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Text of address by  
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GOVERNING MAYOR OF BERLIN  
as prepared for delivery before luncheon  
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"GERMANY AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY"

I would have liked very much to give you today a report concerned only with great success. Certainly you will not be surprised that I must talk not only about success, but also of difficulties. When we recall President Kennedy's vision of the future, which held so much hope not only for my city, then it becomes clear how far we still are from achieving our major goals. We still have no constructive Atlantic partnership. Instead we see the signs of crisis in NATO. The snail's pace of the Geneva conference on tariff and trade also is not encouraging. Instead of a free Europe speaking with one voice, we hear again and again the discord of a strength-sapping rivalry.

Some of our good friends have always tended to underestimate the difficulties on the road to European unity. There was and is no easy way to federation. On the contrary, there are only tortuous paths through the maze of European history.

But we should also remember the 19 years that separate us from the end of World War II, because then we come up with a much more

positive balance. Then Europe was a wasteland of misery, hunger and ruin. This followed my own country's terrible aberration, and was the result of the terrible war that really began as a European civil war. Then the problem was simply and starkly one of primitive survival.. What have we today?

Today, despite all obstacles and setbacks, we have a Western Europe that is economically strong. It is in a process of unification that can no longer be stopped. In Western Europe we have relative political stability today. And in Eastern Europe a process of change is taking place, a shifting that is only beginning and which, so far, we have hardly comprehended.

The great program that the U. S. launched after the war to help others help themselves played a significant role in these developments. But this initial force of the Marshall Plan would have been useless if the Europeans themselves had not put their shoulder to the wheel, if they had not put into motion the strength and energy the old continent still commands.

The efforts of free Europe would have been useless without the commitment of the United States. Here our interests coincided. But the fact remains: without American protection we would not have been able to protect ourselves against the Soviet power drive.

The strength of today's Europe cannot be compared with the situation of 1949, when we endured the Berlin blockade. But still the basic situation has not changed. Without an Atlantic strategy, without the commitment of the U. S., there is no effective security for Europe even today.

The longing for European unity is, of course, not new. But particularly after the last war many people realized that national borders

had to be surmounted, that our century called for greater concepts. Enthusiasm for this idea caused young people to rise and actually burn down national barriers.

The need for reconciliation between France and Germany, so long felt, was finally answered. And I identify myself fully with the German-French friendship. In the cooperation of France and Germany with Italy and the Benelux countries, Europe became a practical reality, at first in the form of the Coal and Steel Community. From the Treaties of Rome two other results emerged: Euratom and, most importantly, the European Economic Community - the Common Market.

On the foundation of the Marshall Plan and under the sheltering roof of NATO a powerful economic structure developed - a prosperous market of 170 million people in six nations.

Parallel with this - but unfortunately not yet connected with it - we have the European Free Trade Association, comprised of Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal - another 90 million people.

All this is not developing according to blueprints. It is lagging behind Europe's real needs. But it cannot be said that nothing moved, that nothing happened. At least we now travel freely in Western Europe and we travel a great deal. Young people meet each other as if there had never been bloody conflict between their fathers and between their forefathers.

No, faint-heartedness and resignation will give us no answer to the problems we face today. The European Community has become a strong and dynamic factor in world affairs. Its force has radiated even into the East.

Security and economic growth were the two motives for European development. But the success achieved is not sufficient and nothing would be more dangerous than to stop now. We must always match our actions to fit the needs of the time. And we must prove ourselves in a changed political situation.

Only a few years ago, nobody would have dared to predict these changes. The Soviet Union is quarreling with Red China - and not only over matters of doctrine. And the contrast between poor and rich, between developed and underdeveloped peoples is even beginning to outweigh the East-West conflict.

The fight over armaments continues. But along with it there is also a fight for productivity, for effectiveness, for a better standard of living. And in addition to this, there is also competition to provide development aid.

As this goes on, some leaders have been forced to realize that the problems of today are not a matter of communist machinery but of effective machines, that scientific formulas don't have to be communist but have to be right.

The West became aware of its strength only very slowly. But the Soviet leadership had to accept the challenge to peaceful competition. They could not do otherwise because today total war requires a readiness to commit suicide.

I hope our experience of the last 19 years has not been in vain. We know that peaceful coexistence does not mean that Communists are turning into Sunday School students.

The West must not forget that peace will still depend for many years on the relative balance of military power. Weakness would endanger world peace. But if we should succeed in keeping the military threat

under control, then we must face the question of a strategy for peace. Answers to this as they were given by President Kennedy are still valid today. They have been confirmed by President Johnson.

Is it absolutely necessary for the West to have a falling out when the Communist bloc shows cracks? I do not think so. After all we did not start on this course only to protect ourselves against dangers. We undertook to fulfill positive goals together.

In my opinion it is neither sensible nor fair to hold General de Gaulle responsible for all the difficulties we in the West face. Some decisions by the French President certainly are not easy to understand. But I did not come to the United States in order to complain about him. Rather there is ample reason to recognize the fact that in his own way de Gaulle is thinking the unthinkable with audacity and determination, and that he has begun to draw certain conclusions as a result.

