Recent studies of the Cold War transcend a narrow focus on four decades of superpower rivalry, recognizing that leaders and governments outside of Washington and Moscow also exerted political, economic, and moral influence well beyond their own borders. One striking example was the Ostpolitik of Chancellor Willy Brandt, which not only redefined Germany’s relation with its Nazi past but also altered the global environment of the Cold War.

This book examines the years 1969 to 1974, when Brandt broke the Cold War stalemate in Europe by assuming responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich and by formally renouncing several major West German claims, while also launching an assertive policy toward his communist neighbors and conducting a deft balancing act between East and West. Not everyone then, or now, applauds the ethos and practice of Ostpolitik, but no one can deny its impact on German, European, and world history.

Carole Fink, Distinguished Humanities Professor in History at The Ohio State University and a specialist in European International History, is the author of three monographs, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938* (2004, paperback edition 2006) and *The Genoa Conference: European Diplomacy, 1921–1922* (1984, new paperback edition 1993), both of which were awarded the George Louis Beer prize of the American Historical Association, and *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (1989, paperback edition 1991), which has been translated into six languages. She has edited six volumes, including *1956: European and Global Perspectives* (2006), *Human Rights in Europe since 1945* (2003), and *1968: The World Transformed* (1998), and has written some fifty articles and chapters on contemporary European history. In 2007 she received the Distinguished Scholar award from The Ohio State University.

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The German Historical Institute is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to provide a permanent basis for scholarly cooperation among historians from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. The Institute conducts, promotes, and supports research into both American and German political, social, economic, and cultural history; into transatlantic migration, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and into the history of international relations, with special emphasis on the roles played by the United States and Germany.

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EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL RESPONSES

Edited by

CAROLE FINK
The Ohio State University

BERND SCHAEFER
Cold War International History Project

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE
Washington, D.C.

and

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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8 President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt and Willy Brandt, Cairo, April 21, 1974. Source: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bad Godesberg.

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Contributors

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Andrey Edemskiy is a Senior Research Fellow in the Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). He is author of *Ot Konflikta k Normalizacji: Sovietsko-Yugoslavskije Otношения, 1953–1956* [From Conflict to Normalization: Soviet-Yugoslav Relations, 1953–1956] (2008) and is currently working on two books on Soviet-Yugoslav relations under Brezhnev and Tito, 1964–1974, and on the Soviet Union, the years before stagnation, 1967–1973. His publications include numerous articles on Balkan history in the twentieth century, international relations, and Soviet/Russian policy toward East Central Europe under Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, and Yeltsin.

Contributors

William Glenn Gray is Associate Professor of History at Purdue University and the author of *Germany’s Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949–1969* (2003). More recently he has published articles concerning West Germany’s monetary and economic policies. Gray is a coeditor of the *Encyclopedia of the Cold War* (2008) and also serves as editor of *H-German*. His second monograph will be a reinterpretation of German foreign policy from Adenauer to Schmidt.

Amit Das Gupta is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Contemporary History Munich/Berlin, which publishes the records of the German Foreign Office. He is the author of *Handel, Hilfe, Hallstein-Doktrin: Die bundesdeutsche Südasiapolitik unter Adenauer und Erhard, 1949–1966* (2004), as well as numerous articles about German, European, and Indian foreign, security, and development policy.

Holger Klitzing studied history, political science, and economics in Heidelberg and Chapel Hill, N.C. After obtaining his doctorate in history at the University of Heidelberg in 2006, he joined the German Foreign Service. He is the author of *The Nemesis of Stability: Henry A. Kissinger’s Ambivalent Relationship with Germany* (2007).

Milan Kosanović is Vice Chairman of the Zikić Foundation, Bonn/Belgrade. He teaches modern southeastern European history at the University of Bonn. His field is the foreign policy of Yugoslavia from 1945 until its dissolution, especially Yugoslav–German relations. He is author of *Die Entstehung der jugoslawischen Koexistenz-Doktrin* (2003) and numerous articles on southeastern European history and is coeditor of *Sozialistisches Jugoslawien: Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (2005).

Meung-Hoan Noh is Professor in the Department of History at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul. He is author of *Westintegration versus Osthandel: Politik und Wirtschaft in den Ost-West-Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949–1958* (1995) and has published many articles on the history of European integration and the divided Germany and Korea.

