

late the construction of completely new cities and industries. Modern nuclear power plants would be the chief source of energy, providing electricity and process heat.

These spiral arms would extend eastward from Warsaw, branching off to St. Petersburg and the Baltic republics, and toward Moscow through Minsk, as well as through Ukraine to Kiev and Kharkov; from Prague and Dresden through Wroclaw to Krakow; in the southwest, along the Danube and Black Sea, with a branch to Istanbul. In the south, one arm would extend through Italy and into Sicily. In the southwest, an arm would reach through Lyons and Marseilles to Spain; in the northwest, to the ports of the Netherlands and to Great Britain; and in the north, into the Scandinavian countries.

Maximizing productivity-density

The unique characteristic of LaRouche's proposal was to exploit the geographical and technological conditions for an integrated European infrastructure in such a way that a maximum of productivity-density would be achieved. This notion of productivity- or flux-density is an economic magnitude which is correlated with the increase of population density, the quantitative and qualitative increase of energy consumption per capita and per hectare, the intensity of agriculture and industrial activities, and the density of passenger and freight movement per square kilometer.

Under conditions of scientific and technological progress, the increase of productivity-density also contributes to an increase in the rates of growth of productive forces in the economy. This effects a profit which surpasses the costs of initial investments many times over. Thus, the state credits for such a program are not in any way inflationary.

Such a development of a total European infrastructure could not be feasible if its realization were left up to the "free play of market forces." A conscious political decision of participating governments would be necessary for the implementation of the Productive Triangle, and thus, a conscious political decision against the monetarist economic policy conceptions of "shock therapy," as propagated by Harvard Prof. Jeffrey Sachs and the International Monetary Fund. Instead, the decision would be in favor of an economic policy based on *principles of physical economy*, that the real wealth of a society consists in human creativity and its realization in the labor process, and not in ownership of real estate, raw materials, or money.

The European Union drew upon this conception of the Productive Triangle in its "White Book," written under then-EC president Jacques Delors. According to the plan, investments of some \$500 billion would be required by the year 2010, and 26 high-priority projects are listed, including the construction of a comprehensive Europe-wide high-speed rail network. The construction of a modern rail connection from Berlin to Warsaw would signify an important improvement of the "continental bridge" to the Asian part of Russia and on to China.

Thatcher's obsession to block German unity

by Elisabeth Hellenbroich

Since the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, and in particular since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the "German question" has moved to the center of the British "geopolitical" agenda in Europe. The British obsessively did everything in their power to prevent German reunification—to create a strategic *entente* with France, as well as playing the role of guardian for the interests of Eastern Europe. Once it became obvious that British attempts to forestall German reunification had failed, they initiated a campaign against Germany as the "Fourth Reich," while simultaneously drawing the United States and its European allies into two consecutive wars: The Persian Gulf War against Iraq and the Balkan war, whose sole purpose was to keep Germany contained and to ruin the potential for development of the East.

The credo of British foreign policy at the end of the 1980s was:

1. Do everything possible to prevent and/or undermine German reunification.
2. Never allow Germany to become a hegemonic economic power on the European continent.
3. Prevent Germany from becoming an important factor in the economic development of the Eastern European economies, which, with their skilled labor power, were seen—according to informal studies made after 1989 (e.g., Morgan Stanley)—as a potentially major source of wealth, in cooperation with Germany and France. If the fall of communism was inevitable for economic reasons, then the East—according to British strategic thinking—should be reduced to nothing more than a supplier of cheap raw materials, which, with aid of International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionalities, could be exploited and kept in perpetual backwardness.

Historical documents which have been made public, in the context of the just-released papers on Chancellor Helmut Kohl's foreign policy over the last 15 years, prove that the British establishment—that is, Mrs. Thatcher and most of her Cabinet ministers—were hysterically obsessed with the perspective of German reunification and the strategic consequences that would follow.

Thatcher's own account

In her memoirs, *The Downing Street Years* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher provides a clinically interesting insight into British geopolitical manipulations.



“Iron Lady” Margaret Thatcher signs her book in Maclean, Virginia, November 1993.

In the section on “The German Problem and the Balance of Power,” Thatcher writes that she firmly believes that there is something special about the German “national character,” of which Germany’s neighbors, such as Poland and France, should be fully aware. Wavering between “aggression” and “self-doubt” since Bismarck had unified the country, Germany, according to Thatcher, is by “nature” a destabilizing force on the European continent—one which, given its potential for taking economic leadership with respect to the East and the rest of Europe, had to be contained.

“The true origin of German *angst* is the agony of self-knowledge.

“As I have already argued, that is one reason why so many Germans genuinely—I believe wrongly—want to see Germany locked into a federal Europe. In fact, Germany is more rather than less likely to dominate within that framework; for a reunited Germany is simply too big and powerful to be just another player within Europe. Moreover, Germany has always looked east as well as west, though it is economic expansion rather than territorial aggression which is the modern manifestation of this tendency. Germany is thus by its very nature a destabilizing rather than a stabilizing force in Europe. Only the military and political engagement of the United States in Europe and close relations between the other two strongest sovereign states in Europe—Britain and France—are sufficient to balance German power: and nothing of that sort would be possible within a European super-state.

