construction in the GDR so that the Party fulfill his mission of "bearer of innovation" that was his reason for being. This work It was fully underway.

After a quarter, there were good analyzes and good proposals. In common with their allies of the block of democratic parties, the SED launched the preparation activities of the local elections of May 6. We worked on a project called "National Front of Democratic Germany" [10] .

In an encounter with its President, we agreed on the role and the meaning of the elections of 1989 and the 40th Anniversary of the existence of the RDA These elections were to take place entirely under the sign of a broad deployment of socialist democracy. People had to participate actively in the Decisions that compromised the future. It should also be openly discussed comparison with bourgeois democracy with the example of what separated the GDR and the

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 14 of 53

RFA Our call for elections affirmed that the GDR did not know about unemployment massive, but full employment. The new poverty was unknown because welfare

progressed continuously. We could do without the “restaurants of heart” [11], having all income to eat correctly. Teaching and Vocational training, accessible to all, was far from being in crisis.

The constituencies were reduced to allow a discussion forum broader in pre-election debates. Each candidate should not only be known for being able to present, but also enjoy the confidence of the voters of their sector of Residence or your company. The level of codecision and participation should be achieved necessary for the solution of many problems that appeared locally. For example, urgent issues of trade improvement, repair services, management of housing, both in terms of new construction and the improvement of existing habitat. The problems linked to the resolution of this housing issue. They came first.

Voters had to decide the composition of 7,800 local councils of representatives, which were 203,000 in total. The law required to present a third of Candidates above the number of seats to be awarded.

Many important problems were raised in the electoral assemblies and others meetings. The growing number of demands for legal exit from the GDR, the disproportions in economic development, the problems of the consumer industries, the lack of materials and raw materials, the inability of the light industry to have in account of the needs, the irritating supply problems, the pricing policy, The quality of the products, all this was the subject of debates. Globally, the atmosphere was open. Whoever presents things differently does not tell the truth. The participation electoral was high although unlike previous elections, there were no actions organized to remember their duty to abstentionists. It wasn't the government or the parties those who organized the elections but the Central Election Commission in which all layers of the population were represented. This corresponded to provisions of the electoral law. At no time will the SED CC or the addresses of the parties that were his allies interfered in the electoral process. This was carried out by district and municipal commissions according to the directives of the Central Commission, whose detailed nature was to govern the composition and operating conditions of the polling stations and their presidency. The elections were held, scrutiny and proclamation of the results were held publicly. After the centralization of the results by the National Commission, rumors and insinuations suggested however that the scrutiny had been subject to manipulation.

Self-appointed citizen initiatives and representatives of the Church began a campaign denouncing electoral fraud. Other echoes were heard. Attacks developed without regard to the representatives of the state authority, globally qualified as fraudulent. It was not possible to offer proof to the contrary because the electoral law required that the votes were destroyed after a certain period of time. Anyway, the manipulations occurred mainly in Berlin and Dresden have been subsequently revealed. The today's conditions therefore encourage me to raise a number of political issues very serious

First, what would have changed in the final result an electoral participation reduced by 2% or 3%, even a lower result by 10%? It is possible to ask. So what kind of manipulation is it and in whose interest? What do you want conceal by suggesting an alleged obedience "beyond orders"? The fact that Did anyone entertain themselves in giving political ammunition to the enemies of socialism in the GDR?

These questions must be raised because Mr. Schabowski has expressed himself several times on this subject [12].

I do not know by instructions of who the counterfeiters acted, in any case not by the mine. In the long term, the lie consists in transforming an invitation to obtain the best possible outcome, habit not only legitimate but also current practice of all the political forces, in an invitation to falsify the results, will not even be worth these heirs of the Baron of Münchhausen. This is something they know very well in Bonn and in the judicial apparatus of the RFA, despite all the media turmoil. However the purpose: slander the GDR and show that it was a "non-right state", justifies apparently all means.

Let's go back to the decisive year that was 1989. Among all this we come to June. Met a Plenary of the Central Committee. On the agenda: on the one hand the evaluation of the work of masses during the local elections and the problems that appeared with that occasion, and for on the other hand the state of the economic development plan for 1989.

I did not participate in the preparation of the report that was delivered by another member of the Political Bureau. I dedicated myself during that period to the preparation of my trip to the Union Soviet, to Moscow and Magnitogorsk. I remember this because some of my old ones colleagues drop in their statements that everything revolved around me and that they didn't. They had no influence on the collective elaboration of our policy.

When I returned from the Soviet Union, I heard that the Plenary had found little echo and that the Party and opinion expected more. The Central Committee would not have responded

Page 16

sufficiently to the issues that appeared increasingly in the foreground. It was of problems that we had already dealt with in the VII Plenary, for example travel demands to the West, the need to ensure the continuity of production and the phenomena of break that appeared regularly in the supply. For this purpose, it was demonstrated through controls that stocks were sufficient, for example with regard to meat, and that there was no reason not to supply the stores, if not for a willingness to sabotage that existed clearly in wholesale.

All these problems were known, but we couldn't solve everything quickly that would have been necessary. Today it is no longer possible to establish what it was intentional and what resulted from objective difficulties. It also makes no sense philosophize about it. Capitalism has now brought us very other concerns. Concerns about what everyone's future will be and concerns about the conditions of existence itself.

So I traveled to the Soviet Union in mid-June 1989. The day after my Arriving at the Kremlin I met Gorbachev first and then Shevardnadze joined we. Gorbachev again stressed the importance of the strategic alliance that united the Soviet Union and the GDR.

I fully shared this view. This time [Gorbachev] also found the opportunity to discuss the issues that were under negotiation in Bonn and in the course of which, as we know now, the two sides had already adopted a point of view common about the further evolution of things. Gorbachev may have already been done Social Democrat at that time, since he later publicly claimed that ideology. The rest of my trip was devoted to a visit to the steel combined of Magnitogorsk, to the fraternal reception that the staff gave me, to meetings with the youth and veterans with some of whom I had worked in 1930-31. I was accompanied by Vorotnikov, president of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR (Republic Soviet Federal Socialist of Russia).

What struck me during that trip was the fact that nobody was talking about Gorbachev, about Perestroika or le Glasnost, but there was much talk about the hardships of catering. I stayed a short time in Berlin after my return from the Union Soviet I took the plane again with the delegation that was to participate in the Commission of Political Agreement (of the Warsaw Pact), one of whose sessions took place in Bucharest According to the agenda, I took the floor on the first day and tried problems International I could not participate in the work of the second day. A biliary colic

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 17 of 53

Page 17

It broke all my forecasts. They took me back by plane to be hospitalized in Berlin

It turns out that I have not participated in the work of the Political Bureau since the beginning of July until October 1, 1989. This period was one of shock to the environment politician to the detriment of the Party and the Government in the GDR. The "European Picnic" organized by Otto de Habsburg¹³ was a visible sign of this. The guests could take advantage of it to get to the German Federal Republic through the border between Hungary and Austria. They used this opportunity extensively. Such practices were naturally favored by the western German government and different media in Hungary and Austria. GDR citizens regrouped in an organized manner in the RFA embassies in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw. Finally, contrary to all the provisions in force under the Warsaw Pact, the Hungarian border was open with the objective of damaging the GDR, of which three million tourists they found at that time of the year in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. It was learned more later that Hungary had received a 500 million mark check for this from Bonn. The evacuation of the embassy in Prague that had been demanded by the GDR was transformed by Genscher [14] into a nationalist demonstration.

In the same period, influence groups appeared under pressure in the GDR the meaning of a "break" in favor of Gorbachev's policy. The Deutsches Theater was one of its bastions, supported by the Ministry of Culture, of which some responsible. They took the floor in Potsdam against the Government. The representatives of the Church will. They were sparing increasing turmoil. Monsignor Leich, his highest dignitary, expressed openly already his desire to see Perestroika and Glasnost come true in the GDR. The Party and the Government did not take a position or take any action against this agitation. This period was described as "period of mutism."

However, the Political Bureau had discussed in September the situation in the country. But it was only to decide to wait for my return before making the slightest decision. He stayed for October 10, that is, already after the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the RDA. At the end of September, beginning of October, I was able to resume my activities in the bosom of the Political Bureau. He studied and approved my solemn speech to which they were made various amendments. Nobody proposed however, fundamentally transform their content. After the FDJ leadership had transformed the 40th parade Anniversary in a superfiesta dedicated to Gorbachev, there were incidents and shocks in the vicinity of the Palace of the Republic where the official reception took place. Some people tried to take over the security posts arranged around the Palace

To tarnish the ceremony. It was, as it turned out, to greet Gorbachev, who

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

1/21/2020

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

Page 18 of 53

Page 18

He was later made an honorary citizen of Berlin. I had asked vainly at the end of September to the competent authorities that restricted a vast area around the building. This would have effectively protected official celebrations and heads of state guests of the GDR.

Such was the context in which the BP session planned for days 10 and 11. I met Egon Krenz [15] the day before. He took from his wallet a Motion for a resolution that he wanted to make adopted the next day by the Political Bureau. I gave at the same time a document from the direction of the FDJ and prepared by the Youth Research Institute. It was, for the sake of a supposed "Renewal" of the GDR, to replace those responsible for the country, from the central administration to the rural councils, by FDJ cadres.

I called Egon Krenz's attention to the inconvenience of his project. This one could not be elaborated rather than at the exit of the meeting of the Political Bureau in order to have in Count all the points of view that the comrades expressed in the meeting. Me for me I was opposed to this project because it referred to a "turn" in the activity of Party and the State. Its content already called into question the apparatus of the socialist state. But, visibly, it had been drawn up in common with a certain group of members of the Political Bureau, as well as with certain people in Moscow.

Everyone, at the next day's meeting, considered the situation as serious. I know imposed a statement from the Political Bureau. I defended my point of view: the text should clearly call on the Party and the population to mobilize and defend workers' power and farmer. I was against all reference to a "turn" that could only lead to the exacerbation of feelings in the Party and among the popular masses. I let him know unambiguous

The Political Bureau was certainly willing to admit some transformations of Egon Krenz project writing. But he was not at all willing to follow me and to affirm that any political line that emphasizes the "changes" would be harmful. The General mood had evolved. My "colleagues" already planned to free me from my responsibilities That was clear.