Marie-Pierre Rey is Professor of Russian and Soviet History and Director of the Center of Slavic Studies at the University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne. She has written several books and many articles on Russian and Soviet history including *Le Dilemme Russe: La Russie et l’Europe Occidentale d’Ivan le Terrible à Boris Eltsine* (2002) and *La Tentation du Rapprochement: France et URSS à l’heure de la détente, 1964–1974* (1991). She recently edited *Les Russes de Gorbatchev à Poutine* (2005) and is currently writing a biography of Tsar Alexander I.
Contributors


Oldřich Tůma is Director of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague. His original field was Byzantine studies before he switched to contemporary history after 1989. He has authored works on the opposition to the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, including Zítma zase tady! [Tomorrow at the Same Place!] (1994) and Srpen ’69 [August ’69] (1996), as well as numerous articles on Czechoslovak history after 1945 in an international context. He is also coeditor of Deutschsprachige Minderheiten 1945: Ein europäischer Vergleich (2007).
Chronology

**German Ostpolitik**

March 5, 1969
Gustav Heinemann (SPD) elected FRG President

September 28, 1969
Federal Election in FRG, SPD/FDP win 48.5 percent of the vote

October 13, 1969
White House–Bonn back channel established

October 21, 1969
Willy Brandt elected Federal Chancellor by the Bundestag

November 28, 1969
FRG signs the Nuclear and Non-Proliferation Treaty

December 24, 1969
Kremlin–Bonn back channel established

**The World**

March to August 1969
Sino-Soviet border clashes

March 17, 1969
“Budapest Appeal” by the Warsaw Pact for a European Security Conference
January 30, 1970
Egon Bahr begins talks with
Soviet leaders in Moscow

February 5, 1970
FRG begins talks with
Polish leaders in Warsaw

March 19, 1970
Meeting between Brandt
and GDR Prime Minister
Stoph in Erfurt (GDR)

March 26, 1970
Quadripartite talks on Berlin
between the USSR, the United
States, France, and the UK begin

April 4–11, 1970
Brandt visits the United States

May 21, 1970
Second Brandt-Stoph meeting
in Kassel (FRG)

August 12, 1970
Moscow Treaty between the
USSR and the FRG

December 7, 1970
Warsaw Treaty between Poland
and the FRG; Brandt’s Kniefall
before the Warsaw Ghetto
Monument

December 20, 1970
Resignation of Władysław
Gomułka; clashes in Polish ports

May 3, 1971
Walter Ulbricht replaced as SED
leader by Erich Honecker

September 3, 1971
Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin
concluded
Chronology

September 16–18, 1971
Crimea meeting between Brezhnev and Brandt

October 25, 1971
PRC accedes to the UN replacing Taiwan

December 3–16, 1971
Indo-Pakistani War over East Bengal; independence of Bangladesh

December 10, 1971
Brandt awarded the Nobel Peace Prize

December 17, 1971
Transit Agreement between the FRG and the GDR

February 21–28, 1972
Richard Nixon visits the PRC; Sino-American opening

April 27, 1972
Brandt narrowly survives no-confidence vote in the Bundestag

May 17, 1972
Moscow and Warsaw Treaties ratified in the Bundestag

May 22–29, 1972
Richard Nixon visits the USSR; SALT I and ABM Treaties

July 4, 1972
Joint North and South Korean Declaration on Unification

August 16, 1972
Talks about FRG-GDR “Basic Treaty” begin

September 5, 1972
Terror attack at the Munich Olympics
Chronology

October 11, 1972
Establishment of diplomatic relations between the FRG and the PRC in Beijing

November 19, 1972
Brandt re-elected after the FRG Federal Election; SPD/FDP win 54.2 percent of vote

November 22, 1972
CSCE prenegotiations start near Helsinki

December 21, 1972
Basic Treaty between the FRG and the GDR

January 1, 1973
UK, Ireland, and Denmark join the EEC

January 15, 1973
Paris Agreement between the United States and the two Vietnamese states leading to the American withdrawal from Vietnam

April 18–19, 1973
Brandt meets Tito on the island of Brioni

May 18–22, 1973
Brezhnev visits the FRG; agreement on economic cooperation

June 7–11, 1973
Brandt visits Israel as the first FRG chancellor

July 3, 1973
CSCE Conference begins in Helsinki

September 11, 1973
Military coup in Chile brings General Pinochet to power
Chronology

September 18, 1973
Accession of the FRG and the GDR to the United Nations

October 6–26, 1973
Yom Kippur War between Egypt, Syria, and Israel

October 17, 1973
Oil embargo imposed by the Arab OPEC states

October 20, 1973
Watergate Affair in the United States gathers steam over the firings and resignations of Nixon aides

October 30, 1973
MBFR negotiations start in Vienna

December 11, 1973
Treaty between the FRG and Czechoslovakia signed in Prague

February 13, 1974
Nobel Prize author Alexander Solzhenitsyn expelled from the Soviet Union

April 2, 1974
French President Georges Pompidou dies

April 21–24, 1974
Brandt visits Egypt

May 6, 1974
Brandt resigns under pressure from the SPD over an East German spy in his office
Preface

This book is the outcome of a three-year collaboration between two institutions dedicated to promoting original, collaborative scholarship: the German Historical Institute of Washington, D.C., and the Mershon Center of The Ohio State University in Columbus. The editors would like to thank Christof Mauch, the former GHI director who is now professor of North American history at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, and Richard Herrmann, director of the Mershon Center, for their support and inspiration.