“One obstacle to achieving such a balance of power when I was in office was the refusal of France under Present Mitter-

rand to follow his and French instincts, and challenge German interests. This would have required abandoning the Franco-German axis on which he had been relying and, as I shall describe, the wrench proved just too difficult for him.”

Then Thatcher describes how, in September 1989—that is, three months before the Wall came down, and amid a mass refugee wave from East Germany—she went to see Mikhail Gorbachov in Moscow. She was quite hopeful that she could convince the Soviets to act against German reunification.

“In Moscow the following morning and over lunch Mr. Gorbachov and I talked frankly about Germany. I explained to him that although NATO had traditionally made statements supporting Germany’s aspiration to be reunited, in practice we were rather apprehensive. Nor was I speaking for myself alone—I had discussed it with at least one other Western leader, meaning but not mentioning President Mitterrand. Mr. Gorbachov confirmed that the Soviet Union did not want German reunification either. This reinforced me in my resolve to slow up the already heady pace of developments.”

Yet to her great regret, as the historical events were unfolding in an unforeseeable, if breathtaking and revolutionary, way, it “turned out . . . the Soviets were prepared to sell reunification for a modest financial boost to their crumbling economy.”

On Nov. 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall came down. The following day, in the evening of Nov. 10, 1989, Thatcher spoke to Chancellor Kohl on the phone and urged him to speak with Gorbachov, given the deeply troubling events, in which, as she writes in her book, all kinds of incidents could arise (such

as attacks on Soviet troops). Her concern had been excited by a message to her from Gorbachov, which was handed to her that same day by the Soviet ambassador.

Yet, to Thatcher's dismay, Kohl, confronted with events unfolding in East Germany, had given a speech in the Bundestag demanding that the East Germans be given the chance to determine their own future. For this, they would not need outside advice. This also would be true "for German reunification and German unity."

Panicked at the events that unfolded after the Berlin Wall fell, French President François Mitterrand hastily called for a special European Union heads-of-state conference for Paris, to take place on Nov. 18.

"This was the background to President Mitterrand's calling a special meeting of Community heads of government in Paris to consider what was happening in Germany. . . . Before I went I sent a message to President Bush reiterating my view that the priority should be to see genuine democracy established in East Germany and that German reunification was not something to be addressed at present. The President later telephoned me to thank me for my message with which he agreed and to say how much he was looking forward to the two of us 'putting our feet up at Camp David for a really good talk.' "

At the Nov. 18 meeting, Kohl stressed that it would be the right of the German people to determine their own future. Thatcher countered:

"I said that though the changes taking place were historic we must not succumb to euphoria. The changes were only just beginning and it would take several years to get genuine democracy and economic reform in eastern Europe. There must be no question of changing borders. The Helsinki Final Act must apply. Any attempt to talk about either border changes or German reunification would open up a Pandora's box of border claims right through central Europe. I said that we must keep both NATO and the Warsaw Pact intact to create a background of stability."

On Nov. 24, Thatcher met with President George Bush at Camp David, to whom she presented the same views as she had at Paris:

"I reiterated much of what I had said in Paris about borders and reunification and of the need to support the Soviet leader on whose continuance in power so much depended. The President did not challenge what I said directly but he asked me pointedly whether my line had given rise to difficulties with Chancellor Kohl and about my attitude to the European Community. It was also clear that we differed on the priority which still needed to be given to defence spending."

On Nov. 28, Kohl, to the utter surprise of everybody, and, as Thatcher remarks, "without any previous consultation with his allies and in clear breach of at least the spirit of the Paris summit," presented his famous 10-point declaration in the Bundestag, which dealt with the future development of Ger-

many. The fifth point addressed the "confederative structures between the two states—with the goal of creating a federation" in Germany. The tenth point was that the government intended to achieve "unity, reunification, the reattainment of German state unity."

U.S. policy at the time was, as Detlef Junkers reported in an article in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on March 13, 1997, that when the Wall fell, "President Bush's Secretary of State Baker and a small group of collaborators again formulated the three points of American foreign policy, which meant German reunification, containment, and integration." Had the United States rejected German reunification, it would have meant the end of its Europe policy. The greatest resistance, according to Junkers, was expressed by Thatcher, "that lady with the handbag, who equated Britain's interests in 1990, with the glory of the victorious powers of 1945 and the division of Germany."

The U.S. position was laid out in a press conference by Secretary of State James Baker III, in which he stressed that reunification would have to be based on four pillars:

1. German self-determination.
2. Germany to remain a member of NATO as well as part of "an increasingly integrated European Community."
3. Moves toward unity to be peaceful and step-by-step.
4. The principles of the Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) regarding borders to be maintained.

