

010
DER BOTSCHAFTER
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

Weekend Box.

London, July 1st, 1980

He. Rndy
Pmme Minister.

Mr Brezhnev will not have enjoyed
listening to this speech.

Rnd - 2/7

Dear Michael

me

I have great pleasure in enclosing the English translation of the speech that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt made in Moscow on June 30th.

Jürgen Ruhfus

Sincerely yours
Jürgen Ruhfus

Michael Alexander, Esq.
Cabinet Office
10, Downing Street
London, S.W.1

translation

speech by chancellor schmidt in moscow on 30 june 1980

mr general secretary,

mr chairman of the council of ministers,

ladies and gentlemen,

thank you for the words you have just addressed to us, mr general secretary. at the same time i should like to thank you and the other members of the soviet leadership, also on behalf of foreign minister genscher and the entire delegation, for the invitation to visit moscow and for the hospitality extended to us this evening. this is my fifth visit to moscow. in view of the current grave international situation i consider it a very important visit. we are able, mr general secretary, to follow on from your visit to the federal republic of germany in 1978 and the various high-level talks that have been held since then.

the relations between our two countries, which we set on a sound foundation about 10 years ago with the german-soviet treaty of 12 august 1970, must prove to be stable, durable and capable of development in difficult times, too. otherwise we would not be able to live up to the obligations we have assumed in the treaty itself and in our joint declarations of 1973 and 1978. in this context i also mention the quadripartite agreement of 1971 which has noticeably eased the situation in and around berlin.

the federal republic of germany abides firmly by the agreements it has concluded. we adhere strictly to the multilateral conventions which form a link between us. in particular i have in mind the cosce final act. we still have to do some work together to bring

....

about its realization. in co-ordination with our allies and through intensive consultations with all participants in the conference we are preparing ourselves for the madrid follow-up conference at which political and economic issues, certain security aspects as well as human rights will feature prominently. the madrid conference can also bring about important decisions in the field of arms control. we can hope for greater security in europe if we succeed in elaborating confidence-building measures which are of military relevance to the entire european continent and binding on all the participants. (a conference on the military aspects of security in europe would be a suitable forum for the commencement of negotiations on this subject.) we hope that a substantive mandate for negotiations can be agreed in madrid. the preamble to the csce final act refers to detente which is "universal in scope" and to "recognizing the close link between peace and security in europe and in the world as a whole". and in our joint declaration of 6 may 1978 we pledged ourselves to respect the "indivisibility of peace and security throughout the world".

the alarming development of international relations during recent months has demonstrated quite clearly how important this statement is. the afghanistan crisis is casting a broad shadow on east-west relations in europe. it is causing deep concern and great anxiety particularly in the states of the third world, in the non-aligned countries, especially the islamic ones.

we must respect the voice of these peoples whose security, freedom and self-determination are at stake. world peace depends increasingly on all peoples - even those not belonging to an alliance - being able to rely on their sovereignty and independence being ensured. non-alignment has now become a real factor of international peace.

in the matter of the afghanistan crisis, my government supports, together with france, with its partners in the european community and the participants in the venice summit of 22 and 23 june, and with the overwhelming majority of the international community, the united nations general assembly resolution of 14 january 1980 as well as the position expressed by the islamic conference at its last two meetings.

the common objective of these resolutions and initiatives is to restore an independent, non-aligned afghanistan, free from foreign troops - an afghanistan in keeping with the wishes of the afghan people and the legitimate interests of afghanistan's neighbours.

i am sure that you, mr general secretary, would make a vital contribution to defusing this dangerous crisis if you could declare that the announced withdrawal of some soviet troops from afghanistan is the beginning of a movement which will be continued until withdrawal is complete.

i am also concerned about the stagnation in the peace-keeping efforts as regards the israeli-arab conflict. acts of violence intensify the danger emanating from this area of conflict for the entire region. together with its european partners my government

....

is pressing for progress in the quest for a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement.

here, too, it is the recognition and realization of fundamental principles of the international community which are involved: the right to security of all states of the region, including israel, as well as justice for all peoples, i.e. also the legitimate rights of the palestinian people, including their right to self-determination.

these principles must also gain acceptance in southern africa if the nations of the region and the world as a whole are to be spared bloody racial warfare. developments in zimbabwe show that conflicts can be resolved by peaceful means. my government will do everything possible so that namibia acquires its independence on the basis of security council resolution 435. it supports without reservation those who advocate self-determination and human dignity. in south africa, racial discrimination must give way to a policy of equality for all.

the hostage-taking in tehran concerns all nations, not only the americans who can count on us in their patient endeavours to obtain the release of the hostages. the international community expects each state to do its share in pressing for an early humane decision by the iranian authorities.

in former indochina, there is still no peace after the great suffering of the viet nam war. millions of people have become the victims of grave internal and eksternal conflicts. together with our european partners, we support asean's responsible commitment to regional security and co-operation.

only recently in the preface to the german edition of your speeches and interviews you, mr general secretary, pointed out that crises occurring anywhere in the world today have far-reaching repercussions on international relations as a whole. i share your view. in addition to regional conflicts which we must seek to resolve by peaceful means there are global tasks which we can only resolve jointly.

the necessary reconciliation of interests between north and south, between industrialized and developing countries, has been made increasingly more difficult but also more urgent by the population explosion in the third world and the explosion of the oil prices. we are all called upon to assist in mastering this task of the century - for moral reasons and because we bear a joint responsibility for world peace. that means western and eastern industrialized countries, the large oil-eksporting countries but then also the developing countries themselves.