It is Willy Stoph who, in the next session, raised a motion in this regard. But, Under such conditions, I was willing to resign anyway. I did that in

The course of the discussion.

All this had worked as a precise clockwork mechanism, since each step later in this direction had been planned according to Gorbachev, as it was

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 19 of 53

Page 19

further disclosed. My illness at the beginning of July had already given occasion to the Western press presenting the GDR as a state devoid of direction politics.

The proposal to operate a “turn” in favor of Gorbachevian politics came in a context where the discontent of the popular masses and the indecision of the leadership Politics were fatal to the GDR. The draft "turn" had been agreed between Gorbachev, Krenz, Modrow, Harry Tisch [16] and Markus Wolf [17] . This idea was so wrong as Glasnost and Perestroika itself. The "renewal" of the GDR led directly to the annexation (“Anschluss” [18]) of it to the capitalist RFA. While Hans Modrow, a futuristic GDR prime minister, dreamed of a better GDR, his own Gorbachev already declared openly that the unity of Germany was a matter of the Germans

The statement that publicly made known the “turn” was in practice the gunshot Exit of all the stages that followed: abandonment of the leading role of the Party, collective resignation of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, as well as the Government of the RDA in full; directive decreeing the systematic replacement of all secretaries of district and subdistrict of the Party; dissolution of state organs; self-dissolution of the Working Class Combat Groups ("Kampfgruppen der Arbeiterklasse", KG) and many other things

The new address of the SED-PDS embarked on a slander campaign excessive against the main elements of the previous address. The mass media They made the game. They were prompted by Günther Schabowski, a former member of the BP

A rally organized on November 4 at the Alexanderplatz by a group of people from the culture that benefited from the support of the Berlin leadership of the Party reached the Highlight of all this. Among other speakers, Markus Wolf, which had been during Long years attached to the Minister of State Security, he told the audience that the whole old guard could be locked up without much scruple, which happened indeed when a petition for this purpose was submitted to the Attorney General by Modrow and Krenz. No linguistic subtlety can make you forget that the first

arrests, that is the beginning of the criminalization process of those responsible for the SED, they took place during the period in which they were in office. Today, whoever you can have with these individuals the relationships you want [... possibly missing text ... N. of T.] . Things reached a paroxysm such that at the end of January I was admitted provisionally in the clinic of La Charité and this after the serious operation of a

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 20 of 53

Page 20

kidney tumor Despite the furious efforts of the Public Ministry, the court of Berlin refused to order the police to take me to him. When you analyze today this process and takes into account everything that was made public later, appears clearly that only the conspiracy activity of various members of the Political Bureau of collaborators of the Central Committee apparatus and of numerous Ministry leaders for State Security, it allowed the decapitation of the management of the SED and the RDA The determining pressure for the capitulation of the Political Bureau came from Moscow in the "spin" moment. Let us note in brackets that comrades Hermann Axen, Heinz Kessler, Willy Stoph [19] , Günther Kleiber [20] and Erich Mielke remained faithful to their passed during his interrogation by the prosecutor of the GDR. The indestructible trust of the members of the State and Party apparatus towards the Soviet Union had been then diverted from its purposes to serve the capitulation. With Hans Modrow at head of the Government and Gregor Gysi [21] in the direction of the PDS, a group was installed leader in which Gysi and Markus Wolf played a motor role.

On the eve of the 10th Plenary Session of the Central Committee, Egon Krenz let me know that Gorbachev had talked to him and he still had to polish the content of his speech. I said: "If you consider it necessary, do it, it is your problem." Only after the session did I it seemed clear that the content demanded by Moscow ultimately led to the policy taken until then was demonized and with it the responsible leaders of the SED to the extent that they defended positions in the Political Bureau that did not correspond with those in Moscow. It was comrades Hermann Axen, Heinz Kessler and Günther Kleiber The role of Werner Krolikowski [22] is interesting in this context, since it is known from his own statements that he worked for more than a decade for the KGB and regularly sent reports to Moscow. You can also read in his book that initiated legal proceedings against the comrades leaders, at the initiative of Krenz and Gysi and with the support of Markus Wolf.

The extraordinary Congress of the SED-PDS took place in early December 1989. Its development was orchestrated by Markus Wolf who was a member of the commission high school Outgoing members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau could not

take the floor.

This showed that the collective resignation of the Political Bureau had been a mistake. The GDR He found himself without an address. The constitution of the PDS resulted in a party that not only He did not direct, but also refused to give directions. I must say with the perspective of time that, due to the pressure exerted by Gorbachev, the members of the Political Bureau they didn't see any other way out than the one that consisted of approving all the changes without knowing

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 21 of 53

Page 21

that they would be forced to retire and that some of them would be arrested in difficult conditions. That was the most painful experience for those comrades.

When the PDS later introduced a paragraph on "SED crimes" in the Congressional draft resolution, was in the midst of the imprisonment of members from the Political Bureau, from district and sub-district secretaries, and from senior officials of the State. The criminalization coming from our own ranks brought wide phenomena of consolidation that made things easier when the reactionary forces of the RFA they began to take revenge systematically of the communists and other elements "of left".

THE REVENGE CAMPAIGN

I will begin this chapter with an appointment that will not cease to interest world opinion concerned about reactionary evolution in Germany. It doesn't come from one's pen of the numerous führercitos [23] that are expressed openly in the RFA. I have found in the minutes of the plenary sessions of the first Forum of the Federal Ministry of Justice directed by Klaus Kinkel, who later became Minister Foreign Affairs And you can read in it the following considerations: "In what Regarding the so-called GDR and its Government, it was not even a State Independent. This RDA call was never recognized from the point of view of Law of the States. There was only one Germany, part of which was occupied by A gang of criminals. It was not possible, for certain reasons, to start proceedings against those criminals, but that does not change the fact that there was a Germany only, that a single right was in force and that was intended to apply to the criminals."

Such attacks against the GDR can only be described as monstrous since the point of view of International Law. They have not been extracted from a text that dates back to the Cold War era when the RFA aspired to reconstitute a German Reich in the frontiers of 1937, but of a statement published under the responsibility of a Minister of Bonn during the year 1991. Let us note in passing that this Minister was never elected by anyone in the Federal Parliament, the Bundestag, but appointed for that position for its "liberal" party that represents the direct interests of the employer. The world whole and all the members of the UN to which the GDR belonged know that the full GDR recognition as a sovereign state was contained in numerous agreements of

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
 Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
 Page 22 of 53

Page 22

International right. Maybe Mr. Kinkel ignored him? As leader of the Secret services, you should nevertheless know. Not to mention the Fundamental Treaty between the two German states, let's note that the Moscow Treaty provided that the GDR It enjoyed as a State of the same entity as the RFA. This means that borders between the RFA and the GDR they were of the same nature as those that separate other States from each other. The Bundestag (West German Parliament) ratified the Moscow Treaty as well as the Fundamental Treaty whereby the two German governments mutually recognized their sovereignty regarding internal affairs and its independence in the conduct of its respective diplomacy. The process in the course of which I am supposed to appear is He is preparing with contempt these facts. Revenge justice is used! Some naive people may be comforted by the idea that it only concerns Some people who have occupied the highest levels of the State. They are wrong. The The citizens of the GDR will soon become aware of the fact that it is of a "prototype process". It is intended to justify others that will affect all those who have participated in the building of socialism in the GDR applying the laws of our state. The quotation I made at the beginning of this chapter reveals guidelines precise. These create an angle of attack for mass chase operations. Yes to at the head of the GDR there were individuals who planned murders, that state was illegal and illegitimate. All those who have operated or have simply served their Management are guilty. Socialism is criminal. The same thing happens with the forces from the left who have tried to institute it and with those who remain in favor his. Such declarations of war do not affect only the accused. All who have taken or take sides for an alternative to capitalist society such as this one exists in the RFA, may be affected. Some refuse to understand it and risk suffer a painful awakening. The criminalization of the State that constituted the Republic

Democratic leads to a true civil death of the mass of the citizens of the GDR. The one who has participated in the construction of that "State of non-right" will be "Legitimately" kicked out. Worker, farmer, teacher or artist, must have take into account the fact that his expulsion from the administration, education, theater or of the laboratory, it is "legal". He will join the army of the unemployed, which already has millions of members. Anything can be done with the legal thesis of the "State of non-right": to organize the dismantling of all social conquests, as well as the mass persecutions against the left and democratic forces. A representative typical of the medieval ecclesiastical inquisition, pastor Gauck [24], has received the power of To separate an entire town into two elements: the "criminals" and the victims.

Does the UN Human Rights Commission have nothing to say about this mass persecution that degenerates into state terror? Do the Kohl and Kinkel believe that their

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 23 of 53

Page 23

Oppression campaign will not, over time, raise any resistance? Do you have already in mind an open fascist dictatorship? While all these questions assail me in this Moabit cell, I must, as long as my forces allow me, to focus on the concrete development of the process. The Prosecutor's Office of the RFA strives in its act of accusation, for making this Berlin process, communist process, take out of Time and space activity of the National Defense Council of the GDR. It is about This is the best way to establish the personal responsibility of the accused: H. Kessler [25], Fritz Strelitz [26], Hans Albrecht [27] and myself.

The weapons systems of the Warsaw Pact and NATO were widely deployed in central Europe. This massive accumulation of military forces It required permanent attention. A coincidence of unfortunate coincidences could have in fact caused the outbreak of a conflict whose dimension would have It could have been that of World War III. Enough to convince yourself, check the official documents of NATO and the Warsaw Pact referring to this issue.

Over the past 35 years, the danger of a nuclear apocalypse planned Too many times over Europe. Such a conflict would have seriously questioned the possibilities of survival of humanity on Earth.

