

# REPORT

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## EUROPE HAS TO WORK TOWARDS UNITY, SAYS KOHL

Today Europe and the European Community are faced by the question of how the process of unification can best be advanced during the coming years, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl said when he gave the 1984 Konrad Adenauer memorial lecture in Oxford on May 2 (6pm). The lecture was organised jointly by St Antony's College and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The following is the text of Dr Kohl's speech:

It gives me great pleasure to be able to speak to you today in Oxford, with its great and noble tradition, and particularly here in St Antony's College, where past and present are blended so well. There are close links between St Antony's College and the Federal Republic of Germany.

As Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany I welcome this opportunity to outline some of the main aspects of my Government's foreign policy to citizens of a country whose democratic traditions and virtues have long earned it particular respect among the German people.

As chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, I find it gratifying that my address constitutes this year's Konrad Adenauer lecture. As a member of the board of trustees of the Konrad Adenauer foundation, I am grateful that our relationship with your college has evolved from contacts established by the foundation.

For all these reasons it is natural that my remarks today on foreign policy should relate to the policy of Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and the first chairman of my party, a man to whose legacy I am firmly committed.

Adenauer's domestic and foreign policy can only be understood in the light of the personal experiences of a man who had lived through the disaster of World War One and the rise and ignominious collapse of the



first German democracy, who, after the Second World War, was confronted with the repercussions of the barbaric Nazi dictatorship and the aftermath of the war.

#### Herculean task

At home, the Germans had to develop a liberal society and rebuild their country from the ashes. Internationally, Germany had to be led out of isolation and reinstated as a respected and equal member of the world community. The prevailing difficulties made this seem a herculean task; the country was divided and torn by social upheaval.

More than 10 million expellees and refugees had to be integrated, 18 million Germans found themselves under the Communist heel. The fate of Berlin, the former eastern provinces and the Saarland was in the balance. The system of Allied control agreed at Potsdam did not come to an end until 1955.

Internationally, the Federal Republic of Germany was subjected to a mixture of threats and enticements by the Soviet Union. Europe was fragmented. The policies of France and the United Kingdom towards Germany were not free of uncertainties. A revival of United States isolationism was not entirely out of the question.

Against this background, it was clear to Adenauer that domestic and foreign policy could not be separated but had to remain closely intertwined, a principle which up to the present day has remained indispensable in shaping German policy.

Konrad Adenauer laid the foundations of modern German politics. He played a decisive part in developing the Christian Democratic Union of Germany and its Bavarian sister-party, the Christian Social Union, into the largest centrist popular bloc in Germany alongside the old-established Social Democrats. The CDU and CSU today form a sturdy pillar and a firm guarantee of German democracy.

By introducing the social market economy, Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard created the conditions for the development of prosperity and an exemplary system of social justice. The history of the Federal Republic of



Germany is marked by the absence of serious social strife.

Adenauer knew, however, that only within a community of like-minded states and peoples could the stability of German democracy, peace, freedom and social justice be permanently ensured in the face of totalitarian Communism.

His decision to opt for a free Europe, for an Alliance with the US and for Nato amounted to more than merely a wish to safeguard peace. The supreme objective for him, as for us today, was to preserve freedom. It was with this in mind that I said in my first Government policy statement on Oct. 13, 1982:

"For us Germans the Alliance is the central element of our *raison d'etat*. It embraces the basic values of our liberal constitution to which we are committed; the economic and social system under which we live; and the security that we need."

The concept of Europe, the future of free Europe, therefore means more to us Germans than the demand for a flourishing free-trade zone or Economic Community.

#### Momentous act

Adenauer's decision to integrate free Germany unreservedly and irrevocably into the free world of democratic nations, was a momentous act unprecedented in German history.

What invariably mattered in the European power system were the strategic corridors which crossed in the centre of the Continent, hence the struggle by all powers to wield influence in central Europe.

For Germans the Europeanisation of the heart of our Continent was always a source of both temptation and doom: temptation, because the attainment of nationhood would necessitate a rebellion against the prevailing power system; and doom, because central Europe could not be in full control of its own destiny and because any revolt would threaten the national existence and would herald partition and thus disaster.



Adenauer was concerned that renewed German nationalism, short-sighted pacifism and neutralism might cause distrust of Germany to break out anew. His policy of integration into the West sought to counteract this danger and to safeguard democracy in Germany. The relevance of that decision to our times is illustrated by those developments in Europe which can be grouped under the broad heading of "anti-Americanism."

Historical experience shows that these tendencies in Germany must be taken seriously. I need not spell out the possible repercussions of such a development on the European order and the structure of our Western Alliance. Precisely this danger makes the present Federal Government regard the decision in favour of European integration as irreversible.

