

West Germany mobilizes for peace

'The Federal Republic has tremendous responsibility in the world'

TO INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARIANS: North-South progress indispensable

Chancellor Schmidt delivered the speech excerpted here to the meeting of the International Parliamentarians Union held in the West German capital, Bonn, on Sept. 10-17.

Today, we need an all-embracing partnership of political security in the interest of peace. This partnership must be binding for all states throughout the world, irrespective of social and political aims or conditions. Central to this concept is a policy of political, strategic and military equilibrium and of detente. A policy of containment, of risks and of the balance of interests. . . .

I also wish at this point to reaffirm my view that progress on the North-South Dialogue is indispensable if international economic problems are to be solved and peace and stability in the world safeguarded.

It is our belief that, in addition to an increase in public development projects of improved quality, promotion should come above all from private investment and a further opening of markets in the industrialized states for products from the developing countries.

We have repeatedly and emphatically called upon the South African government to abandon their policy of apartheid. South Africa must surely realize that the time in which a peaceful reform by means of a constructive dialogue between all groups of the population could still be attained is now coming to an end.

In order to bring the influence we bear on South Africa, we have entered into a critical dialogue with its government so as to convince them that adherence to their present policy prevents peaceful solutions to the conflicts and enhances the risk of Africa becoming the scene of international conflicts.

. . . We regard a policy of sanction as having small chance for success. Any policy which today destroys the basis for the growth of the African national economies is also destroying the chances and hopes of future generations in these countries.

TO GERMAN CATHOLICS: Eastern and Western Europe must live in trust

On Sept. 17, Chancellor Schmidt gave the keynote address to the biannual German Catholic conference in Freiburg. As the basis for peace Schmidt stressed the ecumenical tradition of humanist European culture, including Christian humanism — implicitly counterposing this to the confrontation policies of his nominally Catholic opposition, the Christian Democrats and Christian Social Union parties:

Ladies and Gentlemen, Europe is not only an ad-hoc association for the purpose of raising the standard of living. The European Community serves the securing of peace, the securing of freedom, the securing of democracy and economic and social equalization. The real moral and political legitimization of the European Community lies in serving these goals constantly and better.

We are also burdened with the responsibility for peace in the outside world. What long appeared to be utopian, that is, that it would actually be made impossible for war to be a means of settling disputes, is now self-understood today in Western Europe. . . .

European policy must remain open. The Community is on the way to accepting the Greeks, the Spaniards, the Portugese, all of whom are presently on the path to democracy. But this enlarged Community should not be understood as a bloc against our Eastern European neighbors. Warsaw, Budapest, and Moscow are European cities, and the mandate for peace does not end at the Elbe river, nor at the Werra. We cannot allow Europe as a political or intellectually historical concept to be limited to Western Europe. He who wants to learn from history knows that historical Europe encompasses Rome and Byzantium, Oxford and Zagrosk, it encompasses Aachen and Prague, Cracow and Paris. . . . However, he who does not compromise with his neighbors in Eastern Europe is not qualified for peace. . . .

Europe lives according to spiritual powers, that are rooted in the Christian heritage of thought and in the classical heritage of thought. This cannot mean that people dream of a "Christian Occident" that once existed. The Christian tradition in thought only allows itself to be mediated today when we Christians affirm the pluralistic society, that is, a society in which we

Catholics and we Protestants and we Jews and we Free Thinkers want to live together with each other in peace. . . .

We all need trust. After two horrible world wars, after the most horrible crimes, I want it to be known today that the people of Europe — of all of Europe — are determined to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the past. I put a lot of trust into this understanding in the East and the West.

TO THE BUNDESTAG: Self-Finlandization is an insult

A speech made in the West German parliament (Bundestag) on Sept. 21 contains Chancellor Schmidt's first public attack on U.S. national security advisor Brzezinski's plan to use the China option as part of an expanded NATO drive against the Soviet Union. It also documents Schmidt's rejection of the thesis of the German people's collective guilt for World War II, and his rejection of Brzezinski's charge that the Federal Republic of Germany's close trade relations to the Soviet Union represent a case of "self-Finlandization."