An active policy of reason and goodwill contributed, from the GDR, to conjure This danger The citizens of the GDR, and also those of the RFA, owe the days that they have lived in peace to the action of the first within the Warsaw alliance. How much Will this peace last in the future? Here is a good question, since the dominant forces

now press Great Germany to commit its troops anywhere in the world. The SPD management also makes an active contribution to this evolution. Since Berlin plays an important role in German political life, it seems to me according to the demands of history attract attention to the fact that Berlin Occidental benefited, and not to a small extent, from the peace policy of the Covenant of Warsaw This city occupied by the Western powers: France, Great Britain and the United States benefited from the Moscow Treaty between the Soviet Union and the FRG, of the Treaties of Prague and Warsaw, of the four-party agreement on Berlin signed on 3 September 1971 and the Fundamental Treaty between the RFA and the GDR. These actions of the four great powers, of the two German states and of the other parts of those treated, were decisive steps for Europe and the world to evolve from a period of confrontation with one of cooperation. Do not forget that the signature of all those treaties took place while the security measures adopted in 1961 were in force [28] .

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 24 of 53

Page 24

The treaty system signed in 1971 and 1972 opened the way to the Helsinki process. Leonidas Breznev [29] and Willy Brandt [30] were originally. In all countries, right-wing forces struggled to make it difficult, including Gerald Ford, President of the United States at that time, encountered strong opposition, just as I He explained during our interviews in Helsinki. If we remember these days events, it is obligatory to agree that the Berlin crisis was halted by the decision adopted by the Warsaw Pact on August 5, 1961 [31] . Without this solution, the weather It would not have improved in Europe, but on the contrary. A spot of spreading oil uncontrollable could ignite at any time at the border between the two states Germans or between the RFA and West Berlin. The decision taken by the Covenant of Warsaw to ensure reliable control at the border between the GDR and West Berlin was a decision that led to a reassessment of the problems of world politics.

The European treaty system was the expression of this evolution. Illustrate the fact of that only the cooperation of states with different social systems could guarantee the peace. The period that preceded the measures taken in August 1961 was marked for an important level of confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. From 1958 to 1961, the head of the Soviet Government strove to make his proposal for a Peace Treaty with Germany, and then when the implementation of that project is proved impossible, he thought, still in the course of 1961, the transformation of Berlin Occidental in free city. All this caused, due to the negative reactions of

Western powers, great nervousness, not only in ministerial cabinets and foreign ministries, but also in the general states. There was a meeting between Khrushchev and Kennedy in Vienna. It gave no results and everything seemed to be then on the edge of the razor.

The world was thus heading towards the decisions that were made on August 5, 1961 by the instances of the Warsaw Pact meeting in session in the Kremlin. Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs for a long time, stated the reasons why which the western powers were not willing to solve the question German in consultation with the Soviet Union. For Adenauer, keep power in the RFA was visibly more important than a reunified Germany. In these conditions, the Soviet leadership considered that it was necessary to guarantee in a way Reliable border between the GDR and West Berlin. It was about protecting the community of socialist states against major damages.

This in a context in which Western powers responded to the proposals of peace of the Soviet Union with a relaunch of the arms race. Andrei Gromyko recalls that the events that occurred on the night of August 12 to 13

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 25 of 53

Page 25

of 1961 corresponded to the proposals made by the Soviet Union as well as to the decisions made on August 5. These were executed under the orders of the marshal Soviet Koniev. Since September 1961, he also asked Heinz Hoffmann, Minister of Defense of the GDR, that additional minefields be installed intended to guarantee the western border against all aggressive intentions from West.

All this was launched in accordance with the Treaty of Alliance between the Soviet Union and the GDR, applicable until 2005, as well as with the operational plans prepared by the Supreme Command of the Warsaw Pact forces. The directives concerning Germany's division into four zones were derived from the results of the Second World War. The same applies to the transfer to the Polish authorities of the eastern regions of the Oder and the Neisse, and issues related to the borders between the GDR and the RFA as well as between the GDR and West Berlin. All this constituted the "responsibility over Germany as a whole" exercised by the Soviet Union in common with the others winning powers. I take this opportunity to let you know here clearly: in this framework, the RDA fulfilled its obligations to its ally, exactly as it He did the RFA with NATO.

KOHL AND RELATIONS WITH BONN

The withdrawal of Helmut Schmidt and the election of Kohl to the post of federal Chancellor They created a new situation in inter-German relations. The party he was leading, the CDU, had effectively tried to hinder all the steps forward in the slow process of normalization of relations between the RFA and the GDR ...

I think of Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, Herbert Wehner and Egon Bahr. They they broke the ice and began to create the conditions for the signing of the Treaty Fundamental. This was followed by the entry of the GDR and the RFA into the UN as members enjoying equal rights. Such evolutions constituted a turn in the European politics The context evolved little by little from the confrontation with the cooperation. The confrontation, however, did not stop living with cooperation. The CDU of Kohl and the CSU of Strauss did not stop expressing an opposition of the most violent to normalization policy. That is why Willy resigned Brandt He had to leave his post after the Guillaume case [32] , an error of the GDR secret services that nothing can excuse. Helsinki Conference Only

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 26 of 53

Page 26

opened the way to cooperation with the Government of the RFA thanks to my meeting with Helmut Schmidt Then came the latter's visit to the GDR. Which led to positive results, although its end was marred by the sudden proclamation of the state of siege in Poland [33] by W. Jaruzelski [34] .

Some time later, when they seemed to open perspectives for relationships inter-sisters, Helmut Schmidt had to abruptly leave his post as Chancellor after the rupture of the social-liberal coalition in Bonn. Helmut Schmidt called me to Inform me of your intentions. I expressed my regret for this imminent withdrawal and my thanks for the quality of the cooperation made with him. And we arrived at the Chancellor Kohl. None of us knew what the future of relationships between RFA and the GDR ... It was the man who led the opposition in the Bundestag since years ago He had systematically taken a stand against any improvement in relations with the GDR. From now on, it would be Chancellor. His general policy statement threw no Despite some light when ruling on the continuation of the application of the Treaties of the Ost-politik. Inter-German relations could continue and develop. It was

of an important issue at that time to

reduce the level of confrontation and enhance cooperation between states with systems different social.

Our main objective was to establish normal relations between the two States Germans: the socialist and the capitalist. This was in the interest of peace and the citizens of The two states.

Last used by Helmut Schmidt, the phone rang one day at my house. I He asked if, and when, I would be willing to speak with Chancellor Kohl. Naturally, I was ready This telephone conversation dealt with the continuation of relations between the RFA and the GDR after the change of government in Bonn. We exchange proposals about future meetings between us. Everything discussed on this occasion appears in the corresponding minutes [35] .

Our meeting was made possible by a sad occasion: the funeral of Chernenko [36] .

It took place on March 12, 1985 in a reception house of the Soviet Government in the Lenin Mountains of Moscow. In an open atmosphere, we make arrangements for principle for the future of our relationships. The Chancellor was visibly striving to create a good atmosphere for the visit I planned to make to Bonn.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 27 of 53

Page 27

This took place in 1987. In Moscow, problems of maintaining peace based on the existence of two sovereign German states and in that regard of their independence and the inviolability of their territories. It was made a final statement by Teltschik and Hermann, respectively Kohl's collaborator for foreign affairs, and secretary of state of the GDR. We firmly express our willingness that only peace would come out in the future of German soil [37] .

In the intervals between work sessions, I had the opportunity to discuss with Kohl about the resistance to Hitler in Germany, from the action of Hans and Sophie Scholl [38] , and others things. We agreed a deadline for an important issue: my official visit to the RFA. It was from Entry a matter of convenience. It was about returning the visit to the GDR by Helmut Schmidt. Of course, it was also necessary to improve as much as possible the Relations between the RFA and the GDR. We already know that our Moscow meeting had allowed to improve the possibilities of circulation between the RDA, on the one hand, and the RFA and

West Berlin from another. Later I had meetings with SPD leaders. The governments of the two countries determined the date of my official visit.

I must reveal what follows in this regard: my visit to the RFA should have taken place already in 1981. The idea had been discussed with the addresses of the CDU and the SPD. So a violent article entitled "On a wrong path" appeared in "Pravda." I know it was about the visit project. I didn't hesitate to call Chernenko by phone. Was of holiday and we arranged an appointment in Moscow. Comrades participated in this meeting Hermann Axen [39], Kurt Hager [40] and Erich Mielke [41] for the GDR, Chernenko, Gorbachev, Ustinov, Shebrikov, Rusakov and Grichenko represented the direction Soviet

I clearly expressed my point of view: that article was slanderous for the GDR. Everybody those present were expressed. Gorbachev concluded on the Soviet side. Explained long why that visit should not take place. I replied that we could not decide about that immediately. That decision would be made in Berlin. The results of this I find they are known however: the visit to the RFA was delayed three years.

I was received friendly in Bonn in September 1987. For the first time it was heard there the national anthem of the GDR. He paid the convenient tribute to his flag. To the contrary to the content of our private interviews that had been developed in a constructive spirit, Kohl's public speeches were truffled with concepts aggressive. It is known that I responded to this at an official reception by entering in my speech the following passage: "socialism and capitalism are so unlikely to mix like water and fire". However, with the perspective of time, I must

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 28 of 53

Page 28

say that the negotiations took place with a certain desire to obtain results concrete They were positively commented by the media in the GDR. But content of the discussions proved that the speeches delivered in Moscow about the Germany's division into two states had found a certain echo [42].

Chancellor Kohl made, and this is an anecdote, an informal visit to the GDR, of Weimar to Dresden in 1988. The media refrained from letting it know.

ABOUT PACIFIC COEXISTENCE

A lot of time is currently spent trying to prove that the policy of Peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems caused the death of the USSR and the end of the Warsaw Pact. This view is not sustainable, of course. There was no alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, and this, since the Revolution October. Certainly the term itself was not used until later in political life and scientific It is known that India introduced this expression in vocabulary diplomat when formulating the "five points of peaceful coexistence", which were adopted at the Bandung Conference (1955). But before, immediately after of the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks met the question of the "Cohabitation" of socialist and capitalist states, and their future. Lenin had great doubts about the ability of the Soviet Union to resist and about the future of socialism in case of defeat of the revolution in Germany. He made however a series of proposals to guarantee the security of Soviet power in a situation where Capitalist countries continued to dominate in the West.

