

Report from Bonn by Rainer Apel

The New Yalta formula

It comes down to moving the Iron Curtain toward the Atlantic coast of Europe.

When U.S. Sen. Samuel Nunn went public with his recent proposal for a partial withdrawal of American troops from Europe, West Germany became very nervous. Nunn's initiative came at a time when the Soviet Union is engaged in an escalating barrage of propaganda against the alleged "resurfacing of militarism and revanchism in Germany," and if there has been anything which deterred the Soviets from invading Western Europe in the past 39 years, it has been the presence of the 300,000-man troop contingent of the United States.

Thus, when Nunn's proposal was defeated in the U.S. Senate on June 10, there was momentary relief in Bonn. But the handwriting is already visible on the wall—to anyone with his eyes open.

Just a few days after the Nunn vote, Assistant State Department Secretary for Political and Military Affairs Richard Burt and Undersecretary of Defense Richard Perle used the occasion of an international security policy seminar in Bonn to tell the shocked Germans that "the Nunn formula is not off the agenda—it may return rather soon to the agenda of the U.S. Senate." Perle told the Germans present that the only way to prevent surprises for Europe would be to "increase the European share of the defense burden."

Then, the leading East European media joined in the Soviet media's wild campaign of threats against "the threat of a new World War emerging on the banks of the Rhine." The press barrage made blunt reference to the War-

rage made blunt reference to the Warsaw Pact's military might, demonstrated in July in the biggest maneuvers since the end of World War II.

This press barrage was the cue for the "New Yalta" faction to come to the fore in U.S. foreign-policy circles to promote their own formula among Western Europeans for "neutralizing" Europe, especially among West Germans. Henry Kissinger has mounted his favorite soapbox—the U.S. liberal Eastern Establishment press—to publish his proposal for a redefinition of the spheres of influence of the United States and the U.S.S.R. Claiming there will not be any real progress in disarmament in the near future, Kissinger called for crisis management by the superpowers, to be negotiated through Kissinger's backchannels. Europe, of course would be excluded from any such negotiations—very dangerous for European security and sovereignty.

Der Spiegel editor Rudolf Augstein, who has provided a forum for Kissinger's rantings at every turn, put the threat to the Atlantic Alliance in his own terms by writing in his magazine that the world was on the brink of a new world war, with "Sarajevo just around the corner."

The next development was the arrival of Wesley MacDonald, the commanding admiral of NATO's North Atlantic Command, in Bonn to tell the government bluntly that because the United States would have to redeploy sections of its maritime capabilities from the North Atlantic to the Arab Gulf or the Caribbean, someone would have to jump in to fill the gap. That

"someone" would have to be the West Germans, Admiral MacDonald said.

The strategic debate was brought up sharply when the West European Union (WEU) decided on June 24 to lift the severe restrictions imposed on German arms development since the end of World War II. The restrictions were maintained even after Bonn joined NATO in 1955. The WEU decision means, theoretically, that West Germany will be permitted to build large ships and long-range missile systems—exactly those kinds of weapons systems required for filling the gap left if the United States and Britain pulled forces out of the North Atlantic.

While the Kissingerites in U.S. defense circles and the Europeans have reached an agreement that U.S. military presence in Europe will be cut, the Soviets have indicated that they could consider the WEU decisions a "rearming of German militarism and revanchism which will not be tolerated by the U.S.S.R." Since the Soviets have pointed to "post-war intervention rights into Germany" allegedly granted by the 1945 Potsdam agreement, all of this heavy propaganda means that a surgical military strike of Soviet armed forces into West Germany is on the agenda of the Kremlin leaders. Their calculation is that West Germany will capitulate within hours after the attack, because the United States will, according to the Kissingerite formula, not risk "a world war over Germany" and not retaliate.

What Europe and West Germany in particular need most urgently in this precarious situation are signals from the White House and the Pentagon that the United States will stick to the defense of Europe. This is the only way to wipe the decoupling debate off the tables; this is the only language the Kremlin understands.