Schmidt went after the West German spokesmen of Brzezinski's "China card," Franz-Josef Strauss and Herr Zimmerman of the Christian Social Union Party. Zimmerman has introduced a parliamentary question querying the "constitutionality" of the European Monetary Fund and charging that the EMF would bypass the central bank. He also recently accused the Schmidt government of not being willing to "exploit the coincidence between China's security interests and our own nation's security policy." Here are highlights of Schmidt's response:

The term used by you, Herr Strauss, namely, "social market economy," is nothing but an invention by the Union, and has no reference point whatsoever in our state's constitution. (Strauss interrupts) . . . I know, I know . . . there are some ideas coming from the 19th century too. The term is not in correspondence with our state's constitution. . . . But regardless, you were among those who voted against the constitution in 1948. Nevertheless, you will have to stick to that constitution. . . . Every passage of your speech, Herr Strauss, was intended to subvert and destroy every kind of trust our state possesses — inside and outside this country. . . .

Our government is in full agreement with the EEC resolution on the recent talks. We approve of Sadat's trip to Jerusalem, and maintain that Camp David was a good step in achieving an overall peace settlement in the Mideast, including all concerned parties and also those states which were not present in the recent discussions. Bonn maintains that the unity of the Arab camp is indispensable. We use whatever means of influence we have at hand to intervene in the Mideast

region. We had a series of discussions with government representatives of the Saudi Arabian government.

We also met with President Assad of Syria, whose country is indispensable for a peace settlement in the Mideast region. I hereby inform you that President Assad confirmed to us that his government approves the same EEC declaration which also grants Israel's right to exist, and that his policy in Lebanon is not one of annexation. . . .

Mr. Zimmerman, this is a democratic country, therefore I am not going to accuse you of committing treason, of being an agent of a foreign power. . . . NATO thinks that for our own security, China is not essential. . . . The present government of the Federal Republic is not willing to exploit the coincidence with China's security interests for our own nation's security policy. I can assure you that this kind of policy does not coincide with that of the alliance.

I do not know whether the term "self-Finlandization" was originally invented by Mr. Brzezinski . . . but I want to comment generally, that whoever speaks on Finlandization is in fact insulting a people who are making the best out of their very problematic situation. It is also an insult to the policy of a head of state who is a friend of mine and of our nation. It is an insult to the Finnish people.

Everyone, the sharpest critics too, should be aware of the simple fact that the framework for all policy today is a system of fixed parities like we had before the founding of the EEC in 1957 . . . this has to be defended today. If the EEC falls, one of the pillars of this nation's detente policy falls. Who is willing to face the risk of such a policy? I can assure everyone that the European Monetary Fund will be worked out in an agreement between the central banks.

There is no collective guilt. We and our state reject that. . . . I am willing to discuss the themes of history here in this house, . . . but not in the public, among sensationalist media. . . . 1848 was the hour of the birth of Republican Germany, so was 1918, so was 1944, on July 20. Germany's history also has many good periods. . . . Europe cannot be limited to the western part. Europe is also Pushkin, Tolstoy, Shakespeare and Petrarch. . . . We have to remind ourselves of our common European history in order to avoid repeating the catastrophes we once had here.

TO THE UNITED NATIONS: Europe must be Third World's development partner

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher took the Schmidt Government's Grand Design into the fall 1978 General Assembly opening of the United Nations on Sept. 26. Speaking on behalf of the European Community, Genscher stressed that

development aid to the Third World was key to the July Bremen accords launching the European Monetary Fund. In another section of the speech, Genscher put forward the May 1978 Bonn-Moscow treaties as the model of his own country's foreign policy. The following are highlights of the speech:

... However, the Europe of the Nine is not an inward-looking community. Indeed, it endeavors in the wider world as well to promote peace and the welfare of all. It is the biggest trading partner in the world, and especially of the Third World. And it is the biggest donor of development assistance. . . .