The controversies that the Brest-Litovsk negotiations caused in the Central Committee of the Russian Party. We know that Lenin was pronounced by the immediate signature of a peace treaty in the interest of consolidating the power of the Soviets. Trotsky, what He led the negotiations, instead proposed to interrupt them while the Government German imperial maintained its expansionist attitude. The Central Committee supported Trotsky. This led to the loss of vast territories.

The troops of William II seized large sectors of Ukraine and the Caucasus [43] . This did not end until Lenin threatened to resign from the CC if they did not retake Immediately negotiations to reach a peace treaty with Germany. Certainly Lenin had no point of view that the coexistence of countries are Different social orders would run smoothly. He defended however, until his

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 29 of 53

Page 29

Death in 1924, a position without ambiguity: peaceful coexistence is possible taking into account existing oppositions. What happened during this period, in In particular, the Treaty of Rapallo [44] confirmed the fairness of this view.

Already when my trip to Moscow and other regions of the Soviet Union, in the 30s, I came to the firm conviction that there was nothing more sacred for the direction of the State and the Soviet Party that conserve peace to continue the construction of the socialism. This direction refused to export the revolution. I evoke this here for underline that the policy of peaceful coexistence that was later popularized by Khrushchev, who used the formula extensively, it was already a fundamental element of the

Soviet foreign policy. Chicherin [45] and later Litvinov [46] considered the same way, one as the other, that the struggle for peace and peaceful cooperation between States with different social systems constituted the main content of the policy Soviet exterior. There is no doubt that this was also true for foreign policy. Soviet while Stalin played a decisive role in it [47] .

This was one of the bases of the growing power of the USSR in the course of the 75 years of power of the soviets. It is known that the same principles guided the foreign policy of the GDR since the creation of our State. It simply would not have been possible to adopt others. The GDR had received a certain place in Europe. It was the result of the World War II and the immediate postwar period. Since its creation, it had to assert against the claim of the RFA to represent all of Germany and against interference in the internal affairs of the GDR to which Bonn kept getting rid. The achieved while the Soviet Union contributed its share of weight in this policy. The GDR He was true to his alliances. The aspiration of the RFA to reconstitute Germany at its borders of 1937 fed the revenge and continually stoked the embers of the confrontation.

When European issues are negotiated today, it is in the presence of the GDR Although this is deceased. The international recognition of the Oder-Neisse line does not It would have been possible without the policy of the GDR. This one negotiated and ratified the treaty of Görlitz [48] and was concerned with guaranteeing the peaceful nature of the new border with Poland. Even the extended maritime border between the GDR and Poland, in the Baltic Sea, is of the agreements approved between the GDR and Popular Poland. Poland would have all reasons to express their consideration of the internal and foreign policy of the GDR. For We communists were not easy to accept that Hitler, his warmongering and his war of prey and extermination, had caused the loss of the regions east of the Oder-Neisse line. We found in this question the misunderstanding of the electors

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 30 of 53

Page 30

which included about 4.3 million “displaced people” of their regions

Compared to the pre-war situation, this area extended to 100,000 km² to the detriment of Germany.

The GDR alliance with the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia incorporated our State to the Warsaw Pact. This was of great significance for peace. The GDR

remained always ready to fulfill its obligations as a signatory State to the Treaty from Warsaw. Located in the center of Europe, it was considered a strategic ally for the Soviet Union. He did everything to be a second homeland for the armed forces Soviets and their members.

ABOUT THE GDR

The events that ended the GDR were particularly tragic. Together to Czechoslovakia, our country was the most developed socialist state ... A credible alternative to the imperialist system. The men and women of the first hour, the builders of socialism in the GDR, had known how to do a lot. His accomplishments they will remain in the memory of the people and weigh on the future. There are many who now they miss what they wanted in the GDR: total security in the matter social, guaranteed by the socialist character of production relations.

Although numerous errors and inadequacies have afflicted that socialism, nobody is in position nor can the right to denigrate these realizations of Workers. We could not mold socialism according to arbitrary desires and make a clear table of the experience accumulated in the Soviet Union. It would not have been possible or justified, because we learned the first steps on this path of the other countries that just built socialism. Many workers of the RDA were proud to talk about "your company." It was a step forward, from a great meaning, which increasingly determined the set of living conditions and which generated a multitude of problems at the same time. It was about issues crucial as housing construction, collective agreements, possibilities of vacations open to all at affordable prices. It was about opening the way to universities to the children of workers and peasants. It is the whole society that had to reorganize ... that society that the capitalists and landowners had left us, that society marked by fascism and war. Who knows if everything was done

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 31 of 53

Page 31

correctly? We did not have the necessary cadres in 1945 to direct the Industry and agriculture. No one knew who could take the direction of companies like Buna or Zeiss. This question was not turned out until later, after a powerful effort of training and, in many sectors, not before the end of the 50s. One thing is clear without However: 2.3 million former members of the SED, as well as the 500,000

members of their allied democratic parties, they don't really have any reason to lower your head to your new lords.

The GDR was in 1989 a modern industrial country endowed with competitive agriculture and an almost unparalleled social system in the world. Although this must be said today, the fact that the GDR has existed cannot be erased from history. No campaign ideological, whatever its violence, can do such a thing.

The GDR was a product of World War II and the evolutions that were produced immediately after. On May 8, 1945, we still didn't have the least idea of the possibility of its existence. We only asked the question of knowing how we would continue to live together.

The war had just ended in the ruins of Berlin. When the winning Allies split up, everything became even more confusing for us. Two German states, and no one only, they saw the light.

The people were not consulted on this issue. No one of us had previously thought of this possibility. The Western Allies gathered their occupation zones in a zone, and then a zone.

There was then a unilateral monetary reform, and then the creation of the GDR, followed by that of the GDR. Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and Walter Ulbricht [49] joined then his efforts to those of Otto Nuschke, Wilhelm Kuelz and Johannes Dieckmann [50] .

It was about making a better life possible for the population than ever since the GDR would inhabit: 17 million people of which 4.3 million displaced. In this action, the SED was supported by traditionally implanted parties among the bourgeoisie. The GDR was founded on the initiative of the anti-fascist block of democratic parties thanks to a very broad mass movement "for unity and a just peace". This state was born of the ruins left by World War II. It became a respected country, that maintained relations in all the continents and participated actively in the UN activities.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 32 of 53

Any analysis of the GDR policy, whether based on a positive or negative a priori, should take into account what was happening in Europe and in the world. In an international context

increasingly tense, marked during the 70s by the atomic threat, the GDR formed part of those who took the initiative, in Europe, of a turn in politics

international in favor of relaxation. To say this is not to overvalue the role of the GDR.

This one was greatly concerned about the reach missile parking means that were carried out on both sides of the inter-German border [51] .

He had to spend sums of the order of two billion marks. Such as Those who, after the opening of the border, wanted to go to Warendorf could check In search of a “scoop”, the Soviet military affected those missiles benefited of schools, kindergartens, accommodation, in addition to the facilities that allowed to implement operational techniques.

I would also like to underline an important fact, valid for all these forty years. The people did a lot with their own forces. But only help and existence of the USSR allowed all that. Breznev, whom I had visited in a Moscow hospital, he was perfectly right to tell me on July 28, 1970 that: “the GDR It cannot exist without us, without the Soviet Union, its power and strength. Without We, there is no GDR. The existence of the GDR corresponds to and expresses our interests and interests of all socialist countries. It is the result of our victory on Hitlerian Germany. Germany no longer exists, that is so. There is a socialist GDR and a capitalist Federal Republic. ”He was forced to verify, later, and this was painful for millions of men, women and children, who without the Soviet Union, could no longer have RDA. Know the post-war history marked by the common combat of who were employed in the honest implementation of the Potsdam agreements, know how Europe slowly slipped into the Cold War, is to show that the GDR did not have nothing artificial or simulated. The GDR was for decades a homeland for the socialism. On this, the people could have the concrete experience in their life before the Eyes of the whole world. Today it is seen that Western forces had captured well, several years before the “turn” of 1989, that Perestroika and Glasnost offered a chance to settle the RDA. Why this danger was not recognized in time, analyzed on its own RDA and conjured with appropriate measures? That is the question.

How to explain the enthusiasm with which important circles of intellectuals took position in the GDR in favor of Perestroika and Glasnost, when the star of the renovation began to lose brightness in the Soviet Union itself? Anyway, now that the result of this capital error appears as clear as daylight, we

It is necessary to draw the necessary lessons from this catastrophe. Among the most important: the fact that we underestimated the nationalist danger that plunged the GDR in 1989 and 1990; We also underestimate the influence of audiovisual media (coming from West) on public opinion in a divided country of which only one party built the socialism. The same happened with the effect of economic disparities between the West and we, as well as the role of consumption, dangers that ultimately resulted of the strength of the RFA within NATO, of which it was the first power Economic and military in Europe. We knew, however, all these dangers. I know they made great efforts that reinforced the overall weight of the GDR, especially in the economic, political and ideological domains. But that was visibly insufficient. In all domains our policy suffered from inadequacies. After all, We could and should have served our cause better than we did. This must be said taking into account the novelty of the many questions that raised the implementation of the new social relations. Some challenges do not know They took into account on time. The correct reactions were expected. So it was with the problems linked to the explosion of cutting-edge technologies in a limited number of developed capitalist countries. The structuring of socialist societies is He found a stop in all our countries ... Not to mention the recurring difficulties which frequently caused disruptions in exports and imports to the development of production in the GDR. I will evoke for this purpose the re-export of Soviet coal from Poland, iron and Soviet import steel not they corresponded to the norms determined in common, etc.

Some of our own economic problems, moreover, were not resolved. The Solutions that were proposed were not always implemented specifically. The Growth rate paid the consequences. The internationalization of production, the Specialization and cooperation were much less advanced than in the West. The CAME had difficulty functioning effectively and could not try the new ones issues raised by the scientific-technical revolution. After 1985, these Problems worsened due to the weakening of socialist economies. When the Soviet oil deliveries were definitely reduced, we had problems To fit the blow. In fact, we were used to receiving raw materials of origin Soviet worth two billion 28

frames. The State Commission for the GDR Plan invited me in 1981 [52] to address the BP of the PCUS ... I did it, and I pointed out more seriously than the reduction unilateral deliveries of oil and cereals (respectively: from 19 to 17 and from 4 to 3

Page 34

million tons) forced us to import grain from the west and threatened our Economy with a real collapse.