those who care for peace in this world must refrain from imposing their own political, social and economic ideas on the third world. the countries of the third world have a right to plurality, to run their own internal and eksternal affairs, and to be free from domination.

we must give priority to ensuring internationally secure, adequate energy supplies. or else there will be the danger of a world-wide struggle for the distribution of energy with devastating effects. the industrialized countries, the oil-producing countries and the non-oil-producing developing countries are dependent on one another if they want to develop their own potential for economic advancement and prosperity. our two countries can achieve a great deal through their co-operation. from the outset i welcomed your proposal, mr general secretary, for an all-european energy conference and i shall continue to support it.

however, we can only do what is expected of us if we feel secure and are, in fact, secure. the military balance of power, both regional and global, i.e. in europe and in the world as a whole, is an indispensable key element for a peaceful future.

the preservation of equilibrium where it already exists and the creation of equilibrium where it does not yet exist must, therefore, be a priority issue of our co-operation. we must find ways of stopping the arms race which is both futile and irresponsible. the east and the west must therefore intensify their efforts to achieve agreements on arms control and arms limitation.

the american-soviet salt treaty of last june is, in our opinion, a vitally important step along this path. we hope that it will soon be ratified and shall continue to advocate its ratification. the two super powers bear a special responsibility for peace. we hope, therefore, that the united states, which has expressly said so, and the soviet union abide by the provisions of the treaty even without formal ratification.

in the field of medium-range nuclear missiles, there has, unfortunately, been a continuing development which runs counter to the gain in stability resulting from the conclusion of salt ii. foreign minister genscher and i myself have repeatedly drawn attention to this dangerous development, both publicly and in our talks with the soviet leadership. nobody could or can be in doubt about our concern.

from 1978 onwards the western alliance had to prepare concrete steps to counter the imbalance in this important field. the outcome of the lengthy and responsible deliberations is well-known: the nato decision of december 1979, which comprises both a decision on defence and a proposal for arms limitation. i am appealing to our soviet hosts not to cast aside this offer of negotiations.

we have read the declaration of the warsaw pact states of 15 may. in it they state their readiness to negotiate on all weapons systems. put this willingness into practice by agreeing to begin preparatory negotiations on medium-range systems without prior conditions.

mr general secretary, ladies and gentlemen, i have had to talk about crises, areas of tension, and conflicts. many people in my

....

country - and not only there - are concerned about the preservation of peace. precisely for that reason, two things are important:

first, we must ensure that particularly in difficult times the communication between those holding political responsibility is maintained and intensified. we must undertake even greater efforts in future to find ways and means of preventing conflicts, at least of making them manageable.

second, political action must be marked by great circumspection and a firm resolve for peace.

my government's will for peace is demonstrated by its calculable policy, which is based on a realistic assessment of the situation and on clear-cut premises. i would like to name the three underlying elements:

- the firm integration of the federal republic of germany in the atlantic alliance and the european community, in the knowledge that it shares common values and interests with the united states of america and the other allies.

- the policy of detente and co-operation with our eastern neighbours.

- the policy of partnership on equal terms with countries of the third world.

the german and the soviet people both have vivid memories of the horrors of war, of death, expulsion and destruction. we have both, mr general secretary, spoken repeatedly of the particular responsibility of the generation we belong to, which consciously experienced the entire war. we germans in the heart of europe could only lose everything and gain nothing from another war. the people in my country are aware of this. they are therefore agreed on the basic course of our policy. and it is precisely this consensus which makes our political course stable and clear: a course aimed at peace.

but there is not only cause for concern - there is also cause for hope. the co-operation and contacts between germans on both sides of the river elbe have improved. last year i visited bulgaria, poland and hungary. i experienced the measure of co-operation we have achieved and i know that nobody wants to question the achievements.

it is gratifying to note that particularly in our relations with the soviet union we have achieved an exchange of views and consultations of remarkable intensity. we are thus able to gauge the interests and problems of the other side better. our long-term economic co-operation also helps to safeguard peace.

between our two states there exists a problem which still causes great human suffering: i am referring to the plight of the divided families. i am appealing to you, mr general secretary, to make possible a similarly favourable development with respect to the reunification of families. this is not so much an issue based on reason, but a matter of the heart.

our bilateral relationship is, i feel, a good illustration that problems can be settled, conflicts resolved and tension alleviated by a readiness for negotiation and by a will for the reconciliation of interests. in this way the governments of our

two countries have made a contribution towards equilibrium and stability. it is now paramount to prevent new dangerous imbalances arising which could jeopardize our joint achievements.

i therefore welcome this opportunity of direct negotiations. i wanted to present our own views, which are based on positions shared by our friends and partners. but i also wanted to hear the views of the soviet leadership. i hope that we can - above and beyond our bilateral co-operation - contribute towards finding solutions to the problems besetting us and our partners.

mr general secretary, i propose a toast to your personal health, to the well-being of the soviet leadership, to good relations between the soviet union and the federal republic of germany, to the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and to peace in europe and the world which we all need so urgently.

file

Germany

BK

3 July 1980

Thank you for your letter of 1 July and enclosed text of Chancellor Schmidt's speech in Moscow. I have read the Chancellor's speech with great interest and will, of course, draw it to the Prime Minister's attention.

M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER

His Excellency Dr. Jurgen Ruhfus, K.B.E.

GB