In May 2006 we convened a conference at the Mershon Center on West German Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: The European and Global Response. During two filled days, twenty-four participants from eleven countries along with OSU faculty and graduate students and other guests engaged in a vigorous discussion over national policies and international repercussions. We thank all the speakers. We are also grateful to Linda Montaño, Ann Powers, Cathy Becker, Ursula Gurney, Rajiv Khanna, and Donna Miller for their contributions to this meeting and to Edward Bak and Stanley Workman who brought the music of Franz Schubert and Hanns Eisler to our gathering.

In preparing this volume, we drew up an entirely new structure. This book includes revised versions of most of the conference papers and several additional chapters as well as an introduction, conclusion, period photographs, and a chronology. We are grateful to all our contributors for meeting our tight deadlines. We also wish to thank our editors, Frank Smith and Eric Crahan at Cambridge University Press, the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions, and David Lazar, Senior Editor at the German Historical Institute, for his cooperation. We thank La Gretia Copp and Karen Riechert, who prepared the index. Our thanks also go to all those who helped with the photographs in this book: The archive of the Friedrich–Ebert-Stiftung in Bad Godesberg, the German Historical
Institute in Moscow, the Tito Presidential Archive in Belgrade, the various copyright holders, and Patrick Riechert for his photo editing.

Everyone who embarks on collaborative scholarship, particularly involving numerous languages and faraway contributors, faces a daunting task. This work has, nonetheless, grown into a rich and stimulating dialogue between the editors and authors over one of recent history’s most remarkable diplomatic initiatives.

Carole Fink, Columbus, Ohio
Bernd Schaefer, Washington, D.C.
April 2008
## Abbreviations of Major Archival Sources

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAN</td>
<td>Poland. Modern Records Archive, Warsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPD</td>
<td>Germany. Federal Foreign Ministry. <em>Akten zur auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACDP</td>
<td>Germany. Archive for Christian Democratic Policy (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Sankt, Augustin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACSP</td>
<td>Germany. Archive for Christian Social Policy (Hans Seidel Foundation, Munich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdsD</td>
<td>Germany. Archive of Social Democracy (Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bad Godesberg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGSFP</td>
<td>France. Archive of the General Secretariat of the French Presidency (AN, Paris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMSZ</td>
<td>Poland. Archive of the Foreign Ministry, Warsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>France. National Archives, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP-SFRJ</td>
<td>Serbia. Archive of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Belgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV MZV</td>
<td>Czech Republic. Archive of the Foreign Ministry, Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVP RF</td>
<td>Russian Federation. Foreign Policy Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BStU ZA</td>
<td>Germany. Federal Commissioner for Stasi Files, Central Archive, Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEB</td>
<td>Germany. Egon Bahr Archive (AdsD, Bad Godesberg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DzD</td>
<td>Germany. Federal Ministry of the Interior. <em>Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>South Africa. Archive of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FJSA</td>
<td>Germany. Franz Josef Strauß Archive (ACSP, Munich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FMAE</td>
<td>France. Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRUS</td>
<td>USA. Department of State. <em>Foreign Relations of the United States</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB FCO</td>
<td>Great Britain. Records of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, National Archives, Kew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISA</td>
<td>Israel. State Archive, Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LBJL</td>
<td>USA. Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MfAA</td>
<td>Germany. Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR (PA AA Berlin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOFAT</td>
<td>Republic of Korea. Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Seoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Czech Republic. National Archive, Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NARA</td>
<td>USA. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPMP</td>
<td>USA. Nixon Presidential Materials Project (NARA, College Park, Maryland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA AA</td>
<td>Germany. Political Archive of the Foreign Ministry, Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PolA-MSP</td>
<td>Serbia. Political Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREM</td>
<td>Great Britain. Records of the Prime Minister’s Office, National Archives, Kew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGANI</td>
<td>Russian Federation. Russian State Archive for Modern History, Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPMO-BA</td>
<td>Germany. Records of the Parties and Mass Organizations of the GDR. Federal Archive, Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sten Ber.</em></td>
<td>Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, <em>Stenographische Berichte</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBA</td>
<td>Germany. Willy Brandt Archive (AdsD, Bad Godesberg)</td>
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