Let's move on to another issue: that of the expansion of democracy. It was raised in the 7th Plenary in 1988. It was a mistake not to take measures for everyone to participate in the direct management of society, the company and the neighborhood. Thus the creation of Councils of Company remained the subject of discussion just like many other proposals ...

But do today as if there had been no democracy in socialism or affirm that the bourgeois democracy would be superior to socialist democracy, it does not correspond to the reality. Since today they are palpable for everyone, the realities of capitalist society They allow to verify it. You have to break the veil of that supposedly Marxist speech-Leninist who praises democracy "above the classes." There is no true democracy where men who create value do not possess the main means of production. Where it works, bourgeois democracy consists only of those areas of freedom that workers have been able to tear out capital for their struggles. The people are gagged where capital holds power. Any structures and Democratic mechanisms do not change anything in this regard.

Its function stops where profit and class interests are in danger. The people, on the contrary, have the word in socialism. His will is not subject to any external duress. He owns the means of production. He has got rid of the relations of exploitation that in other places seem eternal as if they resulted from natural laws Does this mean that our democratic structures were sufficient? Do not There is no doubt that this was not the case and this was visible in many sectors. They were imposed refinements and corrections, but which ones? The participation of citizens in the resolution of decisive questions, their conscience of owners, were insufficient. Our principles were the same for all those problems, as for most of the others: what was under construction had to be finished. "Safeguarding the continuity and necessary renewal, "was our slogan. We were never against fundamental reorganizations that led to the adoption of new orientations. But it was necessary that they advance the construction of socialism. Enough for be convinced of this by referring to numerous documents of our Party as well as to the guidelines officially adopted by the state organs.

We were opposed, however, to that kind of "renewal" that, launched in the Soviet Union, should lead to the abandonment of socialism ... painful experience. It is also completely false to say that the GDR fought the line proposed by Gorbachev from the moment he became Secretary General of the CPSU.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

1/21/2020

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

Page 35 of 53

Page 35

Recall the slanderers that the documents edited by that party, starting the restructuring, were more widely disseminated in the GDR than in any other socialist country. But mechanically apply changes in the GDR that resulted from current problems of the Soviet Union at a certain stage of its development would not have made any sense. Such was our point of view at the time and today I recognize all his justice.

The inadequacies of our ideological work weighed heavily. We did a lot, but life raised new questions. The quality of our propaganda left to be desired. We discussed this openly in the meeting between the SED CC and the secretaries of subdistrict that took place on February 12, 1988 [53].

What were the decisively new problems in this domain? The adversary invested important means. After Helsinki the campaign on the "Human Rights", to which we are wrong in not responding. It wasn't us those of us who demand that the elementary rights of man be respected. Wrapped in the flag of freedom, the imperialists demanded those same voice rights that trample in the countries that dominate. Our approach to this problem was too weak in theory and in practice. Many things were difficult to do, for other side, in the GDR. I think here for example in the extension of the possibilities of travel.

Was there schematism in ideological work? Yes, there was. The fact of disfiguring the history of socialism made the ideological work more difficult among youth. Those that claimed a socialism without fault to underline failures and errors, they played a role of disintegration. Many lost their faith in socialist ideals. Revealing weaknesses and mistakes was a necessary aspect to clarify what was necessary. He had to do better in the future and in the present. We had to get the teachings necessary. But what intervened to disorient the whole world?

There was a radical distance with the history of socialism. This one developed through the media but also through the dissemination of books, in the course of theatrical performances ... Socialism appeared as the path of crime and cheated. Let us specify in this regard that the president of the PDS later participated in this campaign characterizing SED as a reactionary party and socialism as a form of feudalism. Doubt was sown, our ideals were shaken.

What immense efforts the KPD and then the SED had done to do closest to the Germans the building work done by the Soviets and the

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

1/21/2020

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

Page 36 of 53

Page 36

history of the first socialist state! You can say that literally a town was re-educated and transformed from enemy into friend of the Soviet Union. The conditions historical and political caused the German communists and anti-fascists to refuse leave open any space in which the paper could have been discussed World history of the Soviet Union. But there was no deliberate silence about him Stalin's period, so painful in a certain phase of history.

We have been reproached for having idealized the role of the Soviet Union. It's possible, but did we have the right to drag that country through the mud while the countryside Western constantly triggered hateful ideological campaigns against him? Was for us the standard bearer of socialism. Have we forgotten that Reagan had assimilated the Soviet Union to an "empire of evil" that should be beheaded? The thirst, most of the people and entire generations had been educated in the spirit of a indestructible confidence in the Soviet Union. They had to digest, for the second time since the crash of 1956, destructive arguments that, from 1985 to 1990, no longer came from adversary. All values were questioned again. It was a reevaluation general all the way full of thorns that socialism had traveled. Not even Victory over fascism escaped this. It was not an analysis of the story that allowed to take into account a general development accompanied by failures and errors. Not all what until then had been considered correct was questioned, including the October revolution. How should and should our party behave at that? What would have caused an open confrontation with an openly tolerated policy in the Soviet Union? The isolation of the GDR? Would people have understood that? Do not However, we take a stand in favor of positive transformations in the Union Soviet We welcome the new social policy program that was adopted in 1985 and that should improve the daily life of the Soviet people. Anyway, we doubted that this could be done at the same time as the acceleration of socio-development economic [54]. Everything else that happened in Soviet political life consisted of we in internal affairs whose challenges we found it difficult to weigh. It's true that I saw of increasingly the dangers that could result and that were effectively resulting from erroneous analysis referring to certain aspects of imperialism. That's why I warned against everything that. But, visibly, as events subsequently demonstrated, the members of our management were not all persuaded that this would result in dissolution of the GDR. The disintegration process was earlier than I was He thought, even in the ranks of our Party. Remove from this the

conclusion that we displayed a negative behavior towards the Union Soviet, would be contrary to the reality of the events that occurred to continuation. He wondered what role the opposition could play in this process. I know

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 37 of 53

Page 37

I had begun a vast collaboration with diverse currents, with a plurality of forces in society, among which the means close to the church [55].

Here is a fact that cannot be neglected. This collaboration was deeper than that many today want to make believe. Our dialogue policy implied a will of a broad alliance with reasonable and realistic people. There wasn't just, let's say it for finish, internal discussions, but actions widely known by opinion public, meetings and conferences, organized in a shared way with the churches, Pacifists and other organizations. Recall, for example, the Olof Palme march, He did not find only approval in our party. In those media, there were people who they had honest intentions but they often collided with us with judgments negative They found themselves pushed in the wrong direction. Let's evoke this purpose the role of the church. The evangelical church began in 1985, under the pretext of Perestroika and Glasnost, to transform the houses of God into temples of politics. His address forced the Bishop of Greifswald to resign because he had invited the President of the State Council [56] to the consecration ceremony of the cathedral of this city.

However, the restoration of that building had received public subsidies. The demonstrations of November 1989 were almost all led by pastors. After my resignation, there were hardly a few official functions that were not occupied for priests But there were also differentiations in clergy behavior and hierarchy. A certain number of priests were sincerely positioned in favor of the GDR and the "Church in socialism". Describe the opposition as entirely aligned around Different conceptions of ours would be a simplification. But there were enemies of Socialist state that wanted to destroy the system. How to rate otherwise, in effect, to those who finally worked for the restoration of capitalism as a system political and economic and they hid their intentions under the cloak of democracy bourgeois?

Put on as it gets, it was a struggle for power, a power that The bourgeoisie had lost forty years before and intended to recover. It wasn't about overthrow a "personal power" or "abolish the domination of Politburo", but of expropriate the companies belonging to the town, liquidate agricultural cooperatives, restore their domains to large noble landowners, and destroy property

socialist. It was about liquidating the GDR, its scientific institutions, its equipment health and social, in short, everything that was linked to the socialist character of the State. The Capitalists recovered their businesses, the power of capital was restored. That is what I was at stake. No one can deny today that the scenario applicable to all countries Socialists were orchestrated internationally and translated into a counterrevolution.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
 Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
 Page 38 of 53

Page 38

All Marxist parties in those countries were victims of the same strategy and destroyed They were sacrificed on the altar of "new thinking" [57] .

It was a fatal mistake to consider that the difference in social systems could stop exist by the mere effect of the "New way of thinking." In the early years, the story of socialism was presented in a disfigured way. I see in that the cause of a loss of identifying many people with socialism. More serious, the unfinished character of a social order still young historically did not appear in all its aspects, With all its contradictions. The failures and mistakes made in the construction of socialism in a way that questioned the conquests and ideals of that alternative society to exploiting capitalism. Our weakness was not have managed to give life to all aspects of our socialist ideals for each individual. We have never denied that socialism was still in a stadium unfinished development. In addition, certain limits resulting from the conditions Objectives hindered the realization of what was desired.

In spite of that, socialism presented an inexhaustible development potential. No one has still answered the question of knowing what that "socialism" might look like democratic "with which our ears were crushed. Whatever the definition that be given to the latter, taking distances decisively with communism is not just to throw an ideal overboard is to deny the transformations intervened in the relations of production. The abolition of the exploitation of man by man needs so Absolute destruction of private property of essential means of production. It is the fundamental condition for a highly productive management for society and for the individual, for the concretion of the participation and the responsibility of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and young people, in short, of each citizen, in all aspects of daily life, for the expansion of life cultural, respect for others and self protection. A truth remains fundamental: socialism exists where peace is guaranteed, the right to work, the solidarity and the essential rights of man. If that is not the case, all the talk about the free development of the individuality of man is revealed as a pure curtain

of smoke

I am often asked the following question: had experiences been exchanged among socialist countries on such fundamental issues of politics? My answer is yes: that existed at all levels and in different sectors of life Social.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 39 of 53

Page 39

There was a fruitful exchange of experiences and conflicting views. It did not prevent collaboration. There was talk of many things but the question of pluralism in society, which had a considerable amount of problems, it was never discussed thoroughly. The same happened unfortunately with many other significant issues. As I said, everything was talked about, but, while NATO states they adopted resolutions that fixed their common behavior before several series of problems, a totally different principle was adopted between us after 1986: Each one had to carry his own policy. This principle was not respected however from the moment the interests of the ruling power were at stake.

