

WEST GERMANY

Berlin conference victor, Chancellor Schmidt

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt won a vote of confidence at the congress of his Social Democratic party (SPD) in West Berlin Dec. 4-7. The party left wing, grouped around Anglo-American agent Willy Brandt and environmentalist Erhard Eppler, was dealt a defeat.

Schmidt 'can't fail'

Schmidt, in the coming election race, faces Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union candidate Franz Josef Strauss. As the London *Times* editorialized Dec. 7: "At the moment it looks as if Herr Schmidt can hardly fail to win unless there is some unexpected crisis or a startling surge of support for the [environmentalist] 'greens'." The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* Dec. 7 wrote that Schmidt's popularity is now the highest ever.

The SPD party congress voted to support Schmidt's policy of nuclear energy development for the Federal Republic of Germany, and also backed his position on the modernization of NATO's missiles, which calls for production of new medium-range weapons to be coupled with arms negotiation offers to the Warsaw Pact. The party left wing, which opposed both of these policies, failed to return three of its leaders to the national executive committee, leaving Schmidt in complete control.

Brandt a loser

One who fared notably poorly was Willy Brandt, the party chairman and former Chancellor. He is West Germany's best known—and formerly most powerful—"Fabian" liberal.

Brandt has maintained close ties to the European left-terrorist underground, as documented in the Italian magazine *Il Settimanale* in 1974 (an exclusive translation was published in the *Executive Intelligence Review*). Today, Brandt's remaining base of power is the so-called Brandt Commission for North-South relations, which is currently preparing a report to the United Nations advocating labor-intensive, "appropriate technologies" development of the Third World.

Although the congress re-elected Brandt party chairman, as expected, he received fewer votes than ever before. Twice as many people voted against Brandt or

abstained as did two years ago. Schmidt was re-elected as deputy chairman, and his right-hand man in the Chancellor's office, Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, became a second deputy chairman. This means that Brandt is "politically encircled," commented the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* Dec. 8.

Nuclear energy

The paper's editorial, titled "The Victor of Berlin," compared Schmidt's present role to that of Konrad Adenauer during the 1950s: "Rarely has a party meeting been so dominated by one person as this one was by Helmut Schmidt. It was his courage, his tactical skill and his tough will which finally brought him success. It was also obviously the fruit of long and intensive preparation. ... The only real opponents of the Chancellor now are the apostles of zero growth, wind energy and total disarmament. ... The party was wise enough in Berlin not to weaken Schmidt but to strengthen him. From now on he not only leads the government, but also the SPD."

Schmidt routed efforts by the environmentalists to introduce hopelessly watered-down formulas on the nuclear energy question. He announced that he had no desire for a party congress resolution which would please 95 percent of the voters but would mean something different to everyone. "We are not about to undermine our international credibility through this congress," he said, pointing to the pronuclear programs of other leading industrial nations.

Despite this commitment from Schmidt, the resolution on nuclear energy which the congress adopted shows the impact of the long environmentalist onslaught against nuclear energy in West Germany. Although it affirms that "nuclear power plants under construction are to be completed"—in itself a major victory on the part of Schmidt—it also stipulates:

"No additional nuclear power plant is to be approved for construction if the applicant has obtained approval for a coal power plant that he has not built. An applicant who applies for a construction permit for a new nuclear power plant must present proof that the need cannot be covered by a power plant fueled with domestic coal."

From the Atlantic to the Urals

Schmidt, in his two-hour congress speech, emphasized the prodevelopment, city-building heritage of the European continent. "It is not only Rome and Byzantium" that make up Europe, he said, "but also Oxford and Prague and the Sorbonne, Cluny and Zagorsk, Bergen and Novgorod." He described Europe's great industrial centers as the expressions of a common cultural heritage. The London *Financial Times* yesterday headlined its coverage "From the Atlantic to the Urals?"

