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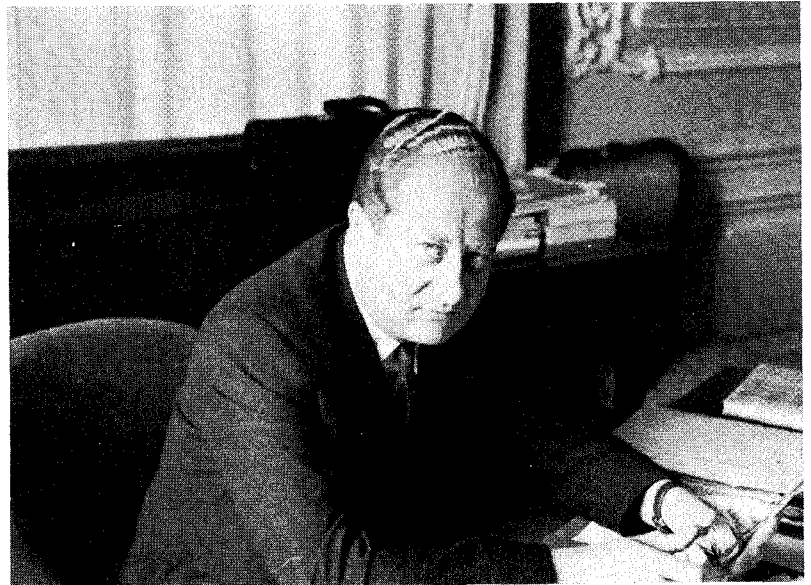
WWU - 29
AUSTRIA II: FOREIGN MINISTER-PHILOSOPHER

Hotel Erzherzog Rainer,
Wiedner Hauptstrasse, Vienna
September 11, 1959.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers.
Institute of Current World Affairs.
366 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky is one of the most imaginative and lucid men I've interviewed in my 10 months of talking with government officials. And I think I've had the privilege of meeting a good many first-rate minds. Kreisky's looks belie the real man. He is blond, chubby, appears to be in his mid-forties and, at first glance, would seem to be nothing more than a nice comfortable gent with a not too disciplined way of thinking. Not so. Kreisky is a Jew, I gather the first of his religion to hold this post in an Austria which spawned a Hitler and encouraged anti-semitism. He comes from a family of wealthy intellectuals and spent the war years in Sweden exposing himself to Swedish neutrality. As a Socialist in Austria's carefully balanced postwar coalition, Kreisky has been serving as State Secretary, the watchdog assistant to the People's (Conservative) Party Foreign Minister. When the Socialists pulled their surprise election gain last May, Kreisky's was one of the posts shifted. And he refused to accept the job of Foreign Minister until it was agreed to remove the position from being under the Chancellor, and really part of the Chancellery, and reconstituted on its own as a full-fledged department of government. I'll try to separate his views by subject.



KREISKY: "...to be neutral means to be alone."

On neutrality: "Neutrality is the most difficult policy in the world. Being a member of a very strong alliance seems to be simple. But to be neutral means to be alone. The only thing you can do is sometimes have conversations very secretly with another neutral country to get a new view. But you have to make up your mind alone for a lonely decision. Neutrality is growing from day to day. When we proposed it in 1954 we didn't spend much time to find out what Austrian neutrality means because we just didn't have too much time. Neutrality could be directed by what means Washington? Or Moscow? Or Paris? But the real will to defend their neutrality -- this is the special potential that the neutral country has. Neutrality means to be on no side in wartime. But in peacetime,

the government is not obliged to have a specific attitude or inattitude. This means 'neutrality' -- as Finland practices it. Finland is not a neutral. It has a military alliance with the Soviet Union. Sweden, Switzerland and Austria are unhappy about such a limitation of neutrality. We have to show that we are willing to defend our frontiers, our borders. A neutral country without a strong army would be a powerful invitation for neighbors to take military steps without any risks. What means neutrality in peacetime? No military alliances, no military bases, a strong defense. By neutrality, a government is compelled to fulfill a policy which preserves political self determination in wartime, yes? A neutral can't bind itself by too many limitations of its sovereignty because it would be a risk to lose the choice."

On disarmament: "Korea was a 'war by substitution.' We have to avoid -- a country in our region -- from becoming a battlefield for other nations, a war by proxy. The Rapacki Plan for a neutral country is without any interest because the neutral countries don't have nuclear weapons anyway. What would be realistic would be an integration of practically all political plans that we now have: Test control, Rapacki, Eisenhower Plan about the Arctic, a special special system of reduction of conventional arms. But the most important thing is not disengagement. The idea is wrong because only the Great Powers -- the Soviet Union and the U.S. -- both know how efficient it is to destroy each other. So to create an arbitrary area where both countries are acting without some potential means would mean to create an area which would be prepared for old fashioned war. Sending America back to America and Russia back to Russia would be senseless. What's necessary is to reduce the military capacity of both and have it controlled by a special system. The problem is not to liquidate the system of military pacts because the military pacts now have a new philosophy. In former times, the smaller countries needed the bigger countries to get help and security. Now the bigger countries need the smaller ones to be sure, to be capable to stop them. A revolution could provide a war. What the countries need to do now is to prevent accidents, human mistakes. A neutral country can absolutely participate in all negotiations about disarmament. Here a neutral country can be involved because to accept armament control is not in conflict with neutrality. To become a neutral country in the case of war is not the political aim of neutrality, because the main idea is to avoid war." (The Swedes say they require their alliance-free policy in order to be neutral in time of war -- WWU-26).