#### Ever-closer union

Today Europe and the European Community are faced by the question of how the process of European unification can best be advanced during the coming years. It is of prime importance that this task be approached from the perspective formulated in the preamble to the EEC Treaty, in which the founders of the European Community announced their determination to lay the foundations of an ever-closer union in peace and freedom among the peoples of Europe.

This wording is unambiguous. It says clearly that this Community, to put it graphically, is more than just a bank into which members deposit a sum of money in the firm expectation that they will subsequently be able to withdraw a larger sum. It must be made clear that all member-states of the Community consider themselves permanently committed to the goal of European unification and that they regard the process which has brought us this far along the road as irreversible.

The outcome of the Brussels summit meeting is reason enough to recall these guidelines. The meeting of the European Council on March 19 and 20 was a bitter disappointment for the European public at large. I share this disappointment, but at the same time we must not overlook the fact that, notwithstanding the result in Brussels, we had managed by the first months of this year to complete most of the tasks we set ourselves at the



Stuttgart summit in the summer of 1983.

At the European Council meeting in Brussels, the Federal Government did all in its power to try to make the summit meeting a success. As had been the case with successive Federal Governments during the past decades, it was prominent among those member-states which pressed emphatically and convincingly for an ever-closer union of the free peoples of Europe.

For that reason, every Federal Chancellor since Konrad Adenauer has urged that national demands, justified though they may be, should be subordinated to the survival and the development of the Community. I take the same view.

The Federal Government will keep pursuing the path towards Europe. Not for one moment will it forget what is at stake in our Continent. It is still a question of whether Europe is capable, given the complexities of the international situation, given the military threat and economic and ecological problems, to bring the interests of its member-states to a common denominator and to unite.

There is no doubt in my mind that this unity will eventually require a tighter political organisation. Europe must learn to speak with one voice, in its relations with the United States as elsewhere. The question of the next months and years will be this: is every member of the Community prepared to regard its membership as irrevocable, even during the hardest of times? We most certainly are.

Are all members prepared to work for the political union of Europe without ifs and buts? The Federal Republic of Germany is. I hope that the answer our partners give to these two crucial questions will be the same as ours.

We shall not only have to talk about economic and political matters in the Community, but also increasingly about problems of security policy. The introduction of security as a component of European unification policy can of course be no alternative to the North Atlantic Alliance.

#### Needs of Nato

The Alliance is indispensable to the free peoples of Europe for as long as



they are confronted by an imperialist superpower on European soil, but it is essential that Europeans should increase their weight and influence in Nato, that they should assert their own specific interests more effectively than in the past.

The Atlantic Alliance must be adapted to the conditions and demands of the future and the European pillar of the transatlantic partnership strengthened. At the same time it is important to the Federal Government and the vast majority of population of the Federal Republic of Germany that Nato - and particularly the close friendship and partnership with the United States - should remain the cornerstone of German security policy and the guarantor of our freedom.

Only a strong and united alliance can safeguard peace in freedom. The alliance guarantees our independence. It serves the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world and remains the basis of genuine detente.

The alliance, but also an improved East-West relationship, are indispensable conditions for progress in arms control and disarmament. The primary aim of the Atlantic Alliance was and is to prevent war, and so to preserve peace and freedom. The surest and hitherto sole guarantee against war is deterrence, including nuclear deterrence, for the Warsaw Pact possesses conventional superiority to this day.

The Soviet nuclear build-up in the seventies forced the Western Alliance to decide on appropriate counter-measures. By making a negotiated solution impossible, the Soviet Union regrettably spurned the Nato offer of an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear disarmament which would have obviated Western INF modernisation. In so doing they assumed a grave burden of responsibility.

The Alliance withstood the internal and external pressures to which it was exposed during the modernisation debate. It passed its acid test, one of great political and psychological importance, and emerged strengthened from the INF debate.

The West is prepared to return to the bargaining tables at any time to continue discussions on nuclear arms control and disarmament. The paramount objectives of my Government's security policy, like that of all



previous Federal Governments, have been and will remain the prevention of a military confrontation in Europe, an end to the arms race on European soil and in the world and guaranteed security at a low level of armaments.

As early as 1954, in the Paris Agreements, the Federal Government under the Chancellorship of Adenauer renounced the right to manufacture weapons of mass destruction, in particular atomic weapons, but also chemical and biological weapons. We stand by this decision.

Wherever possible, the Federal Republic of Germany has supported arms control and disarmament efforts. Progress in arms control presupposes greater mutual trust between East and West. The Federal Government will help in any way it can to restore the broad base of the East-West dialogue.