The principle was certainly fair. It should not have however led to others principles, those contained in the friendship, cooperation and support treaties mutual, were violated. It is particularly unfortunate that, at the climax of the crisis of 1989, the Bucharest summit has not allowed to discuss openly and put agree on the measures we should take in common. Various secretaries generals demanded that a new meeting take place in October in Berlin. This one no longer It could take place. The question arises naturally of knowing if we could have still slow the evolution of things.

THE GDR, ITS REALIZATIONS AND ITS SETTLEMENT

It was literally from the ruins of World War II that the New GDR industry. Despite the multiple disassembly of installations carried out as repairs [58], millions of workers rebuilt their factories, to image of the Brandenburg steelworks. Then they built entire industrial branches that did not previously exist in the territory of the GDR. Not only us, but

international organizations, counted the GDR among the top ten powers
Industrial

The Deutsche Reichsbahn [German Railways] offered this industry strongly developed quality railway infrastructure, although all its lines were transformed after the war into unique ways [59] and this disadvantage would not have been entirely compensated yet in 1989. Without that, industrial development would not have been possible. Until 1958, important chemical complexes, engineering centers, companies of car, rail and machine tool construction remained Soviet property 26 Soviet societies "by shares" gathered the main

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 40 of 53

Page 40

companies that worked on behalf of the Soviet Union, very weakened economically by war. The Wismut society had the same status. Both his productive facilities such as their housing equipment were financed until 1989 mainly by the GDR.

These observations are not intended at all to denigrate the efforts made by the Union Soviet and that allowed the GDR to accelerate its development. Just a narrow collaboration with the USSR laid the foundations of the development of the GDR during each phase of his existence. However, if we consider these historical facts as well as several others, it would be difficult to overestimate the achievements made by workers, employees, the technicians and scientists of the country. At the time of its creation, the GDR could not rely on any industrial base or any source of raw materials. The borders established between the occupation zones put an end to the economic unit of Germany in what little it still existed. There was a real block in practice, first against the Soviet occupation zone, then against the GDR. Citizens of our state were at least as regular at work as western Germans. Their realizations created the necessary conditions to guarantee the right to work, to training and rest ... in short, so that society was truly supportive. Thanks to the ardor in the work of their workers, their peasants, their scientists, and the active participation of his government, the GDR was the only socialist country capable of resolving The food problem for its citizens. The agro-industrial complex relied on a leading research thanks to which the production of cereals and protein exceeded 11 million tons from 1981. Cooperative structures they allowed the peasants to exercise their dynamism. His future was assured and his level Life was satisfying. All this was wildly destroyed since 1989. Centers Western commercials flooded what was still the GDR with their products. The

potatoes, fruits and almost everything that was produced locally had no way out but at prices laughable. The cooperative system was a victim of the introduction of German laws Western and Common Agricultural Policy. There is now only a quarter of the 800,000 jobs that agriculture counted.

Deliveries of Soviet raw materials were indispensable for our economy. That some political and theoretical men believe they can say that the GDR could have adopting a more autonomous position within the framework of the socialist community does not change nothing to the fact that the GDR could only follow the path of close association. The figures referring to Soviet deliveries of raw materials and semi-finished products during the 1981-85 plan they can serve as a compelling example. The sovietic Union delivered, during this period, 95 million tons of oil, 32 million m3 of

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 41 of 53

Page 41

gas, 21 million tons of coal, 8.5 million tons of iron, 4.8 million tons of foundry, 211,500 tons of leather, 65,000 tons of aluminum, 7.7 million tons of wood fiber, 257,000 tons of cellulose, 440,000 tons of cotton and lots of other important products. It's not about here rather than making clearer the fact that the Soviet Union was the guarantee of that the construction work of the GDR could continue and move forward. Although it upsets the that today they want to rewrite history, nobody can deny this, as they cannot deny conditions of total economic boycott created by the activity of the RFA and the allies Western Without Soviet help, not the most capable working class, the most peasants brave and more competent intelligentsia, they would have managed to make the GDR a industrial and agricultural country as powerful as it was still in 1989.

Naturally some today strive to discredit the achievements afterwards economic of the GDR. This makes remarkably attempts to lower the GDR to the rank of developing country. The economy is not really taken into account of the GDR except to the extent that it does not shade the departures of companies located in western Germany. It is clear today that the chemistry of the GDR was seriously amputated because the production capabilities of German chemistry Western were surpluses. The textile industry of the GDR was destroyed because the textile It is "slimming" its troops in the West. It happened the same with the steel industries and metallurgical, electronics companies, shipyards and other branches of the industry.

The deindustrialization of the GDR is a crime against all working people

who built a new industry in what was central Germany, with an effort of several decades. From the point of view of civilization, this deindustrialization is a shame, because professional life is the basis of culture. It is not because the Chemistry smells bad that the chemical companies of the GDR were destroyed. Chemistry It smells bad too in the west. This destruction was due solely to related reasons to the competition

He is equally an idiot and simply unworthy to erase German history from cultural achievements of the GDR. I don't think only of fundamental achievements and transformers such as the educational system of the GDR, after the destruction of the Hitler fascism, the systematic creation of nurseries for children, of schools Children and other institutions for this purpose, the implementation of the modern school of ten grades and general education that leveled the path of life that presented in front of all the children out of town, or in a training system initial professional that corresponded to the needs, encompassed all branches

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

1/21/2020

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

Page 42 of 53

Page 42

professionals and ended up for everyone in a job, or in the multiplication of institutes and the extension of the health system, in the action of the different academies. There was and there are still great cultural achievements, which was recognized throughout the world. These facts cannot be answered durably, nor can the existence of a large number of monuments and places of memory that were built again plant for thousands of workers from the GDR and abroad and who are still open to Today's audience. Talking about these places forces us to remember, not only those that were rebuilt or restored 20 or 30 years ago, but also those that were saved and reopened to the public shortly after release. I think of certain theaters of Berlin, as well as museums, at the Weimar National Theater, in the Dresden Zwinger. I also think about the reconstruction of the State Opera, the German Theater, the theater of Kammerspiele chamber, of the concert hall of the Schauspielhaus (in Berlin) in the Palace of the pioneers of the Wuhlheide near Berlin, in the Palace of the Republic [60], in churches like the Französischer Dom, in the sports and games center of Berlin, in the Dresden Opera, and in the Gewandhaus of Leipzig. Many more modest institutions, managed by the Academy of Sciences, date back to the era of socialism, by example, the houses of Otto Nagel, Arnold Zweig, Ernst Busch, the house of Brecht and all a series of other excellent places of the cultural and spiritual life of Germany, as per Weimar example.

When relations between the two German states were good, several

important personalities of western Germany who maintain their rank and whose name is still known, let them know to what extent they were impressed by the way in which the GDR had been able to rebuild the destroyed monuments and endow of new cultural equipment. At that time, they said it was an example in which the RFA would do well to get inspired. Today we talk about this very differently or it is not evoked absolutely. But after all, the achievements of the GDR speak for themselves.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY TODAY

What is now very commonly called the annexation of the GDR by the RFA is developed between the end of 1989 and the middle of 1990. Contrary to everything that affirm the leading circles of the RFA, it is not the former East German direction but the RFA who has the responsibility for what happens in the territory of the former Democratic Republic.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 43 of 53

Page 43

Already in 1987, on the occasion of my visit to the RFA, I tried to drown the burning Federal Government reunifiers. Among other things, I let them know that the unification of capitalism and socialism was as little as possible of water and fire. This does not It appeared in the manuscript of my speech on the occasion of the reception at the chancellery. Before the provocations of Kohl against the GDR, which also broke with the polite tone used in closed-door conversations, he considered it necessary to say that. The Events that have occurred since the autumn of 1989 have shown that, according to My vision of things, two contradictory social systems cannot be unified.

The hope was enormous and emotions were maximized when the Wall. Now, we have unity, but our nation is still divided in two. Until now, living and working conditions have not been unified, the chasm between the rich and the Poor is getting deeper and more visible. Despite all the Pan-Germanist discourse that He promised that after the Anschluss everything would be better for everyone, and it would not go wrong for No one, the opposite is what has occurred. It was, in fact, a hoax electoral. The federal government brazenly meddled in the affairs of the GDR. Can you imagine what would have happened to the CDU if Chancellor Kohl had declared openly to citizens endowed with the right to vote that the electoral victory of the CDU would have as a consequence (were the estimates of the wise council) the step to

unemployment of four to five million people, the multiplication of the price of rents for figures ranging from 3 to 10, the settlement of much of the benefits social?

Over time, it is increasingly clear that Treuhand is not a management company honest of the companies, but of waste of the popular patrimony that has put in the “Reliable” [61] hands of the trusts, at balance prices, all the companies before nationalized

It is a puppet in the hands of those who privatize in the interest of its benefits. Those lords of Treuhand knew what they were doing. It wasn't about “discarding” big combined, those essential gears of the productive system of the GDR, but of destroy small and large companies and put competitors out of the game. Why it is a story for children to make as if socialism had invented the nationalization of industrial branches and state regulation of the economy. No serious capitalist believes in this. There are nationalized companies and an economic policy aimed at regulating the juncture in the RFA and in all capitalist countries. Already in the time of William II, the German railways and Ruhr mines were state property.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 44 of 53

Page 44

The offside of the GDR public companies was a juicy business for the capitalists. Your earnings increased while multiplying your complaints to purpose of taxes to be paid to finance unification. The growth of unemployment in the former GDR aims to increase the exploitation of those who still have job. The unemployed weigh on the level of wages. If the occupation of the GDR has confirmed something, is that under the regime of the market economy, which is nothing else that the economy of capitalist profit, a large part of the workers and employees, the peasants and the intellectuals are set aside or crushed. This is something that Those who try to put everything that goes wrong in the account of the legacy of the GDR and its economy, supposedly not very competitive.

