

Now, in the final decade of this century, we are witnessing such a revolution. Is the British historian Arnold Toynbee not right to regard history as cycles of challenge and response? The danger of nuclear suicide gave rise to creative forces with which the future can be mastered and peace secured.

How political thinking has evolved from Heracleitus's view of war as the father of all things, and Augustine's concept of "bellum justum" to Clausewitz's theory of war as the "continuation of politics by other means" and on to the present-day recognition that war can neither be waged nor won.

The peoples, the nations, are compelling reflection on the values of freedom, human rights and democracy. They open, thus, the opportunity of fundamentally reshaping Europe's future in the last decade of this century. The basic conditions of stability required for this process include above all the elimination of military confrontation. In Malta the presidents of the United States and the Soviet Union agreed that now the Cold War is over its instruments must also be removed, including the arsenals of weapons that have been built up over a period of 40 years.

At the negotiations on conventional arms control we must create the preconditions for developing a new security system for the whole of Europe based on co-operative structures.

These preconditions are:

First, the elimination of the imbalances persisting in the conventional sector, and further substantial reductions of conventional forces and weapons. The forces of basing countries must also be included. We realize that this will have far-reaching effects on the strength of the Bundeswehr.

Second, the removal of the capability for launching surprise attacks and initiating large-scale offensive action. We are determined to make our contribution to disarmament.

Third, the restructuring of forces so as to strengthen their defensive nature and further reduce offensive capabilities.

Much of this already determines the ongoing Vienna negotiations on conventional forces. The more extensive goals must be negotiated in Vienna without interruption after the completion of the first set of negotiations, otherwise our efforts towards disarmament and arms control will fail to keep pace with the political changes. Vienna I must be followed without a break by Vienna II.

The nations of Europe and North America expect a first conventional disarmament agreement to be concluded by the end of the year. Time is pressing. The key problems must be resolved