In December, President Bush gave a speech in Brussels in which he reemphasized the interests of the U.S. government concerning reunification, namely, to see a Germany embedded within the "federal Europe" structure. Thatcher was furious. Taking all possible options into account, she came to the conclusion that only a revived Anglo-French Entente could sabotage Germany's drive.

"If there was any hope now of stopping or slowing down reunification it would only come from an Anglo-French initiative. Yet even were President Mitterrand to try to give practical effect to what I knew were his secret fears, we would not find many ways open to us. Once it was decided that East Germany could join the European Community without detailed negotiations—and I was resisting for my own reasons treaty amendment and any European Community aid—there was little we could do to slow down reunification via the Community's institutions. I placed some hopes in the framework offered by the 'Four Powers'—Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union—which were responsible for the security of Berlin. But with the United States—and soon the Soviets too—ceasing to regard this as anything other than a talking shop for discussion of the details of reunification, this framework too was of limited use. The CSCE—on which I was to develop my ideas the following year—would provide a basis for restricting any unwelcome attempts to change borders in eastern Europe as a whole, but it would not stand in the way of German

reunification. So the last and best hope seemed the creation of a solid Anglo-French political axis which would ensure that at each stage of reunification—and in future economic and political developments—the Germans did not have things all their own way.”

In December 1989, the Council of Europe met in Strasbourg, which Kohl regarded as one his darkest hours. In the framework of that meeting, as Kohl said in his speech on April 30, 1998 before the Conference of Leipzig Savings Banks, Thatcher came up to him, and said, “We beat you twice, and now you are here again.”

Thatcher reports that she met President Mitterrand twice unofficially during the conference, to discuss the German question. “He was still more concerned than I was. He was very critical of Chancellor Kohl’s ‘ten-point’ plan. He observed that in history the Germans were a people in constant movement and flux. At this I produced from my handbag a map showing the various configurations of Germany in the past, which were not altogether reassuring about the future. We talked through what precisely we might do. I said that at the meeting he had chaired in Paris we had come up with the right answer on borders and reunification. But President Mitterrand observed that Chancellor Kohl had already gone far beyond that. He said that at moments of great danger in the past France had always established special relations with Britain and he felt that such a time had come again. We must draw together and stay in touch. It seemed to me that although we had not discovered the means, at least we both had the will to check the German juggernaut. That was a start.”

Beginning in January 1990, Thatcher had another meeting with Mitterrand at the President’s Elysée Palace. She had ordered a working group to work out how the Anglo-French Entente could be enforced. Dismayed by his earlier public remarks in East Berlin that “he was not ‘one of those who were putting on the brakes,’ ” she continued: “I hoped that my forthcoming meeting with him might overcome this tendency to schizophrenia.

“Almost all the discussion I had with President Mitterrand at the Elysée Palace on Saturday 20 January concerned Germany. Picking up the President’s remarks in the margins of Strasbourg I said that it was very important for Britain and France to work out jointly how to handle what was happening in Germany. East Germany seemed close to collapse and it was by no means impossible that we would be confronted in the course of this year with the decision in principle in favour of reunification. The President was clearly irked by German attitudes and behaviour. He accepted that the Germans had the right to self-determination but they did not have the right to upset the political realities of Europe; nor could he accept that German reunification should take priority over everything else. He complained that the Germans treated any talk of caution as criticism of themselves. Unless you were wholeheartedly for reunification, you were described as an enemy

of Germany. The trouble was that in reality there was no force in Europe which could stop reunification happening. He agreed with my analysis of the problems but he said he was at a loss as to what we could do. I was not so pessimistic. I argued that we should at least make use of all the means available to slow down reunification. The trouble was that other governments were not ready to speak up openly—nor, I might have added but did not, were the French. President Mitterrand went on to say that he shared my worries about the Germans’ so-called ‘mission’ in central Europe. The Czechs, Poles and Hungarians would not want to be under Germany’s exclusive influence, but they would need German aid and investment. I said that we must not just accept that the Germans had a particular hold over these countries, but rather do everything possible to expand our own links there. At the end of the meeting we agreed that our Foreign and Defence Ministers should get together to talk over the issue of reunification and also examine the scope for closer Franco-British defence co-operation.”

Thatcher then commented that Mitterrand did little in any practical manner, to radically change his foreign policy toward Germany. He had two choices, she said: “Essentially, he had a choice between moving ahead faster towards a federal Europe in order to tie down the German giant or to abandon this approach and return to that associated with General de Gaulle—the defence of French sovereignty and the striking up of alliances to secure French interests. He made the wrong decision for France. Moreover, his failure to match private words with public deeds also increased my difficulties. But it must be said that his judgement that there was nothing we could do to halt German reunification turned out to be right.”

