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Address by Chancellor Willy Brandt
National Press Club, Washington, D.C.
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Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

I thank you very warmly for your invitation. I am glad to be your guest once again - for the first time as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

My talks with President Nixon whom I have known and esteemed for many years - going back to the time when he was Vice President and I Governing Mayor of Berlin - are devoid of tension or sensation. They are rather inspired by a feeling of trust and a sense of common responsibility.

It is the purpose of these talks to harmonize our positions and future actions on such varied and yet interrelated fields as

- the relationship between the United States and the European Community
- future co-operation within the Atlantic Alliance, and
- the efforts of our two governments to reduce tensions between East and West.

References to German-American partnership one may hear or read on an occasion like this, are certainly more than just a phrase. In two decades this partnership has proved its value to the benefit of either side.

That is why the first point I would like to make today is the following: My Government will adhere to that partnership and it will do whatever it can to overcome difficulties that may present themselves, for example, in the fields of common defense or commercial policy.

We in Germany - and let me add, many others in Europe as well - would like to see this partnership develop further in line with the requirements of our time - be it in respect of environmental problems and questions of technological developments which press upon us in all industrialized countries and to which President Nixon referred with great insistency last year on the occasion of NATO's twentieth anniversary, or be it in respect of the laborious negotiations intended to overcome the East-West confrontation and to uncover areas of common interest.

I feel that even the skeptics among you - and among journalists the number of skeptics is usually great - will agree with me that what I have just been saying is more than mere words. Both Governments, Washington and Bonn, have set about to suit the action to the word. Nobody should, however, be surprised that the road toward organizing peace is a long one and that those who are ready to go along that road require a long breath.

We have got to see this in its proper historic context. In a few weeks twenty-five years will have passed since the end of World War II. Europe lay in ruins. Germany was at the same time vanquished and liberated. It remains a moral act of high eminence that we Germany - in the Western zones - were not debarred from the effects of the American people's willingness to help. In particular, America's action to save West-Berlin during the blockade is unforgettable. A little later, we were offered the chance of comprehensive co-operation.

However little a sense of gratefulness may usually persist among nations: - the people of the Federal Republic and of West Berlin have not forgotten all this, nor will they ever forget it.

My numerous conversations at home - as well as public opinion polls - show that close relations with the United States are considered as number one priority in foreign affairs and that the presence of US Forces in our country continues to be regarded as vital. This has nothing to do with indolence nor with any attempt to escape our own responsibility. It rather reflects a deep-seated feeling, which

reaches beyond the day, of belonging together, a feeling that should not be disregarded in the United States, even if, in view of the manifold problems with which you are confronted here and elsewhere, it may sometimes be felt to be a burden.

Nor are we Europeans always free from a feeling of uneasiness when we think of our dependence. The idea of European unity has come to be a living reality in the European Economic Community. The enlargement of the Community will now, after many years of stagnation, advance. The concept of a united Europe is not only intended to put an end once and for all to the era of intra-European strife, it is also to enable Western Europe to stand on her own feet. Only in this way can we become partners and end the necessity of still receiving partial support from outside.

European unity is and remains the hub of a forward-looking policy designed to safeguard peace. My Government promotes it with all the means at hand. Today I can give a clear answer to the often-asked question whether this process toward unity advances: yes, it does, we do progress.

I am not sure whether here in America the full meaning of the European summit meeting at the Hague last December and of what - as I hope - it will produce, was everywhere grasped.

I am thinking of this:

- We decided to develop and enlarge the European Community;
- The road is thus free for negotiations with Great Britain and other applicant countries;
- Franco-German friendship has in this context stood an important test;
- Efforts preparing the way for political co-operation in Western Europe have been resumed after having been discontinued since 1962;
- Our American friends who in the post-war years so strongly championed the cause of European Unity, need no longer be disappointed, but together with us they may gather fresh hope from recent developments.

But - I may be asked - will an enlarged community not increase the possibilities of a clash with the commercial interests of the United States. This would be so only if we in Europe were to seclude ourselves from the outside world. This, however, would be against our own interests. The Federal Republic of Germany will vigorously do all it can to prevent the European Community from inhibiting world-wide liberalization. The growth of our own economy makes this necessary.

There have been less convincing tendencies. Yet one may note that the experience made so far is not so bad.

Let me remind you that commodity exchanges between the US and the Community have trebled between 1958 and 1969, that your trade surplus with us amounted to \$1.2 billion in 1969, that the EEC today has the lowest and most balanced customs tariff of all trade partners, and that the Community is still the most important market for American agricultural products.

There are other questions, particularly those arising from existing or projected association agreements or special arrangements with the Community. There are political considerations behind that to which we may point. In the US there is some fear that this may lead to discrimination. To discuss such and other questions objectively and continuously, I favor closer contacts between EEC and the US.

Partnership between Europe and America has so far mainly materialized within NATO. We adhere to the alliance and to the commitments flowing from it. The efficiency of the Atlantic Alliance, however, continues to depend essentially on maintaining the military presence of the US on the European continent. No European effort can be a substitute for this. There is still no security for Europe without the United States. I am sure that the interpretation of America's own interests will arrive at the same conclusion.

The American commitment is also the prerequisite for future successful negotiations with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact on a mutual balanced force reduction and on effective armaments limitations. The strategic requirements will have to be discussed and

decided upon within the alliance as well as possibilities of an equalization of burdens. As to bilateral German-American questions in this context, it would certainly seem sensible to enter in time into negotiations on them.

It is evident that a satisfactory solution to the security problems of Europe can only be found within a European peace order.

The policy pursued by my Government is aimed at this objective.

One of the first steps we took was the signature of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Federal Republic of Germany will abide by that treaty and we wish a verification agreement between EURATOM and the Vienna International Atomic Energy Agency to be concluded as soon as possible. On this the ratifications of the treaty depends.

A concept of comprehensive agreements on the reunification of the use or threat of force is the basis of the talks we have started with Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin.

They are closely interwoven both as regards substance and timing - they are also linked with the important discussion on Berlin which the three Western powers have entered into with the Soviet Union.

Our policy is free from illusion and nervous haste. I am aware that we shall require perseverance to bring these talks to a successful conclusion.

What is our concept? Just as NATO is a reality, as West Berlin with its relationships with the Federal Republic is a reality, so is the Warsaw Pact, so are the two states in Germany, so are the frontiers of Poland. We have to start from these realities if we want to improve relations with the Soviet Union, seek reconciliation with the Polish people and mitigate the distressing division of our country. The last war has produced quite some new realities and I am not unmindful of who had started that war.

I am not ready to abandon the right of self-determination of the German people nor am I ready to give up any of our other peaceful aims. But I am convinced that twenty-five years after the end of the war it is our duty to try in all seriousness to unfreeze the hardened fronts in Europe and, by contractual arrangements, to work for peaceful coexistence in Europe and in Germany.

Whoever has followed international politics since the end of the war, as many of you have done, is aware that this objective can be obtained only if out-dated theories are left behind and a new synthesis of realities and ideals is sought. My Government and I are ready to do so - in the interest of the peace and the peoples.

I thank you for your attention.