

West Germany Called Victim Of NATO Split

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

West Germany is "the real victim of the current split in the Atlantic Alliance," The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was told yesterday by Harvard Prof. Henry A. Kissinger.

The "seeming balance and solidarity of postwar Germany," said Kissinger, "is highly deceptive." Its "psychological margin is far narrower than its economic one and in the long run more decisive," he added.

Hence American policy should avoid pushing Germany into an anti-French posture, said Kissinger because "a German - American axis in NATO would be a disaster for the United States, Germany and NATO."

In such a situation, "substantial" American forces must remain in Europe although reciprocal cuts with the Soviet Union would be "a constructive approach" to the European problem.

For Imaginative Action

Kissinger, the author of many books on Western strategy and Alliance problems, called for "another lead of the imagination similar to that which took place two decades ago" when NATO was formed and the Marshall Plan was in progress.

But in reply to Chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) who asked for specifics, Kissinger said the best he could offer was the advice that "we need some notion of how we

want to shape history."

In this respect he praised French President de Gaulle whose views on East-West relations "without question represent the dominant trend in Europe."

Kissinger said he was not calling for a reduction of the American commitment in Europe but for a reduction of "our formal predominance."

The challenge today, he said, is to "avoid both the danger of excessive nationalism and a new version of neutralism" in Western Europe.

"The central task" today, he said, "is to encourage a European sense of responsibility." He opposed the multilateral nuclear force (MFL) and approved the so-called McNamara consultative committee.

Kissinger was less worried about de Gaulle's challenge to NATO's integrated military features than by the lack of integration of Western political ideas. He suggested that a good forum, rather than NATO itself, might be the Western European Union which is composed of Britain and the six continental members of the Common Market.

Warns on Unification

Kissinger warned against encouraging West Germany "into solitary efforts on the subject of unification—especially toward East Germany." Rather Germany's allies must seriously work toward reunification.

But reunification, he added, "will result not from one spectacular negotiation but from an extended historical process." Currently no program today can win Soviet willingness "to sacrifice the East German regime."

German unity will become possible only if there is "(a) a collapse of Soviet power or (b) a change in the ideological climate of the world which might make the East German regime less important for a more national Russia."

It was in this connection that Kissinger had words of praise for de Gaulle who "has moved from advocating the unity of Western Europe to holding out a vision of the unity of all Europe. He has made himself the spokesman for a relaxation of East-West tensions."

Strain on U.S. Noted

While Kissinger, in reply to

questions, appeared to back President Johnson in Vietnam, he commented that the American effort to play a simultaneous role in "every part of the globe" is "clearly beyond our psychological resources." The strain on American leadership is simply too great, he explained.

Indeed, Kissinger commented to Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) that he was becoming more worried about "the excessive concentration of decision making" power. Hence he said he favored "pluralism," felt it "safer" to have a federated Europe rather than a unified Europe and looked with disfavor on the idea of Atlantic Union as likely to be too rigid.

Today the committee hears from former White House science adviser Jerome Wiesner and deputy arms control chief, Adrian Fisher. The hearings are scheduled to conclude on Thursday with the testimony of Under Secretary of State George Ball.