German Ostpolitik had its roots in Adenauer's early efforts to force a business-like and constructive relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and Moscow in 1955, following Adenauer's visit to the Soviet Union, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Moscow 15 years later, are milestones in the post-war development of German-Soviet relations.

My Government seeks constructive and stable relations with our neighbours in Central and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a difficult partner. Since the end of the Second World War, its policy has violated German and European interests. Nevertheless, any policy aimed at preserving and stabilising peace in Europe requires that dialogue with the Soviet Union, the world power which is our close neighbour on European soil, be continued and that the attempt be made to improve relations with Moscow. This is especially necessary in difficult times.

We observe the agreements we have concluded, we act in accordance with the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. Aware of the rich common heritage of our continent and conscious of our European responsibility, we shall not relax our efforts to preserve the advances made in relations with our neighbours in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and to go on developing them.



### Division of Germany

The Federal Government's pursuit of security and peace serves a high political purpose, namely to overcome the division of Germany and Europe. Together with the free West and within the European framework, we have the duty and the will to shape our future and to settle our national question as an act of peace.

We are aware of the European dimension of the German partition, which we shall be able to overcome only in the long term, with the support of our neighbours in Europe, and by peaceful means. We categorically reject war and the threat or use of force as a political instrument.

We realise how great a responsibility devolves upon our country in particular as a stabilising factor at the heart of Europe. One thing is certain: the Germans will never again neglect their European responsibility.

### Relations with GDR

Our responsibility for Europe is also reflected - and particularly so - in our relations with the German Democratic Republic. The leadership of the GDR is anxious to reinterpret German history and to assume the inheritance of this revised history. Behind the presentation of German history by the GDR is the idea of a united Socialist-Communist Germany.

The object is to create a sense of national Communist identity as a substitute for the legitimisation of a society whose philosophy and reality have never been sanctioned by the people of the German Democratic Republic in free elections - nor ever would be. The German people therefore expect every Federal Government to work persistently for a state of peace in Europe in which they can recover their unity in free self-determination.

Those who support the idea of unity must approach and seek contact with the people of the GDR. We want to arrive at practical solutions that, too, is a way of meeting our national responsibility.

The more successfully the hardships of German partition can be eased and partition overcome within a stable and peaceful order in Europe, the more firmly will peace be consolidated in Europe. A long road lies ahead



of us before that can come about, but we have no reason to become discouraged. History never speaks a last word, it never creates an irreversible situation. International politics are in a constant state of flux.

#### Berlin's dual role

Progress in relations between the two German states also affects Berlin. This city has a dual role to play in both Germany and in Europe:

- ] It symbolises staunch defence of democracy and human rights be the free peoples of the West; and
- ] It is at the same time a barometer of relations between East and West.

France, the United Kingdom and the United States are active in Berlin in their own right. Their presence is a living symbol of our partnership in the Atlantic Community. The three powers are defending the "principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law," as the preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty puts it.

We Germans owe a great debt of thanks to the three Allied Powers in Berlin. We remember with gratitude the words you spoke, Mrs Thatcher, on your visit to Berlin on Oct. 29, 1982:

"Their (the British forces') presence demonstrates the continuing commitment of Britain, with our French and American allies, to uphold the freedom of your city. They remain here because there is a vital task for them to do, and because you want them to do it we shall work to ensure that these cornerstones of Western freedom continue to guard our way of life."

#### Worldwide interests

I have addressed some of the elements of German policy, the basic principles and aims of my Government. As a leading industrial nation, the Federal Republic of Germany has diverse worldwide interests. Our eyes are not solely trained on Europe, the United States and the Middle East. Our relations with Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the entire Third World,



play a major part in our thinking and action in the field of foreign affairs.

Co-operation with the Third World is an important part of our policy for worldwide peace, it is based on respect for the independence and self-determination of these countries. We must all contribute to the peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We must help to overcome poverty, hunger, despair and intolerable social divisions. All states, whatever their social order, are subject to the same responsibility to provide assistance in a spirit of solidarity.

Since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded, our political activity has focused on particular areas whose importance derives from historical experience and the geographical position of our country. These are, of course, the European and Atlantic areas. The national question, European unification and the security of Europe will continue to receive the special attention of every future Federal Government.

The conviction of Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, his legacy to us, that only in close concert with the democratic nations of the West could Germany hope to solve its national problems one day by peaceful means, has become the guiding principle of the policies of all Federal Governments. We shall continue to pursue this course. By so doing, we want to render our contribution to the peace and freedom of the entire Western world.