It was Kohl’s visit to the Caucasus—which, again, to Thatcher’s dismay, was not planned in consultation with the Allies—that sealed the German reunification question: “In February Chancellor Kohl—again without any consultation with his allies—went to Moscow and won from Mr. Gorbachov agreement that ‘the unity of the German nation must be decided by the Germans themselves.’ (The *quid pro quo* would soon become clear. In July at a meeting in the Crimea the West German Chancellor agreed to provide what must have seemed to the Soviets a huge sum, though they could in fact have extracted much more, to cover the costs of providing for the Soviet troops who would be withdrawn from East Germany. . .).”

As result of her having been unable to stall German reunification, she recounts, the problems now coming to the fore in Europe resembled the Europe of 1914 and 1939. “The Europe that has emerged from behind the Iron Curtain has many of the features of the Europes of 1914 and 1939: ethnic strife, contested borders, political extremism, nationalist passions and economic backwardness. And there is another familiar bogey from the past—the German Question. . . .

“West Germany’s absorption of its next-door relations

has been economically disastrous, and that disaster has spread to the rest of the European Community via the Bundesbank's high interest rates and the ERM. We have all paid the price in unemployment and recession. East German political immaturity has affected the whole country in the form of a revived (though containable) neo-Nazi and xenophobic extremism. Internationally, it has created a German state so large and dominant that it cannot be easily fitted into the new architecture of Europe. . . .

"I will not reiterate here all the reasons I have given earlier for believing these developments to be damaging. But I will hazard the forecast that a federal Europe would be both unstable internally and an obstacle to harmonious arrangements — in trade, politics and defence — with America externally; that the Franco-German bloc would increasingly mean a German bloc (in economics, a deutschemark bloc) with France as very much a junior partner; and that as a result America would, first bring its legions home, and subsequently find itself at odds with the new European player in world politics.

"These developments are not inevitable. One revelation that emerged from the failure of Britain's Germany policy was the evident anxiety of France in relation to German power and ambition. It should not be beyond the capacity of a future British prime minister to rebuild an Anglo-French entente as a counter-balance to German influence."

Keep in mind that Thatcher wrote this at the height of the Balkan war (1993), which was initiated by the Anglo-French Entente, as a way of keeping Germany from developing the East.

British press launches 'Fourth Reich' campaign

Like every other leader in Europe (including Gorbachov, who admits it in his memoirs), Thatcher had been taken by surprise by the pace of events unfolding in East Germany. If Germany were reunified, it would constitute a grave danger to British imperial and strategic interests, especially in the economic arena. So, a major "Fourth Reich" campaign was unleashed by the Hollinger Corp. press, to depict a Germany that was reviving Hitlerism. The line was: If Germany should become a strong economic power in Europe, it might feel tempted to develop the East — which would translate into Hitler's *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East).

- On Oct. 31, 1989, even before the Wall was brought down, London *Times* editor Conor Cruise O'Brien wrote a signal piece headlined "Beware a Reich Resurgent." O'Brien identified two interacting historical events as forming the lead item at the close of the century: the dissolution of the Soviet empire and German reunification.

"We are on the road to the Fourth Reich," O'Brien wrote, "a pan-German entity commanding the full allegiance of German nationalists and constituting a focus for national pride. The First Reich was that founded in A.D. 800 by Karl der Grosse, known to the West as Charlemagne. It was dissolved

in 1806, at the behest of Napoleon. Germany then remained a state in dissolution until the advent of the Second Reich, that of the Hohenzollerns, in 1871. The Second Reich was destroyed in 1918 and the Weimar Republic was substituted for it, by the victorious foreigners. And when the Third Reich was destroyed in 1945, new political institutions were once more imposed on the Germans by victorious foreigners. . . . In the new and proud united Germany, the nationalists will proclaim the Fourth Reich, for while the term Reich is associated with victory and periods of German ascendancy; Republik is associated with defeat and ascendancy of alien values. I would expect a reunited Germany to bring back the black-white-red flag of the Hohenzollerns and possibly a Hohenzollern Kaiser to go with it."

O'Brien warned in his conclusion, that the Germans would rise from their knees and revive race science, and that "nationalist intellectuals will explain that true Germans should feel not guilt, but pride about the Holocaust, that great, courageous and salutary act. . . . I fear that the Fourth Reich, if it comes will, have a natural tendency to resemble its predecessor."

- On Nov. 12, 1989 an editorial appeared in the *Sunday Times* of London under the headline "The Fourth German Reich." "The events broadcast live from Berlin this week are the first step towards the creation of an 80 million strong Fourth German Reich," the editorial states. "We do not know exactly how it will come about but, *de jure* or *de facto*, it will happen and sooner than most people think. The result will be a German economy twice as big as any other. . . . A united Germany will then become the locomotive in the rebuilding of the newly free market economies of Eastern Europe, for Germany is preeminent in the capital, industrial know-how, and management skills that these countries need. The Fourth Reich is set to boom, becoming Europe's economic superpower in the process. . . . That leaves one question nobody here has yet dared to ask: Where does that leave Britain?"

