
WEST GERMANY

From U.S. ally to pawn on the Soviet chessboard?

by Rainer Apel

Soviet Central Committee official Leonid Zamyatin, sent by President Yuri Andropov to a gathering of the German-Soviet Friendship Society in Hamburg Oct. 10, figuratively pointed a gun at the heads of the West Germans: He warned them of "irreversible consequences the stationing of the American missiles" would have on the situation in Europe. "A qualitatively new situation, a most labile and explosive situation" would develop, making peace "less secure." The Soviet Union would not stand by and watch "the Federal Republic being turned into a basis of attack for the U.S. first strike strategy." If the Germans allowed the stationing, "it would mean a status of diminished security for the Federal Republic."

At the same time, a letter from East German party chief Erich Honecker to West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrived in Bonn. Honecker warned of irreparable consequences and offered "a coalition of reason" against the American missiles to Kohl; the alternative would be "a new Ice Age between our two German states." A spokesman for the Bonn government commented that the term "Ice Age" should not be taken too seriously, since "there are reasons to believe that the dialogue will be continued even after the stationing begins."

The same confidence was displayed by West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who announced he would meet his Soviet counterpart, Andrei Gromyko, in Vienna on the weekend of Oct. 15-16 for "an in-depth discussion on disarmament issues." The timing of the announcement was odd—at the moment Zamyatin was making his threats in Hamburg—but perhaps no more so than the timing of the Soviet-German meeting. On the day Genscher and Gromyko start their meeting, the Geneva strategic arms reduction talks between the United States and the Soviet Union are to end, and the "hot action week" of the West German movement against the American missiles begins.

The Bonn government's confidence is not based on the conviction that the situation in Germany is under firm control, but on the dangerous delusion that back-channel diplomacy can solve even the coming missile crisis. The domestic consensus among the West Germans that their country should ally with the United States and not the Soviet Union is crumbling, most rapidly in the Social Democratic Party (SPD). By Oct. 10, eighteen out of the SPD's total of 22 party locals had voted at party conventions against the stationing of U.S. missiles. This means that the Nov. 18-19 national convention

of the SPD will vote in the same way—in favor of Andropov's disingenuous disarmament offers.

The so-called pro-NATO wing in the SPD will play no role at the national convention. This was proven by the vote of the crucial SPD district of western Westphalia, which represents the party's heavy-industry labor base in the Ruhr, and organizes 18 percent of the 1 million SPD members. At this district's convention, 489 out of 500 delegates resolved against the stationing.

Some SPD party locals are already marching with the most radical currents of the anti-missile movement. The head of the Metalworkers Union section of the West German state of Baden-Württemberg, Franz Steinkühler, who is also a prominent SPD member, commissioned the distribution of 400,000 leaflets detailing all the existing and planned sites of U.S. nuclear missiles. The leaflet calls on labor to join the blockades planned for the "hot action week" of U.S. Army and Air Force bases in South Germany.

Such open invitations to violence (unheard of from a union leader only months ago) have set the stage for the chairman of the Saar SPD, Oskar Lafontaine, to call on his party colleagues to join the resistance not only against the missile stationing but also against "the development, production and storing of nuclear weapons, which are a crime against humanity." Lafontaine's call for Germany to leave NATO was taken up by no less a figure than the SPD's general party manager, Peter Glotz, who demanded a "step-to-step revision of the NATO treaty."

All this means that the SPD has openly joined Andropov's campaign to split Germany out of the Western defense alliance. The SPD is coordinating with Kissinger's business partner Lord Carrington's agents inside the Thatcher government of Britain; when the favorite mouthpiece of Andropov's views in Europe, SPD arms-control spokesman Egon Bahr, met with Malcolm Rifkin, Undersecretary on Eastern Affairs in the London Foreign Office, Bahr reported afterward that he had met "the furthest-reaching agreement with my own views."

Christian Democratic peaceniks

"Well, that's the SPD," say many in Bonn and in West Germany, "but don't forget that the majority of voters backed Chancellor Kohl and the Christian Democrats, and they are for NATO, and for the stationing."

