

## II. The Brezhnev-Schmidt Communiqué

The Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Chairman of the Presidium of the High Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev, affirm that the resolution of the treaty of August 12, 1970 was an event of fundamental importance for the development of mutual relations and the improvement of the situation in Europe; this treaty remains the indicator of the relations between the two states.

In their intensive discussions, Helmut Schmidt and Leonid Brezhnev have come to the mutual conclusion that further energetic efforts are necessary to secure peace, to promote detente, and to achieve progress in disarmament and arms limitation.

They correspondingly declare the following: Both sides draw the conclusion from developments of the last decades that detente is necessary, possible and advantageous. They see no reasonable alternative to the peaceful cooperation of the states, despite differences in numerous basic matters and different political, economic, and social systems. They express their will to deepen and develop the detente process, and to make it continuous and lasting.

In respect to the indivisibility of peace and security in all parts of the world, they will act according to their political and economic potentialities for this goal, unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral.

Both sides are resolved to contribute to the progress of the development dynamic introduced in Europe by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. To this aim, they affirm that all principles and determinations of the concluding documents signed in Helsinki should attain full effectiveness in relations between all participant states — in the interest of the cooperation of states for the well-being of humanity.

This policy, established for the long term, requires continuous effect and concrete progress. In this sense, both sides will use the time ahead constructively to aid in the success of the joint projects they have resolved, and of the meeting of the participant states of the CSCE. On this effort, both governments will remain in contact.

In view of the destructive power of weapons at hand, and increasing stocks of weapons of all kinds, concrete measures are required to contain the arms race.

This is, in the conviction of both sides, a problem of first-rank urgency and importance. The overcoming of the arms race, with the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, lies in the political and economic interest of all states and peoples of the world, irrespective of their size, above all, however, in the interest of their security.

Agreements for further steps in the area of disarmament and arms limitation must be accelerated, so that the process of detente is not prejudiced by developments in the military area, but expanded by them.

Both sides consider it important that no one strives for military superiority. They proceed on the basis of approaching balance and parity sufficient to guarantee defense. In their opinion, appropriate measures for disarmament and arms limitation in the nuclear and conventional areas, corresponding to this fundamental aim, would be of great importance.

With respect to the armed forces in central Europe, both sides affirm the goal of the Vienna negotiations to achieve a stable situation on the basis of un-reduced security of the participating states at a lower military level.

Both sides confirm once again that they will be correspondingly ready to participate with their armed forces in the reduction of direct participants, according to the modalities negotiated in Vienna.

By means of these negotiations and their results, as well as by means of confidence-building measures in Europe, the existing mistrust and dangers of military confrontation could, in the view of both sides, be reduced, and the security of all strengthened.

Both sides are resolved to raise the quality and level of their relations in all areas, and, accordingly, to strive for this goal so that good neighbor relations and growing cooperation may become the assured possession of coming generations.

Both sides respect the active and objective exchange of opinion as an important means which serves to produce a better mutual understanding and greater trust. They are thus resolved to continue such exchange of opinions, also in the form of regular consultations, in all appropriate areas with the aim of developing the fundament of their commonalities.

It is of great importance that the thought of better mutual understanding, mutual respect, and greater mutual resolve are anchored and deepened in the consciousness of the people of both states.

This is especially true for the youth, which should never again experience what generations before them had to experience. Both sides are aware that this requires continuous and ever renewed efforts, also in common.

Both sides set themselves the goal of promoting scientific, industrial, and technological cooperation. They consider such cooperation to be an important and necessary element for strengthening their bilateral relations.

This cooperation should be increasingly oriented to the long term, so that mutual interest in its development grows. Thus emerges a solidly developed material fundament of mutual relations which extend beyond this century and is to the advantage of the peoples of both countries.

Both sides are convinced that the agreement signed May 6, 1978 on the development and deepening of long-term cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics in the

area of economy and industry will essentially contribute to this development.