The balance of terror maintained by the two super-powers provides the opportunity to set rigid positions in motion. The French President takes advantage of this in his own way. And indeed sometimes I ask myself as a German: Why only he?

But when we build bridges from the past to the future, we don't necessarily need to lose sight of the present.

We Europeans should stop crying on the shoulders of the United States. We should openly and with self-confidence discuss with each other the common dangers we face. Excessive nationalism is such a danger. It could have catastrophic consequences.

We should soberly recognize certain facts. A supranational unity within the framework of the six countries in the Common Market cannot be achieved in the near future. France does not want it and there can be no Europe either without France or against France. As we broaden

the framework, however, the picture is the same. Great Britain, likewise, still wants no supranational union.

Nobody knows today when we shall be able to move ahead. But this is no reason for despair. We must not abandon the goal of European integration just because obstacles that appear to be insurmountable are now in the way. We have to look for whatever road is possible. That means all existing elements favorable to the unification of Europe must be cultivated, strengthened and improved.

First: The Common Market, Euratom, and the Coal and Steel Community must be brought under one roof. This is in prospect.

Second: The European administrative bureaucracies and what I call the cartel of national governments must be brought under parliamentary control. Europe must be democratized. This will not be possible without pressure.

Third: In the field of culture and foreign policies, we should strive for a broader coordination in reasonable ways. But the course should not lead to the separation of Europe; rather it must lead to equal partnership with the United States.

Fourth: New efforts must be made to bring the still divided parts of free Europe together. The door that was shut in Britain's face must be re-opened. This goes also for countries like Denmark and Norway.

Fifth: The European Community must be able to accommodate countries like Sweden, Austria and Switzerland, in such a way as to meet the needs of their special status. I hope that the day is not far off when Spain too will find its place in a Europe that is free and that is not directed against anybody.

Sixth: The will for cooperation must also be demonstrated to the

peoples of Eastern Europe. The time has come to recognize more clearly that Europe does not end at the iron curtain.

The strategy that will lead us into the future differentiates between military security and peaceful cooperation. There is only one indivisible security for the Atlantic Community but there are different forms and different degrees of economic and cultural cooperation. In the future as in the past, security for the free peoples of Europe is possible only in an Atlantic partnership with the United States.

Economic and cultural cooperation, however, is the means by which we can reach beyond the iron curtain and envisage a Europe to which peoples on the other side also want to belong because they have not forgotten that they are Europeans.

Two things are necessary in order to achieve security for the forces of freedom. One is military security, the other involves the mutual desire to maintain peace. What we can achieve through economic and other forms of cooperation, in order to make the will for peace grow in Eastern Europe, also helps strengthen our security, and to this extent is in our own best interest.

We should propose common projects to the peoples of Eastern Europe and make it clear to them that we are not afraid of bringing their standard of living up to ours but rather we should strive for it. This is also in accordance with the original idea of the Marshall plan.

For the future development of Europe, there can be no policy of either-or, no policy of all or nothing. There is only this task: We must do everything possible that will help Europe grow together. Then we will meet the three-fold challenge:

To improve the Atlantic Partnership and secure peace;

To promote the process of transformation in the Eastern bloc;

And to help fight the battle against hunger in the world more efficiently.

The Federal Republic of Germany has proved from its very beginning that it has learned from history. In the interest of Europe it was, and is prepared to forego rights of sovereignty. It has shouldered its share of responsibility for the common cause of freedom.

We believe NATO must not deteriorate. It must be developed further, it must be more strongly integrated and also its decision-making procedures must be modernized.

We do not suffer from nuclear ambitions. We do not wish to increase the number of nuclear powers. We are not disputing the authority of the President of the United States to have the final decision. But we do not shy away from co-responsibility, and that includes nuclear strategy too. And just as emphatically, I am in favor of full cooperation in the field of armament control and limitation. For this is merely the other side of the one indivisible security.

My people understand that European union and the Atlantic partnership are also in their best national interest. So therefore they do not expect to be left with the short end of the stick.

The continued division of Germany is an unnatural condition. The natural wish of people to come together as families and to live together as a people was demonstrated in a convincing way last Christmas in Berlin. As you may remember, a special arrangement provided for the temporary lifting of the barrier between East and West Berlin. As a result hundreds of thousands of West Berliners were able to visit their families on the other side. The urge for unity will not weaken with time. The opposite is the case. Particularly the younger generation, unburdened by any guilt for the past, is calling for the right of self-determination.



We know that this right cannot be realized without Russia's agreement or against Russia's will. Therefore we know that the German problem cannot be solved from one day to the next. We must try to come closer to the solution step by step. In following this course we must see to it that the inhuman separation of people is reduced as much as possible. We must see to it that the links between people are strengthened.

Berlin was and is a test case. Berlin is still the scene of deep human suffering. But it is also a place of common achievements of which we all are proud. This is one of the major reasons for my confidence.

We all need firmness in our principles, whatever role we play. But in a quickly changing world, we also need courage, audacity and imagination.