What is hidden after the agitation against an RDA that no longer exists but, clearly, doesn't it disappear so fast? Why is the entire SED covered by mud, its address and the government? Why do you start a real witch hunt against all the collaborators of the State and Party apparatus, against State Security, against soldiers and officers of the National People's Army, against border troops, against professors and instructors, doctors, scientists, journalists and artists? It

It has only aggravated the misery in East Germany. The unemployed of those regions have been added to those in the west of the country. We are still far from paying a equal salary for equal work. Still not paid in the East more than 60% or 70% of the salary that is applied at the moment in the old Länder. It's about maximizing Benefits. Thus, the share packages owned by the authentic owners of Germany They will give even more benefits. Unemployment is a tragedy for everyone. No one in the GDR knew Even what it was. In the future it will accompany women, men and young people, to less while capitalism lasts in Germany.

The statements of certain leading personalities of the PDS, according to which the bourgeois democracy would be the most progressive system that has existed so far, not He speaks in his favor, as he does not participate in the destruction of the "system Stalinist" in the GDR, whose policy they did not hesitate to consider as reactionary.

No denial will erase this fact: socialism has been defeated under the banner of A fight against Stalinism. The fight against communism was carried out in another time under the banner of the anti-Bolshevik struggle [62] .

All this is not so new. And you don't have to paint the reality of pink: the Destruction of the socialist GDR has led to depauperation. The problems of Families of more than 4 million unemployed are a sufficient cause for concern.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 45 of 53

Page 45

A Gysi should also worry, he who slandered the former SED address in the congress that transformed this into the PDS. That congress that I would have had according to him as the most important result the definitive defeat of Stalinism ... The communists standing still are labeled "Stalinists." This is considered modern today. The Stalinist Dimitrov defeated that "come-Bolsheviks" in a fight for the truth That was Goering. He received the applause of world opinion. That encouraged us to we who, in Rhineland and Ruhr, in Essen, Dortmund, Oberhausen and others places, we started the resistance fight against Nazi barbarism.

The lies about the "Stalinist" GDR will deflate someday in the same way that the message of the Reichstag fire was deflated. The light will be made on the causes of the tragedy that, almost in the space of one night, fell on the GDR. Some "renovators" have claimed that the GDR would have survived if the direction of the SED had followed immediately to the Soviet direction on the road to Perestroika. But since then,

the Soviet Union itself, alas! It has disappeared due to Perestroika, Perestroika and the Glasnost have led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the defeat of the socialism.

Was it so difficult to predict that the GDR Anschluss under article 23 of the Grundgesetz [63] would not just destroy the country's productive system, but that would it also mean the return to capitalism? Who cheated who then? Those who warned for decades against that danger or those who sought to obtain this sad Outcome?

Yes, we must clearly establish the fact that the 1989/90 renovators were objectively, whether they wanted it or not, those who specifically launched the counterrevolution. Those who feel alluded to arrange with others regrets they have. It is a reality that a large part of the citizens manipulated does not want to accept yet. The town was deceived by those who participated actively in the destruction of the same bases of the State of the workers and farmers. The strengths and weaknesses of our productive system Since there are commercial relationships between the GDR and the RFA, the latter raised numerous times unexpected obstacles, when it did not interrupt pure and simply these relationships. The RFA also tried to strangle relations economic between the GDR and other western states. Or do we want to make ourselves forget the Hallstein doctrine? [64]

It was known that the foreign trade of the GDR was done in 70% with the Union Soviet and the other socialist states, and that the disappearance of those relations

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 46 of 53

Page 46

It would mean the collapse of the GDR economy. This one was in the USSR outflows worth 66.1 billion frames of account units (1988 figure).

In addition, half of that trade was done within integrated productive branches [65].

The GDR was not indebted to the Soviet Union, which owed it on the contrary in 1990 payment delays amounting to 27,000 million units of account frameworks. It will cost the RFA, this is clear today, to maintain such extended relations with the former republics of the Soviet Union. Today, for example, official reports need that importing a railroad car costs Russia five times more expensive than in times of the GDR. [66].

These phenomena exert their effects on almost all industrial branches. All the

word of the Kohl, the Waigel and their "golden boys" in various media about the state of age of the economy of the GDR, does not resist the simple data in figures: our exports to the RFA exceeded DM 15,000 million [67] for year. To this can be compared the external exits in the socialist countries:

from 1970 to 1988
(in billions of frames)

USSR

14.4 55.4

POLAND

3.7 14.6

HUNGARY

2.4 12.2

CHECOSLOVAKIA

two 9.9

The breadth of these relationships, to which trade can still be added with the other developed capitalist countries without counting that with Third World countries, testifies to the good health of our economy. Exports cannot in effect

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 47 of 53

Page 47

develop more than if the supply in products of industry and agriculture is sufficient in quantity and quality.

In the domain of petrochemicals, the GDR had modern facilities. These had been delivered turnkey by West German, Finnish companies, Austrian, French and Japanese.

The steel mill with Eisenhüttenstadt converter was the most modern in Europe. Fission of oil reached 70% in Schwedt. It is known that the GDR did not have no economically strategic raw material and therefore they should

be imported Our agriculture managed, during the last ten years, to supply food trade We even exported, during the 80s, meat, butter and potatoes. What is the use of discrediting the achievements due to workers in our state? His hard and creative work joined the intellectual potential developed in Our Republic to improve the conditions of everyone's existence.

The GDR had the highest standard of living of all socialist countries. Although the houses which on purpose show western channels have systematically facades decrepit, we build or modernize 3.7 million homes and offer a large number of families decent living conditions ... 30,000 per year in Berlin, 26,000 in the Karl-Marx-Stadt district, 22,000 in the Dresden district. Living area went from 1949 to 1989 from 12 to 27 square meters. It's true that we don't get, parallel to this construction effort, avoid the degradation of a number considerable of old buildings.

We certainly did not manage to do everything we wanted. This does not justify without However, expressions of the type of "economic disaster" are used to erase History the achievements of millions of people. German imperialism had triggered World War II, at the end of which, let's remember, 40% of all industrial facilities and 70% of energy production centers they were destroyed in the territory of what was to become the GDR.

The latter bore the main weight of war reparations. Such is the whole of factors that must be taken into account to reasonably assess achievements Economic of our Republic.

Due to all these limitations, the means devoted to the protection of the environment They could never be enough. This was true in particular in regions with great concentration of chemical companies. Serious damage resulted.

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 48 of 53

Page 48

Do we live above our means? Our foreign trade was, is true, deficient for many years. Many criticisms refer to this point. The that express them forget however to specify that we were obliged to increase our exports sometimes beyond what we would have wanted. Indeed, there were to cope with the price increases of raw materials. Ton of oil rose to 172 rubles, against 14 before the first oil crisis [68] .

Many other elements of our economic and social policy could be cited and

limitations that conditioned it. We do a lot, I repeat it, despite some beginnings incomparably more difficult than those of the RFA. We do not achieve everything we wanted to get but the citizens of the GDR demonstrated their ability to Build a progressive society.

As in the past, the social issue remains at the center of the public debate. The what happens in Germany and the years since the annexation confirm them widely. Nothing has changed in the essence of capitalist society. This states each day a little more the kingdom the exacerbated "me" that serves as the operating principle. Every day you lose a little more of the spirit of the society of the GDR founded on the "we". The new freedom so boastful frees man in the first place, from his individual security The events of Hoyerswerda, Rostock-Lichtenhagen, Mölln and Solingen are more than a warning about this problem. The explosion of the Crime plunges everyone into anguish. The recession threatens the conditions existence materials of the citizens of the GDR who ignored everything about it. The unemployment was for them an exotic word. It develops now in an amplitude that was unknown since the great crisis of the 30s: 6 million unemployed in fact, without material security or street safety; such is the picture that capitalism offers today triumphant in Germany.

When the "spin" sirens sang their seductive songs in 1989, that was not the future that was planned. The one who claims to be "Chancellor of all Germans" said that "nobody would see their personal situation getting worse." Such words still sound in the Ears of numerous oriental Germans. They did not correspond to reality. For millions of people the opposite occurred. Why was it possible instead in the GDR, give everyone work and bread, moderate rents, and the right to training? Will not put in trouble maybe this question to some?

There were nine and a half million jobs in the GDR. Deindustrialization has destroyed half. They were victims of the race for the benefits. The capitalists are They have filled their pockets. Consequence of this barbarism, too many citizens will

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020

Page 49 of 53

Page 49

They find in poverty and need. You can often find couples of unemployed. An endless list of tragic individual destinations could be made ... those of the people who did not save efforts previously in the shipyards, the mechanical constructions, chemistry, steel, metallurgy, mines, electronics, research and engineering, cultural animation, healthcare,

National education and professional training. Recall also that the right to Vacation was guaranteed. About 3 million and a half people benefited So from a stay at a holiday resort on the Baltic coast in 1988. By of course, most of the other citizens of the GDR moved to other regions from the country and often abroad.

Pioneer camps could accommodate all the children in the country. Each company It had its own vacation center ... Individual tourism benefited from it of a dense and cheap transport network. As for athletes, there were many who frequented the center of physical activities implanted in Friedrichshain, a neighborhood Popular from Berlin. The university students and the political men of our country talked about Capitalism in abstract terms. The society of the exacerbated self, the society of money increasingly omnipresent, the German frame society, is worse than all the evil that of she said the officials of the late German Democratic Republic. This is what He already reveals his own daily experience to our fellow citizens. Naturally, our specialists could not foresee the restoration of capitalism over all the German territory or anticipate its consequences. The way they have restored the old production relations in industry and agriculture was Simply unimaginable. Who would have believed us if we had announced to the workers of a company whose machines and facilities were worth a billion frames, that the whole set would yield for a symbolic value of a frame? The "Free" market economy penetrates, however, all domains of the existence of this way. Destroy the social gains accumulated over forty years. What there was testimony in the GDR about the concrete possibilities of a society that puts in force the elementary rights of man, in real life and not only in beautiful texts.