Are Kohl and the Christian Democrats (CDU) really what they are taken for—"unswervable allies of the United States"? One of Chancellor Kohl's favorite CDU politicians, the party's spokesman on disarmament questions, Jürgen Todenhoefer, recently proposed "new levels of talks to be established . . . which would allow including the question of the French and British missiles in future negotiations"—one of Moscow's demands.

Todenhoefer used a radio interview several weeks ago to launch the idea of a "referendum on such fundamental questions as: Should we maintain the alliance with the Americans? or: Shall the Federal Republic remain within NATO?" A plebiscite on NATO is what SPD Jacobins like Oskar Lafontaine have been calling for.

Groups of "Christian Democrats Against Rearmament" have surfaced, calling for resistance against the stationing of the U.S. missiles. Attempting to resemble a spontaneous grassroots movement, this "Christian Democratic Peace Movement" is centered around the Jesuit strongholds of Tübingen and Münster, and it is gaining very prominent support from leading CDU figures. The ministers of health and of labor in Kohl's cabinet, Heiner Geissler and Norbert Blüm, have welcomed the "movement," as has the éminence grise of the Ruhr CDU, Kurt Biedenkopf. A former aide to Blüm, Herbert Metzger, is actually one of the key organizers of these Christians for peace. Two of the most prominent members of the solidarist workers' movement of the CDU, the deputy chairman of the German Postal Workers Union, Klaus-Dieter Zemlin, and the deputy chairman of the West German Federation of Labor (DGB), Gustav Fehrenbach, have signed the founding principles of this "CDU peace movement." And the acting minister of German-German relations in Chancellor Kohl's cabinet, Heinrich Windelen, a CDU member, is protecting the "movement" in his own party district.

In view of these developments, a big question mark hangs over the vote the West German parliament, the Bundestag, will hold on the stationing Nov. 21. Ironically, this vote, originally called for by the SPD and the Green Party on the missile question, was upgraded to a "vote on the future of the Western Alliance" by none other than the president of the Bundestag, Rainer Barzel—and he is a member of the CDU leadership, too! Observers of the West German domestic situation speculate that the vote might turn up "defectors from NATO" among the CDU's parliamentary ranks. This would make Chancellor Kohl's government more than shaky.

It may well be, under these circumstances, that the "hot autumn" will ring the deathknell for Kohl's government, especially given the predicted "winter of rising unemployment." There are enough reasons for Moscow's Yuri Andropov to feel amused by these West German developments: Without resorting to tanks, he can rely on the self-destructive drive in the SPD and the CDU, which seem to have no other aim than turning the Federal Republic of Germany from America's most important European ally into Moscow's new pawn on the world chessboard.

Soviet propaganda: a return to anti-Semitism

by Edith Vitali

With his insults against President Reagan, issued in a statement to *Pravda* following Reagan's speech in front of the United Nations General Assembly, Yuri Andropov publicly identified himself with the hate campaign against anything "Western" which has become increasingly characteristic of Soviet propaganda following their shooting of a civilian Korean airliner on Sept. 1. Implying that the United States acts like Hitler's Germany, Andropov warned that people who had attempted to undermine the Soviet Union in the past, had ended up on "the garbage heap of history." For the first time, he mentioned the KAL massacre, calling it "a sophisticated provocation, masterminded by U.S. special services," and "an example of extreme adventurism in politics." So much for those who had been waiting for an apology by the Soviet leadership!

His rejection of Reagan's new offer for the INF Euro-missile negotiations in Geneva proves that the Soviets don't take these talks seriously, but has kept them alive—and a Soviet walkout is impending—long enough to exploit them for propagandistic attacks on U.S. policy and whip up anti-American ferment in Western Europe. The past two years, he claimed, had proven that the United States was not ready to reach an agreement. "Their task is different—to play for time and then start the deployment in Western Europe of ballistic Pershing II and long-range cruise missiles. They don't even try to conceal this."

The Soviet generals, meanwhile, are preparing for "countermeasures." In a TASS interview, the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Ogarkov, implied that the Soviet Union has the technology to send submarines equipped with nuclear missiles directly facing the U.S. coast, that is, the technology they have been testing off the coast of Sweden. As the West