

Ties With Reds Proposed

New Policy for Germany Pledged by Willy Brandt

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BONN, Nov. 13—Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt today pledged a new foreign policy—based on “increasing security through reducing tensions” — for any new West German government in which his Social Democratic Party participates.

Brandt's program includes:

- Full diplomatic relations with the Communist-ruled nations of Eastern Europe.
- Increased contacts and trade with Communist East Germany in the hope of improving the living conditions of its 17 million citizens.
- “Marshall plan for Eastern Europe” based on joint

BRANDT, A18, Col. 4



WILLY BRANDT
... outlines foreign policy

development of common projects by the Western and Eastern European states.

- Support of an East-West treaty to ban the spread of atomic weapons, a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, and a mutual reduction of allied and Communist-bloc troop levels in central Europe.

- Efforts to reach agreement among the Bonn parties and the Western Allies on a draft German peace treaty.

- Encouragement of practical proposals to reduce the disagreements between London and Paris, and help bring Britain into the Common Market.

In an exclusive interview, Brandt outlined his general philosophy and detailed views on Germany's role in reducing tensions between East and West.

“Germany,” Brandt declared, “can play a significant role in Europe and the world—no longer as a military power of the old style, but rather through the force of its constructive and intellectual achievements: in science, in culture, in its economy, in justice and social justice, in its service to the needs of human beings . . . in foreign policy, that means increasing security through reducing tensions . . .

Reunification Issue

“German policy gains both influence and weight,” Brandt continued, “when it actively participates in reducing tensions. . . Bonn must not and cannot block every forward step toward reducing East-West tensions with the demand that progress on the German question must be achieved first.

“Progress on the German question is conceivable—if not mathematically certain—only in the course of a process. Whether progress can be made will depend to a large extent on the initiatives and credibility of German policy itself.

“It would surely be worth a great deal if the Federal Republic could convince its neighbors in Europe, friend and foe alike, that nobody need fear a United Germany. But today, that alone would no longer suffice to solve the German question. It is important to strengthen such a conviction so that the world finds the courage not to leave a divided Germany behind as the contradictions between East and West are resolved.”

These broad views are the basis for Brandt's support of

various Western initiatives toward arms control, worldwide and in Europe particularly. Brandt also believes "eminently worth discussing" the recent Czech-Polish proposal to submit their nuclear research laboratories to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Authority if West Germany does likewise.

Brandt favors diplomatic relations with the Eastern European states—and thus modification of the Hallstein Doctrine that Bonn should not recognize states recognizing East Germany—"without any illusions that this could work miracles in a short time."

He believes that "a legal position itself is no policy. We must not have a doctrine that leads in practice to the representatives of Communist-ruled Germany indirectly deciding where the Federal Republic runs down its flag or never even gets to raise it."

West Germany, Brandt says, "must endeavor to convince the peoples of Eastern Europe that we wish to live in friendship with them. We must remove the fear of Germany among these peoples, and in order to do that we must be represented in their capitals . . . no one could doubt in any case, that the Federal Republic is and remains the only German government legitimated by political democracy."

Relations With Prague

In the specific case of Czechoslovakia, which many Social Democrats consider should be the first East European state to be recognized, Brandt believes that the two main obstacles can be overcome. They are the controversies over the 1938 Munich agreement—which the Czechs want Bonn to denounce—and the so-called "Berlin clause" under which other countries recognize that West Berlin is part of the territory covered by the West German *deutschmark*.

With regard to Communist East Germany, Brandt believes that "nobody can turn back or undo the history of the last 20 years. I am for more contacts—first, in order to overcome the most inhuman consequences of the division and to ease the lives of human beings; second, because contacts would be a contribution to defense on German soil; and third, because they can strengthen the feeling of belonging together

among the people on both sides and thus preserve our national identity. This is a German responsibility which no one else can assume."

Brandt believes West German policy can help influence an internal evolution inside East Germany, the struggle between Stalinist dogmatists and more moderate, realistic elements. "We must not," he says, "regard the argument with communism only as a matter of foreign policy. Argumentation is all the more inevitable if one seeks to overcome the division of Germany by peaceful means."

Favors Trade Expansion

West Germany, Brandt says, "can have no interest in keeping living standards low in the Communist part of Germany. We should expand the trade between us. It is, by the way, treated as internal trade by the East Berlin officials—there are no tariffs. To expand trade, the Federal Republic must be ready to make credits available, so that the West German economy has at least the same chances as foreign firms do."

Although all West German parties oppose formal recognition of the East German Communist state, Brandt believes that "We need some qualified, regulated way for the two parts of Germany to live side by side—we need arrangements. That principle is more important than the forms such arrangements might take."

Brandt's idea of a "Marshall plan for Eastern Europe" would start with common "infrastructure" projects—such as highways, railroads, canals, electricity grids and flood-control measures. He would not exclude East Germany from such East-West cooperation.

In Western Europe, Brandt believes that the Common Market, as an economic community, has "reached the point of no return" and that Britain and other members of the European Free Trade Association will be in the market within three or four years. He also thinks, however, that "the time has come to think about a larger Europe" including not only the EFTA countries but also, eventually, the East European states.

On the difficult question of German "offset" payments to cover the foreign-exchange costs of allied troops stationed here, Brandt says that "a new German government will, of course, honor the commitments made by its predecessors." As for the scope of "future agreements, Brandt notes that this will depend not only on the broad policy review

currently being undertaken by Washington, London and Bonn but also "on whether we can succeed in forming a government that gets our economy moving again and finally carries out the thorough reform of our tax and fiscal system which has been long, long overdue."

As Social Democratic chairman, Brandt would be Chancellor if his party and the Free Democrats succeed in forming a new "Socialist-Liberal" government. The two parties are in broad agreement on foreign policy, but must compromise traditional differences on economic and social issues.

Brandt would be Vice-Chancellor and, probably, Foreign Minister if the Social Democrats finally choose instead to join a "grand coalition" with the ruling Christian Democratic Union.

[The Social Democrats' program for foreign and domestic policy was sent to the Free Democrats and the Christian Democratic Union today as a basis for the forthcoming talks

the Social Democrats will hold with the two parties on forming a government, Reuters reported.]