The Nine support the countries of Africa in their quest for peaceful development. We do not seek to impose our political and social system on Africa. We want to see an independent and united Africa whose nations will find African solutions for African problems. . . . The nine member states of the European Community have . . . expressed their hope that the results of Camp David will represent another important step on the path to a just, comprehensive and therefore lasting peace settlement.

For such a settlement to be achieved, it is imperative that all parties concerned should participate in its negotiations and completion. . . .

In this context, it is important that Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 have been accepted both by Israel and its neighbors. This must be the starting point for any progress in the peace-making process.

... It is furthermore necessary to improve the instruments of the United Nations for peace-preserving measures, for example, by providing training facilities for personnel required for peace-preserving operations, by keeping the Secretary General informed of available units, or logistical capacities for peace-keeping operations. . . .

TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC BASE: Bonn and Bremen are our responsibility to the world

George Leber, a close associate of Helmut Schmidt who is chairman of the Conference of Lay German Catholics and was formerly Schmidt's Defense Minister, gave this perspective on West Germany's role in achieving world peace to a Sept. 27 Social Democratic Party electoral rally in Darmstadt in the state of Hessen:

In the beginning, back in 1945, it was still possible to go back and forth, to meet with people, to work in reconstruction and to live side by side. But it got worse and worse, all the way up to 1969. It got much worse: first the East-West zones were solidified, then came the barbed wire, then the Wall, and then there was shooting. I used to walk around Bonn with my fists

clenched, not at fellow Germans, but because of the situation which had divided Germany. I knew even before 1969 that it couldn't go on that way.

One day, and the public knows of this, the German Democratic Republic closed an autobahn. I and others sat in Bonn, wondering what we would — or could — do about it. In the meantime, an American tank unit got the order to clear the road. They went to the border, but were stopped from going to Berlin by Bonn: They sat there with their motors running for six days: if there had been a misunderstood move of the hand, a gun going off by accident, there very likely would not be anything living today on earth. The fact that there has been no war is mostly our responsibility.

The German achievement in over 33 years has been to win the respect, politically and economically, of every nation without the force of arms. . . . After the war, we had to build hard and fast, and we did. We built, for instance, a large construction industry, cement factories, etc., and to build cement factories, we had to build factories which built machines to build cement factories. Now, today, the construction industry is doing relatively well, but the industry which builds the machines to build cement factories is on short time work. Why?

Brazil wants to buy these factories. So, sit down at the table and discuss price. The problem is that with the U.S. dollar doing what it is doing, the cruzeiro could be devalued 20 percent between the time of the contract and delivery, so what price do you demand if you are a businessman? We have a world economic crisis. That is why the world came to Bonn this summer. They came to put the world's economy back on its feet, and they came to see us, the Germans, because they wanted to see us and how we did it, why we have the strongest economy, how to build it. . . .

So — Bonn and Bremen: that is our responsibility to the world, because we depend on the world for our business, and because we must secure the peace. It's hard, but in the end, Brazil will be able to buy the factory which builds cement factories at a price they can afford and at a price we demand because our workers need the high wages they have and we won't take less.

Now, education: education, not just school education, but professional education, engineers, scientists, skilled workers, is the capital with which we build for the future. I guarantee you that if we let our education slip, we won't be able to sell anything in 20 years. That is our capital. That is what makes life worth living.

In the federal army, I gave the order in 1972 that it was henceforth forbidden to teach German soldiers to hate anyone. They were in the army to defend their country. So then the real question was: was it worth defending? Over 33 years it's been proven. The Federal Republic has a tremendous responsibility in the world. But others have to work hard too. How good can Germany be, how good can its engineers, scientists, politicians and governments be, how good do they have to be to keep the peace?