It would not be realistic, however, to set the objective of reconstituting our late state. In present-day Germany, you have to keep as much of your heritage. That is a realistic task. Vital issues are raised at this juncture unheard of You have to deal with them. Larger and richer, Germany has many possibilities. Like most capitalist countries, it is currently shaken by the crisis. Through its active expression, through the struggle to defend their rights, expand their conquests, workers must create the conditions of a future worthy of that

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>
Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

1/21/2020
Page 50 of 53

Page 50

Name. In addition and above all, we must prevent the process initiated in Solingen [69]
I ended up in Auschwitz.

NOTES

Spanish version notes are noted as [N. of T.].

1 The problem of “mastery (mastery) of history” (Bewältigung der Geschichte) It occupies an important place in the political-intellectual debate in Germany. Declared or camouflaged, revisionists are numerous in universities and newsrooms German Do not hesitate in this type of debate, in spreading ideas that banalize the Nazi period. They are in fact incapable, due to their role during Nazism, of presenting young people A comforting vision of national history.

2 It was called “Change” or “Turn” (Wende) precisely to the sinking process of the RDA during 1989. [N. of T.]

3 Hans Modrow (n. 1928): Member of the Central Committee of the SED, First Secretary of the SED in Dresden, supporter of the "Reform of the socialist system" and Perestroika. [N. of T.]

4 Juli (Yuri) Kwizinski: Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Ambassador of the USSR to the RFA in 1990. [N. of T.]

5 Alexander Yakovlev (b. 1923): Trained at Columbia University (USA). Since 1966 until the 1970s he directed the Komunist publication that edited the PCUS. In 1982 he went on to head the Institute of World Economy and Relations Internationals of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. From here he was responsible for designing the Perestroika project. In 1990 he retired permanently from politics. [N. of T.]

6 Konstantin Chernenko (1911-1985): Prime Minister of the USSR between February 1984 and March 1985. [N. of T.]

7 Eduard Shevardnadze (b. 1928): Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (1985-1990). [N. of T.]

8 That is to say two German states and four occupying powers. By this Treaty signed in 1990, the Soviet Union accepted the annexation of the GDR by the FRG.

9 Formulas that designate the transformations intervened in the USSR of the thirties.

10 Structure that grouped the group of legal parties of the GDR.

11 The French version uses the expression “restaurants du coeur” (also called "Remains du coeur"), that is, soup kitchens for the homeless [N. of T.]

12 Günther Schabowski (b. 1929): Member of the Political Bureau of the SED until 1989. He was who announced the opening of the Berlin Wall. [N. of T.]

13 The reactionary politician Otto von Habsburg, among other things, organized with his party "Pan-European Movement" and with the collaboration of the Hungarian "communists" on 19

August 1989 a provocation in the form of "Pan-European Picnic" in Sopron, Hungary. The border with Austria, a fact that took advantage of about 50,000 Germans Oriental jogging to force that border. Thus the Hungarian border was opened, key fact of the fall of the GDR. He was Europarliamentary of the European People's Party and "Sympathizer" of Opus Dei. [N. of T.]

14 Hans-Dietrich Genscher (b. 1927): Minister of the Interior of the RFA with Willy Brandt, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice Chancellor with Schmidt, Prince of Asturias Award to International Cooperation in 1990. [N. of T.]

15 Egon Krenz (b. 1937): leader of the FDJ, member of the GDR State Council, Secretary General of the SED CC in 1989 after Erich Honecker. [N. of T.] 16

16 Harry Tisch (b. 1927): leader of the FDGB (Union of German Free Trade Unions), BP member of the SED CC. [N. of T.]

17 Markus Wolf (b. 1923): Deputy to the Minister for State Security. [N. of T.]

18 Refers to the annexation of Austria by the Third Reich in 1938. [N. of T.]

19 Willy Stoph (b. 1914): Member of the BP of the CC of the SED (1953-1989), popular deputy (1950-1989), member of the GDR State Council. [N. of T.]

20 Günther Kleiber (b. 1931): Member of the CC of the SED (1967-1989). [N. of T.] 17

21 Gregor Gysi (b. 1948): jurist, member of the SED, son of Klaus Gysi, minister of culture, ambassador to Italy, secretary of the Kulturbund and popular deputy. [N. of T.]

22 Werner Krolkowski (b. 1928): Member of the BP of the SED CC. [N. of T.]

23 "Führers nazillons" in the French version. [N. of T.]

24 Directs the commission responsible for analyzing the State Security archives of the RDA

25 Heinz Kessler (n. 1920): Minister of Defense of the GDR (1985-1989) [N. of T.]

26 Fritz Streletz (b. 1926): Deputy of Heinz Kessler. [N. of T.]

27 Hans Albrecht (b. 1919): Member of the SED CC since 1963, popular deputy (1971-1989) [N. of T.]

28 "Security measures" ("of August 13, 1961"): refers to the Defense Wall Antifascist of Berlin (die Mauer, der Antifaschistische Schutzwall). [N. of T.]

29 Leónidas Ilich Breznev (1906-1982): Secretary General of the CPSU (1964-1982), President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR - Chief of State- (1960-1964 and 1977-1982). [N. of T.]

30 Willy Brandt (1913-1992): SPD leader, mayor of West Berlin (1957-1966), Chancellor of the RFA (1969-1974). [N. of T.]

31 Decision adopted by the Warsaw Pact on August 5, 1961: refers to the erection of the Antifascist Defense Wall, initiated on August 13, 1961 ("measures of security of August 13, 1961 "). [N. of T.]

Page 52

32 Günther Guillaume (1927-1995): personal secretary of Willy Brandt and agent of the Ministry of State Security of the GDR (MfS, Ministerium für Staatssicherheit, Stasi) [N. of T.]

33 The Helsinki agreements were signed in 1975; Helmut Schmidt's visit took place at late 1981.

34 W. Jaruzelski (b. 1923): Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of Poland since 1968, prime minister (1981-1990). [N. of T.]

35 Annexes to the German edition.

36 E. Honecker and H. Kohl had already attended Y. Andropov's funeral at 1984.

37 It refers to a slogan of the GDR according to which "war will never come out of the ground German". [N. of T.]

38 Resistant muniqueses killed by the Nazis [N. from the French edition] The press Western imperialist did not hesitate recently to cast the shadow of slander on the GDR hinting that it hid the heroic performance of these brothers. [N. of T.]

39 Hermann Axen (1916-1992): SED leader at different levels, popular deputy, He directed the newspaper "Neues Deutschland", organ of the SED, in the years 1956-1966. [N. of T.]

40 Kurt Hager (n. 1912): Member of the BP of the SED CC since 1963. Leader of the Kulturbund Combatant in Spain (1937-1939), period in which he directed the Issue International Radio Madrid. [N. of T.]

41 Erich Mielke (1907-2000): Minister for State Security (1957-1989) [N. of the T.]

42 The minutes of the discussions of each session were published in the German edition.

43 The October Revolution effectively occurred in a Russia facing armies of the Emperor of Germany in the framework of the First World War.

44 Treaty of "Friendship" concluded in 1922 by Germany and the Soviet Union (to which no country had recognized yet).

45 Commissioner of the People of Foreign Affairs of the USSR from 1918 to 1930.

46 Successor of the previous one until 1939.

47 That is, apparently during the period 1939-1953, although he was Secretary General [of PC (b) US] since 1922.

48 Treaty whereby the GDR recognized its border with Poland.

49 Communist and Social Democratic leaders meeting in 1946 in the Socialist Party Unified SED.

50 Christian-Democratic and liberal leaders who remained in the GDR.

51 Following the decision taken by NATO in 1979 to deploy the "Pershing" missiles.

52 The reduction of annual deliveries of oil from the USSR to the GDR took place in 1982. [N. of T.]

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

1/21/2020

Erich Honecker (1992): Jail Notes.

Page 53 of 53

Page 53

53 Each of the fifteen GDR districts was divided into sub-districts [arrondissement in the French version, N. of T.].

54 "Acceleration of socio-economic development": characteristic slogan of Perestroika based on the thesis of the stagnation of the planned economy. [N. of T.]

55 Approximately nine tenths of GDR Christians were Lutheran Protestants

56 That is Erich Honecker himself. The State Council directed the executive branch in the RDA

57 "New thought": one of the slogans of Perestroika in opposition to Marxism-"ritual" Leninism [N. of T.]

58 Refers to war indemnities, mainly to the USSR. [N. of T.]

59 On railways there are single tracks and double tracks. The only way can only be used by a Train every time in one direction or the other. As an example Ferrocarriles Vascos SA account in 2006 with 150,215 km of single track and 30,852 km of double track. [N. of T.]

60 Revanchists of the current Federal Republic of Germany have begun to demolish This emblematic place in 2006 with the excuse of asbestos. [N. of T.]

61 Intraducible pun on the name of the Treuhand (literally: "Reliable agent"), an agency responsible for privatizing the economy of exRDA.

62 Direct allusion to Nazi propaganda, before and after 1933.

63 Article of the Western German Constitution that provides that Länder can be added Supplementary to the RFA. [Grundgesetz: Fundamental Law. On the contrary the Constitution from the GDR: Verfassung. N. of T.]

64 Until the end of the sixties, the GDR, pretending to represent all Germans, broke all relations with countries that diplomatically recognized the GDR.

65 Which implies that the process leading to obtaining the finished product I needed at least one export or one import.

66 Whose Görlitz wagon factory was one of the most important in the socialist world.

67 At all times, the difference between the GDR framework and the RFA framework commonly known as "German framework" or DM (Deutsche Mark), although this does not affect the comprehension of the text. [N. of T.]

68 CAME or COMECON prices amortized in five years the evolution of the world prices. [It means that international prices were applied retroactively within that period and not at the time of its validity. N. of T.]

69 Place of a racist crime in the early 1990s.

[Return to File Index](#)

<https://www.marxists.org/espanol/honecker/1993/notas.htm>

1/21/2020