The Fourth Reich campaign became even more aggressive, when it became clearer that German reunification would go its own way and could not be sabotaged, as was originally intended by Thatcher. Following the Group of Seven summit in Houston, in July 1990, the Anglo-Americans were pushing the confrontationist line, insisting that IMF conditionalities had to be imposed upon the Soviet Union as well as on the rest of Eastern Europe, while Kohl and Mitterrand argued in favor of immediate aid to the Soviet Union without conditionalities attached (see *EIR* July 27, 1990).

- On the eve of the summit, the confrontation with Germany was launched in the British press, with a column in the July 8, 1990 issue of the *Sunday Correspondent*, by Dominic Lawson, son of the former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson. Lawson bemoaned the lack of British press coverage of the "German threat" to the finances and currencies of Europe.

As editor of the Hollinger-owned weekly *The Spectator*,

THE 1990s will be dominated by two events so enormous in their significance that they will change the shape of world politics as we have known it these past 40 years. The breakup of the Soviet Empire and the reunification of Germany will have consequences that to grasp the end of which divided Europe into two superpowers Warsaw Pact, the military present land, the end superpower and German Reich power.

There is a good world to be a millennium; nuclear ban three world totalitarianism democracy, are fraught talking about sobering it weekend of Wall's disunion was from 30 years today's forthcom



Speaking for England

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The Fourth German Reich

THE SUNDAY TIMES

economic decline, and this will encourage its subject peoples to dash for freedom, too. But the collapse of the world's imperial power...

Thatcher hits at German domination

Former PM goes on the attack as Major heads for summit in Bonn

By John Cassidy, Washington, and Andrew Grico

It is said, or it ought to have been said, that every Conservative Cabinet Minister dreams of dishing a leader to the Daily Telegraph. Nicholas Ridley, the Secretary of State for Industry, is no far from it in an attack by the matter of Germany, and it happened when he was writing for the Telegraph. The chief writer of the Telegraph's long-time editor of the community, working closely with our editors.

Thatcher, who is on a 10-day private visit to Bonn, refused to confirm the speculation that he will attend the summit of the European Community. "I would have been over for over 40 years. I am there and I shall stay. I am not going to make up my mind with my constituents about how long they might want to keep me in our course."

In an interview with Reuters news agency in Washington on Saturday, Thatcher...

SAYING THE UNSAYABLE ABOUT THE GERMANS

Dominic Lawson meets Nicholas Ridley and hears an impassioned denunciation of a country he accuses of trying to take over Europe

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Beware a Reich resurgent

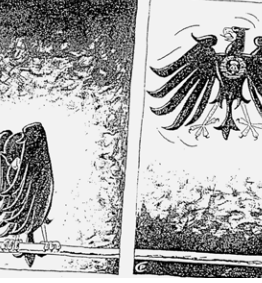
President Bush has worked a German economic he... The British, the French and the Soviet Union together, and hands of Eastern Europe to go their own way. It is only making a virtue of necessity.

It is now clear that more than half of the Soviet Union's citizens - almost all the non-Russian and large numbers of the Soviet citizens at all. Moreover, the Soviet Union itself is trying to hold on to its territory to keep those people. The Soviet Union to go their own way. It is only making a virtue of necessity.

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that the Soviet Union will not intervene because it cannot. It is in the midst of an existential crisis which extends to every aspect of Soviet life, including the armed forces.

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In the summer of 1990, the British press launched a propaganda campaign against Germany, saying a reunified Germany would be a "Fourth Reich" and denouncing Chancellor Helmut Kohl as the "new Hitler."

...the strongest... "It's because the Germans..." "But Mr. Ridley, it's surely not axiomatic, that the German currency will always be the strongest?..." "It's because of the Germans..." "But the European Community is not just the Germans..." "But surely Herr Kohl is preferable to Herr Hitler. He's not going to bomb us after all..." "I'm not sure I wouldn't rather have the shelters and the chance to fight back, than simply being taken over by... economics" (emphasis original).

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Nigel Lawson published an interview with Minister of Trade and Industry Nicholas Ridley, the Cabinet minister closest to Thatcher, in which Ridley compared Kohl to Hitler. The interview (which appeared on July 12) was illustrated by a cartoon of a terrified Thatcher staring at a poster of Kohl with a Hitler mustache. The interview bore the title: "Saying the Unsayable about the Germans."

In the interview, Lawson mentioned that Bundesbank head Karl Otto Poehl was coming to London to preach the joys of a united European monetary policy.

Ridley: "This is all a German racket designed to take over the whole of Europe. It has to be thwarted. This rushed takeover by the Germans on the worst possible basis, with the French behaving like poodles to the Germans, is absolutely intolerable."

Lawson: "Excuse me, but in what way are moves toward monetary union, the Germans trying to take over the whole of Europe?"

Ridley: "The deutschemerk is always going to be the strongest currency, because of their habits."

Lawson: "But Mr. Ridley, it's surely not axiomatic, that the German currency will always be the strongest?..."

Ridley: "It's because of the Germans."

Lawson: "But the European Community is not just the Germans."