The experience of history and the responsibility for peace strengthen both sides in the conviction that only the way of detente and the development of mutual relations in a constructive spirit can bring the hopes of the peoples for a lasting security of peace closer to realization.

Both sides affirm the conception that the strict maintenance and full application of the Quadripartite

Agreement of September 3, 1971 remains an essential precondition for lasting detente in the center of Europe and for the improvement of relations between the respective states, especially between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

Both sides stress that they will form their bilateral relations also in the future in the sense of the demands of detente and cooperation. They are convinced that this is to the advantage of all.

### III. Schmidt: 'Make Detente Irreversible'

*Speech by Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany delivered at breakfast with Soviet President and Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, Friday, May 6 (excerpted unofficial translation from Pravda, the CPSU daily):*

We attribute very great significance to your visit.... We esteem you as a far-seeing statesman who is conscious of his responsibility. Your very important successes in improving relations between East and West are linked with your personal activity and to the principle of detente, which to a very great degree was given definition by you personally. We esteem you as a partner who we know is, in correspondence with his experience and convictions, interested in frank meetings....

Peaceful coexistence, in our opinion, must not mean fencing ourselves off from each other.... Shutting ourselves off would not only violate the continuity of European history which we created together—both bad and good—but it could also create a threat to peace....

During this century Germans and Russians have raised arms against each other. Especially the last and most horrible of all wars inflicted immeasurable suffering on our peoples. We who hold political responsibility must—such is our mission and at the same time our duty before history—take care that this is never repeated. I am convinced that the Ukrainian farmer and the Russian miner share my opinion on this question.

The memory of the war, however, must not build up an insurmountable wall between us. All the horror and suffering of the war gave our peoples similar experiences and impressed upon them similar views. I want to remind you of a paragraph which belongs to one of your authors: "The word 'peace' can only have concrete meaning for one who knows what war is, and if I can at all be thankful for war, it is because it helped me to understand the meaning of the word 'peace'."

I know that this is true for you, Mr. General Secretary, and this is true for me, too. ...

If you consider Europe's creative heritage, then it is difficult indeed to differentiate between what has been contributed by the Western part and what by the Eastern part. Europe's culture and civilization are a unique whole. They belong to all of us in equal measure....

#### *The Process of Detente*

The treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the countries of Eastern Europe, including the

Moscow Treaty of 1970, were an achievement in which former Chancellor Willy Brandt, President of the Federal Republic of Germany Walter Scheel, General Secretary Brezhnev, Foreign Minister Gromyko, and the entire Soviet leadership have participated in equal degree....

The Helsinki conference was to a considerable degree the consequence of your personal initiative, Mr. General Secretary. We can all be satisfied with the results achieved so far.

In the years which followed this culminating moment, the detente process has slowed down, and there have been failures. But during a period of peace we do not want to close our eyes to the potential dangers of a new confrontation.

I would like to express the main thing for guaranteeing peace by quoting an instructive Russian proverb. It says: "Mind without Reason is a calamity."

...East and West must learn to conduct their policies with reason and without reservations, in harmony with the aims of detente....

*(Referring to a recent speech by Brezhnev in which the Soviet chief of state said that his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany would not only strengthen cooperation between the two countries, but detente in the entire world, especially in Europe):* We share with you this purpose whole-heartedly. At the time of your last visit to our country this found a concrete expression in the meetings on Berlin. You, Mr. General Secretary, agreed at that time with my friend Willy Brandt on a formula which we have subsequently followed reliably and loyally: strict observation and full application of the Quadripartite Agreement. Now it is necessary to find, through joint efforts, the common criteria for the realization of this agreement, in order to smooth frictions and obstacles. This would create the conditions under which this city could participate comprehensively in the process of detente in Europe...

#### *Economic Progress*

Over the past years the economies of various countries have become interwoven more than ever before. Under these conditions, the countries of Eastern Europe could not avoid the consequences of inflation and recession suffered by the Western countries. This element of joint risk, moreover, must arouse within the CMEA countries the consciousness that they are directly and immediately