On rocking the boat: "Accepting the Hungarian refugees meant we were not neutral? Why not? There is no connection with neutrality. There is no obligation to close our borders. Neutrality means no limitations of our internal activities. But of course it's necessary to be extremely careful. In fact you need trust, trust from both sides. And when we had our Sudetan **German Day** with 300,000 people the Czechs were furious. When we had our Communist Youth Festival the same protests came from the West. We said, 'Excuse me, it's not your party; it's ours.' At the beginning both sides were extremely unhappy. After, I think both sides were extremely satisfied."

On the Outer Seven: "To be a member of the Common Market (The Six: France, Italy, Germany and Benelux) would not be in accordance with neutrality. The final aim of the Common Market is the creation of a Federal State. It could be very, very useful. But either you are a neutral country or you are not. And, frankly, the Seven (Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland and Britain) would never be associated with the Common Market (contrasting with an objective I heard in Sweden) because France wouldn't permit it. France wants the Common Market as a means of a new Western force, added to the U.S. and U.K. Such German politicians as Adenauer want it as a way to finally end the 100



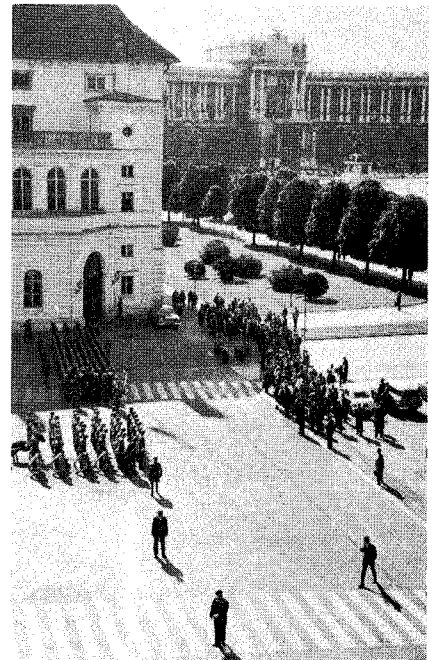
IMPERIAL VIENNA

Ballhaus Platz No. 2
(top left), site of the
Chancellery & Foreign
Ministry;

Crests at entrance
of Hofburg's old court;
Congress of Vienna
Room with one of five
doors (bottom left);

Emperor Franz Josef
still watching over
the Cabinet;

The Band & the Pony
line up for Ambassador.



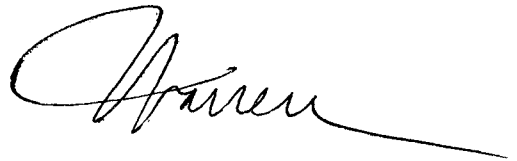
years bitterness and to disguise the amount of aid Germany is currently giving France. But economically it is a poor idea and Erhard (Germany's Minister of Economics) knows this. If Austria were to pay 3 billion Shillings -- 10 per cent of our national income -- for peace in Europe, it would be one thing. We are prepared to pay almost any price. But to pay 10 per cent for German-French relations only is not worth it. What we in the Seven hope to do is to be able to say to France, 'Go slow, have care!' If the Common Market does succeed in its present form it would mean the most enormous cartel the world has ever known."

Now I took down so many notes during my hour session with Foreign Minister Kreisky it may well be that I garbled some of his words, particularly with my scribbled combination of short and longhand. But I do believe the above contains the essence of what he told me.

I saw Kreisky, by the way, in Ballhaus Platz No. 2, a building which breathes history. Way back, a ball pavillion did stand there, hence the name. But the present building was first known as the "Secret Ministry" of the Emperor, one wing of whose Hofburg Palace (Ballhaus Platz No. 1) begins across the street. Here the Congress of Vienna sat in 1815. I saw the room, a comparatively modest-sized one, where an extra door had to be carved out of the wall in order to permit all five of the convening sovereigns to enter the conference place simultaneously. In that way, no King or Emperor was obliged to tip his crown to any one else to proceed ahead. Ballhaus Platz No. 2 is also the Federal Chancellery and here Engelbert Dollfuss was murdered in an abortive National Socialist coup in 1934. I also saw the Cabinet Room which is dominated by a portrait of Emperor Franz Josef at the age of 19 (a year after he ascended the throne). The odd thing is that despite the changes in regime since World War I, including the Socialists, the Emperor has been allowed to keep his place on the wall, looking down over the Cabinet's shoulder.

Incidentally, I was told by an Austrian official who is familiar with diplomatic credentials that the U.S. Embassy here in Vienna has considerably more employes than the entire Austrian Foreign Ministry -- at home and abroad.

Cordially,



Warren W. Unna

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