Ridley: When I look at the institutions to which it is proposed that sovereignty is to be handed over, I'm aghast. ... I'm not against giving up sovereignty in principle, but not to this lot. You might just as well give it to Adolf Hitler, frankly."

Lawson: "But Hitler was elected."

Ridley: "Well he was, at least, he was..."

Lawson: "But surely Herr Kohl is preferable to Herr Hitler. He's not going to bomb us after all."

Ridley: "I'm not sure I wouldn't rather have the shelters and the chance to fight back, than simply being taken over by... economics" (emphasis original).

Lawson remarked that during his interview with Ridley, he was reminded of a story he once heard from a former adviser to Maggie Thatcher, who had told him how he arrived

for a meeting with Mrs. Thatcher in a German car: “‘What is that *foreign* car?’ Thatcher glowered. ‘It’s a Volkswagen,’ he replied, helpful as ever. ‘Don’t *ever* park something like that here again.’”

“Mr. Ridley’s confidence in expressing his views on the German threat,” commented Lawson, “must owe a little something to the knowledge that they are not significantly different from those of the Prime Minister, who originally opposed German reunification, even though in public she preferred not to be so indelicate as to draw comparison between Herren Kohl and Hitler. What the Prime Minister and Mr. Ridley also have in common,” he continued, “which they do not share with any of their Cabinet colleagues, is that they are over 60.”

Lawson then asked Ridley: “How relevant to us now is what Germany did to Eastern Europe in the war?”

Ridley: “We have always played the balance of power in Europe. It had always been Britain’s role to keep these various powers balanced and never has [that] been more necessary than now, with Germany so uppity.”

Lawson: “But suppose we don’t have the balance of power; the German economy runs Europe?”

Ridley: “I don’t know about the German economy. It’s the German *people*. They’re already running most of the Community: I mean they pay half of the countries. . . . You can’t change the British people for the better by saying, ‘Herr Poehl says you can’t do that.’ They’d say: ‘You know what you can do with your bloody Herr Poehl.’ I mean you don’t understand the British people if you don’t understand this about them. They can be dared; they can be moved. But being bossed by a German—it would cause absolute mayhem in this country, and rightly I think.”

The Ridley interview wrought havoc between Germany and Britain, as well as internationally. The German government called his statements “scandalous” and warned that the interview “would discredit the whole of the European Community.” Kohl’s national security adviser Horst Teltchik, told the *Sunday Times*: “We do not normally comment on internal matters [of other nations]. It is at this stage up to Mrs. Thatcher to decide what to do with Mr. Ridley. It is up to Mrs. Thatcher to live with the consequences of what Mr. Ridley said.” On July 14, the West German newspaper *Bild Zeitung* attributed the affair to “*The Spectator*, whose publisher, Conrad Black, is a close friend of Maggie Thatcher.”

On the same day, West German Social Democrat Anne-Marie Renger, former Deputy Speaker of the Parliament, wrote in the daily *Die Welt* that Ridley’s comments were reminiscent of the anti-German remarks that British publishing magnate Robert Maxwell had made when he met with East Germany’s dictator Erich Honecker in October 1989. Referring to Maxwell as “a former British occupation officer,” she noted that he had told BBC on Oct. 3 1989, that “a

united Germany is a threat to Europe, to the Russians, the Poles, the Germans themselves, and to us. We don’t want it. It is no good, neither for us nor for the Germans, and we do wish there to be two separate German states.”

Maxwell, Renger stressed, went on to praise the “remarkable achievement” of the East German communist state, adding that “we must not do anything that could destabilize this country,” and praising Honecker as “a reformer throughout his entire life.” Renger expressed doubts that “the political blindness of this Englishman” was a “singular case,” given that Ridley had said the same thing. Such comments, she warned, are a “dramatic sign of political miseducation, which documents a lack of standards in the very motherland of democracy that all Europeans must feel ashamed of.”

But very indicative, also, were reactions by residents from Coventry, which was destroyed by the German Luftwaffe during World War II. Interviewed by the London *Independent*, on July 14, Coventry residents, reflecting on the city’s collapsed economy and infrastructure, offered comments: “Maggie Thatcher has caused more damage here than the Luftwaffe,” said one. “If the Germans want to take over here, mate, they’re bloody welcome,” said another. “Ridley is a bigger threat than the Germans,” offered a third. One person argued, “Both of my parents were in Coventry during the war. That was all about the Nazis. Is Ridley saying the Germans are Nazis again? If you ask around this place, you’ll find a lot of people who think Thatcher’s more of a danger than the Germans.”

With such pressure—including sharp condemnation Ridley’s statements by the European Parliament—Ridley had to resign, although it was not lost on observers that Thatcher refused to fire him.

