

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

interested in making a contribution to the stabilization of the world economy. I am particularly thinking of joint efforts with the aim of not allowing any further widening of the gap between the developed industrial countries and the developing countries, between the rich and the poor; on the contrary, we must overcome the gap.

*(With the 25-year economic cooperation agreement)* we add to our economic and industrial cooperation the element of continuity. We are setting down in writing our mutual trust, and in this way are favoring a peaceful future.

Your country, industrially developed and rich in useful raw materials, and ours, poor in raw materials yet highly developed technologically, can complement each other for our mutual advantage....

#### *Disarmament*

*(Concerning the disarmament questions, Schmidt said he hopes that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks will be concluded successfully soon, since this will mean a*

*stabilization of the strategic potential at a "much lower level." At the same time, both countries are working towards the creation of a stable relationship of forces in Central Europe. The recent initiative by the Western countries is based on the principles of "parity and collectivity.")*

Mr. General Secretary, I want to note my agreement to a considerable degree with your recent call... that neither side should strive to establish military superiority over the other side.... As a whole, the political aspects of detente must be complemented with comprehensive military aspects.

Mr. General Secretary! We know the course of your life. We also know that you were born in a family of workers. When you speak in favor of detente, for cooperation and peace, you are expressing the feelings and strivings of an entire people. Your innermost desire is to make detente irreversible. I declare to you and to the Soviet people: Such is also the Germans' desire; such is also my personal desire and striving.

## IV. Brezhnev: 'Peace Is The Essence Of Our Life'

*The following address by President Brezhnev was aired by West German television the evening of May 6, just hours after the signing of the Soviet-West German economic agreement. This is a full translation from Pravda.*

It was with great satisfaction that I accepted the proposal to chat with you today. My second visit to your country is coming to an end. We are fully satisfied with its results. Our talks with President Walter Scheel, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Deputy-Chancellor Genscher, and meetings with Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany Willy Brandt and other state and political personalities of the Federal Republic were very much needed and useful.

As we left for Bonn this time, we considered that our task was to determine together with the Federal Republic of Germany's leaders, on the basis of the Moscow Treaty of 1970, the main lines of further cooperation between our countries in bilateral affairs, and to chart our mutual actions for the consolidation of peace and international detente. In my view, much has been achieved in this respect during the visit. There is the basis to hope that its results will contribute both greater stability and greater scope to the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

We are now at a very crucial turning point in the development of events in the world. The Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are in a position to do much to eliminate the difficulties which the process of detente has confronted in its development. To a large extent, it depends on our countries, whether the positive processes in international relations that began in the first half of the 1970s will be bolstered and deepened.

It is no secret that today these processes have been somewhat slowed. I will not go into all the reasons —

there are many. But the main one is that there has as yet not been success in reining in the monstrous arms race. This is a very alarming circumstance. For such a race cannot continue indefinitely. It inexorably undermines the edifice of political detente. If not stopped, it could cast in doubt the very future of the human race.

Our country, the Soviet Union, therefore sees its most important purpose in international affairs to be preventing humanity from crawling toward war, to be defending and strengthening peace — universal, just, and long-lived peace. This is our unshakable course. It is not subject to any conjunctural fads. It is affirmed as law in the Constitution of the Soviet Union. We are unflaggingly implementing this course by all means. The work of Soviet diplomacy is subordinated to this course. The entire public of our country supports it. All our plans are developed with this orientation to a peace perspective.

Each year more and more people, including citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany, visit the Soviet Union. And every person who becomes acquainted with our life in an unbiased fashion invariably will confirm: the entire atmosphere in our country is permeated with the deepest commitment of our people to peace and the aspiration to life in friendship with all peoples.

When we say that we Soviet people need peace, we are saying something very close to our hearts. I have had the opportunity to travel a good deal in our country. Recently, for example, I was in Siberia and the Far East: I traveled thousands and thousands of kilometers and met many people. And no matter what was being discussed, the conversation always turned to international problems. And it ultimately boiled down to the question of all questions: will peace be defended and strengthened?

In the Soviet Union we have no classes, no social layers, no professional groups who would be interested in