The Chequers minutes

Meanwhile, the “German crisis” deepened over the July 14-15 weekend, when the July 15 issue of *Der Spiegel* magazine leaked the minutes of a meeting that had occurred in March at the Prime Minister’s country estate, Chequers, involving the Prime Minister, Cabinet members, and six British and American “experts” on Germany: George Urban, Gordon Craig, Timothy Garton Ash, Fritz Stern, Norman Stone, and Lord Dacre (Hugh Trevor-Roper) on the German question.

The minutes compiled by Thatcher’s personal secretary, Charles Powell, warned darkly of the potential reemergence of an expansionist, chauvinist Germany and spoke of the Germans’ ostensible negative character traits, including, in alphabetical order, aggressivity, *angst*, bullying, egotism, inferiority complex, and sentimentality. (One Briton, upon seeing the list, commented: “They must have talked about Margaret Thatcher.”)

Under the heading, “**What are the Germans?**” the Chequers group asked what lessons should be drawn from the

past to apply to the future. The minutes, as translated from the *Spiegel* exposé, report that the participants concluded that “like other peoples [Germans] have certain characteristics which one can derive from their past and can project [as holding good] also for the future. The participants thought it would be more adequate and suited to the discussion to think about the less agreeable characteristics of the Germany, such as: insensitivity toward the feelings of others (most clearly this is demonstrated in the attitude concerning the border question with Poland), their self-centeredness, a strong penchant to self-pity and the longing to be liked. . . .

“Two other aspects of the German character were mentioned as reason for concern in the future: On the one side, the tendency of the Germans to exaggerate things, to run riot. On the other, their tendency to overestimate their own capacity and strength. One example would be the conviction of the Germans that their victory over France in 1871 was the result of a deep moral and cultural superiority and not—as was really the case—the consequence of a minor advantage in the military technology. . . .

“Did the Germans change?”

“. . . Reservations concerning Germany had not only to do with the Hitler era but referred to the period before, the whole era after Bismarck. The way in which the Germans currently used their elbows and threw their weight around in the European Community suggested that much had not changed. Nobody, it was agreed, would have serious concerns now about Germany, but what about the political situation in 15 or 20 years? Could some of the unhappy consequences of the past reemerge with just as destructive consequences? . . .

“What are the consequences of reunification?”

“Even optimists had concerns with respect to the possible impact. One should not expect that Germany would act as it has up to now. . . . There was already a kind of triumphalism in German thinking and attitudes which would be uncomfortable for the rest of us. There could be a growing tendency to revive the concept of Central Europe in which Germany would play the role of the broker between East and West.

“Would a reunified Germany strive for dominance in Eastern Europe?”

“. . . For the near future, there would be no reason to assume, that Germany would have any territorial claims. Yet it would be probable that Germany would dominate East and Central Europe economically, which does not necessarily mean one should be led to think that Germany is doing with economic means what Hitler did with military ones.”

The Chequers group further agreed that “we want Germany to be constrained within a security framework which has the best chance of avoiding a resurgence of German militarism.”

“Some perceived in the German attitude of, ‘we pay and so we have the say,’ nothing but a striving for economic hegemony in Western Europe. There were differing opinions

on whether the Germans are serious about their promises, that they would want, parallel to German reunification, a politically unified Europe—whether this were all a tactic, to calm down the others, or the real desire to integrate the latently nationalist potential of Germany into a bigger thing [structure].”

“There were no formal conclusions at the end of the meeting,” the protocol stated. The overriding theme was, however, unmistakably clear: Be nice to the Germans. Yet this did not exclude remaining wary. They were not so much concerned with the near-term behavior of the Germans, “as with the long term, concerning which we have no insight.”

• On July 22, 1990, Peregrine Worsthorne wrote a signed editorial page commentary in the *Sunday Telegraph*, on “The Good German Problem.” Worsthorne, whose stepfather was Bank of England Governor Montagu Norman during the 1930s, wrote that his stepfather was right when he said “that the burden of Germany’s virtues might bear down on Britain even more heavily than the burden of Germany’s vices. That is the question Mrs. Thatcher should have posed at Chequers, instead of discussing Germany’s past with a bunch of historians. . . . How on earth can any effective defence be put up against a united Germany that intends to win by obeying the rules? Germany is going to be very powerful . . . only the unrealistic, however, can suppose that this great role will be achieved without putting such strains on NATO and the EEC that they will become so transformed as to be unrecognizable. . . .

“Germany now enjoys alternatives which are available to no other European state and . . . is exploiting strength which has suddenly been unbound by unification and this new relationship with the Soviet Union. . . . In the not-so-far-distant future, there are going to be lots of European countries, East and West, looking for a shoulder to cry on as a result of grievances against a do-gooding Germany. Perhaps Britain’s role should be to preserve enough independence to be free, at the right moment, to make use of these grievances. In the course of doing good, Germany will make as many enemies as ever it did in the course of doing harm, and America may well be one of the enemies, as might be Russia. Sooner or later, it is going to be balance-of-power politics all over again. This could be an opportunity for Britain, which knows about the balance of power, if only all those Euro-enthusiasts could forget about Monnet and mug up on Talleyrand instead.”

Britain’s assets inside Germany

In its Aug. 4-5 issue, the *Sunday Correspondent* took note that British diatribes against a unified Germany shared something in common with the statements put out by the Baader Meinhof/Red Army Faction (RAF) terrorists, taking credit for a bomb attack that nearly killed Assistant Interior Minister Hans Neusel on July 27. “Last week,” wrote the *Correspon-*

dent, “the RAF let it be known that the Neusel attack marked the start of a long period of struggle against the newly emerging Greater German/West European superpower. ‘West Germany and the new political elite in the G.D.R. [East Germany] are pursuing the same aims and political plans as Nazi fascism,’ it said in a letter. ‘The third invasion of Europe by German capital this century will not be carried out militarily, but economically and politically.’

“A year ago such views were seen as absurd. Today they are equally so, but more people may be ready to listen. After all, the content of the remarks of the British Trade Secretary in the *Spectator* last month was not so different.”

But even leading figures of the German Social Democrats (SPD), such as Peter Glotz, Oskar Lafontaine, and Grass, were part of the Fourth Reich campaign, as is mentioned in a book by historian Hans Peter Schwarz, *Die Zentralmacht Europas. Deutschlands Rueckkehr auf die Weltbuehne* (Siedler Verlag).

According to Schwarz, many leading SPD politicians were directly involved in the Fourth Reich campaign. Thus, Peter Glotz was one of the first in Germany who sounded the alarm. On Aug. 2, 1989, before the refugee flood started to pour into Hungary, Glotz warned in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*: “At the present time, no European architecture is thinkable, in which the economically strongest state of the EC would be united with the economically strongest state of the CMEA [the Comecon]. Please, at least in this century, no more plans for a ‘Fourth Reich.’”

In the Sept. 25, 1989 issue of *Der Spiegel*, just as the East German regime was about to crumble, Lafontaine told an interviewer: “The specter of a strong Fourth German Reich frightens our western neighbors no less than our eastern ones.”

On March 30, 1990, after local elections in the East Germany, the SPD’s Jürgen Habermas wrote an article in *Die Zeit*, under the headline: “Deutschemark Nationalism Extends Itself.” This sparked a series of articles and books, among them, *The Fourth Reich*, by a Spanish leftist (and East German Stasi agent) journalist Heleno Sana, which appeared in late 1989/early 1990. Sana, who since 1959 had been living in Germany, is typical of the left: “The Fourth Reich will not be a mechanical copy of either the Third or those that came before it, but a colorful mixture of all of them.” According to the author, the ideological orientation of the Fourth Reich will be “late capitalist.” Its political system: a controlled pseudo-democracy with slogans about freedom, rule by law, and self-determination. The Germans will not, however, want to use only these concepts “to adorn German history with new brilliance”; they will exploit and subjugate other peoples without scruple, either by “political manipulation” or, if necessary, “by open repression.” The new system of Germany hegemony would be “a Europe whose ideological foundation is a mixture of instrumental reason, utilitarian power and avarice, and racist pathology.”

British, French launch Balkan war vs. Germany

by Elke Fimmen

In June 1991, four months after the end of the Persian Gulf War, the “Greater Serbia” war of aggression by Slobodan Milosevic and his minions began, and the war is not over yet. It has brought unspeakable misery for millions of victims in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The same *modus operandi* is being repeated today in Kosova, and threatens to begin a new round of regional war.

From the outset, this war had a purpose quite different from the unbridled great-power aspirations of a Milosevic, although Milosevic is very close to realizing his aims. The geopolitical background of the war and the string-pullers who made it possible, are to be found at a different level: The aim was to undermine a grand design for the economic development of Europe, after the end of communism, and the Versailles and Yalta orders. The economic potential of Germany could have played a significant role in that development, which was the vision against which England and France formed the Entente Cordiale before World War I.

British politics under Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and John Major, and French politics under President François Mitterrand, looked upon Milosevic’s “Greater Serbia” ambitions as one of their most effective tools to destabilize Europe. Traditionally, the Balkans has functioned as an important bridge to the Mideast, and it is therefore of strategic importance in the realization of a Eurasian development program. At the time of the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway earlier this century (a *casus belli* for British foreign policy), Serbia was the trigger for the conflict that led into World War I, and destroyed the opportunity for a continental alliance for development.

In 1991, when Germany promoted the diplomatic recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, once it had become clear with what brutality Milosevic was attacking these countries, there was a cascade of British, French, and Serbian denunciations of Germany as the “Fourth Reich.” Germany, it was claimed, wanted to reestablish its old sphere of influence in the Balkans, and it was entering an alliance with the “Ustashi” (fascists) in Croatia to that end.

Germany’s official recognition of Croatia and Slovenia on Jan. 15, 1992, over the resistance of other European Community (EC) countries, the United States under George Bush, and Russia, marked the end of an independent German policy for the Balkans. From that point onward, Germany subordinated itself to the British-French line. When a new interna-