Documentation

Press sees sure winner

The Berliner Morgenpost, Dec. 5: "Helmut Schmidt's speech to the SPD Congress yesterday ... may well have elicited nostalgia in quite a few opposition minds for Konrad Adenauer. Naturally Schmidt doled out a few verbal soothing strokes to his internal critics, but at no point did the chancellor get lost in the uncertain, the nebulous. A cloud rider à la Brandt did not emerge...."

The Mainz Allgemeine Zeitung, Dec. 5: "The stakes have been set up at the Berlin SPD Congress. Herbert Wehner, the great strategist of the party, and Chancellor Schmidt, in urgent and impressive speeches, made it clear to the delegates where the limits are for them in internal party discussion and freedom of decision. It was the tenor of the Schmidt and Wehner speeches that nothing may be decided in Berlin which might even remotely jeopardize the chancellorship and the capability of Helmut Schmidt to govern...."

The Times, (London), Dec. 7, editorial: "... At the moment it looks as if Herr Schmidt can hardly fail to win unless there is some unexpected crisis or a startling surge of support for the 'greens.' He is very strong in the country, and at the Social Democratic Party Congress this week his authority within his own party was demonstrated beyond doubt. He won comfortable support on two particularly difficult and divisive issues—the modernization of

theatre nuclear weapons in Europe and the continuation of the nuclear energy programme...."

The Guardian, (London), Dec. 10: "... Nobody could really doubt, after watching the SPD Congress, that Mr. Schmidt has established himself as the towering figure of the party, and that the longstanding Troika of Brandt, Schmidt, and Herbert Wehner has become far more the collective symbol of the SPD's conscience than its effective leadership.

"Willy Brandt's strategy of reconciling left and right-wing differences in the SPD has always been to give them all free expression, and then paper them over with resolutions capable of different interpretations. Mr. Schmidt, this time, was all for free speech, but not for paper compromise.

But he seems to have reckoned that the best way of ensuring that the greens do not end up holding the political balance in the federal election, is not by making concessions to them, but rather by undermining the main opposition, the CDU-CSU, and keeping down its vote."

The Washington Post, Dec. 11: "Although the five-day Social Democratic Party convention ... was a personal triumph for West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, it also reflected some signs of an uncertain future for the party that has led Western Europe's most populated nation for the last 10 years.

It was, for example, a rocky convention for Willy Brandt, the venerable party chairman. ... The week's event seemed to reflect some fading of Brandt's star....

Brandt's problems, along with the aging of the party's floor leader in parliament, 73-year-old Herbert Wehner—who has guided the Social Democrats' fortunes since the postwar era began—mark a serious challenge to the party's future leadership...."

Documentation

Schmidt: Europe's 'common destiny'

The following are excerpts from the speech by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to the congress of the Social Democratic Party in West Berlin Dec. 4. This abridged translation is courtesy of the German Information Center.

The oil crisis. "... The exacerbation of the oil crisis this year and the events in Iran have demonstrated to us that energy supply is the life artery of all nations. Nobody knows what is going to happen on the oil markets or in the Middle East. We therefore strongly urge the resumption of the energy dialogue between the producing and the consumer countries, and we support the proposal by [Mexican President] López Portillo for a world energy conference, and we also want a European energy conference. At last week's meeting of the European Council in Dublin, I appealed urgently for a common energy policy within the European Community. We need more clarity in the oil markets and in the conduct of the multinational corporations. With this in mind, we decided at the last international economics summit in Tokyo, at my suggestion, to introduce a system of registering international oil transactions and stated our intention to secure better information on the profits of oil companies...."

Alternate sources of energy. "Because coal entails [environmental] risks, we are striving at considerable cost to develop clean, alternative, inexhaustible sources of energy, such as solar energy, and heat from the earth with the aid of

thermal pumps. But we have to realize that we shall not be in a position to draw on such alternative sources on a large scale before the end of this century, with the exception of the thermal pumps—they will be a big “hit” in the next few years. These taken together are the compelling reasons why, for the next few decades at least, we cannot dispense with the limited expansion and limited use of nuclear energy.

“I know that nuclear energy has made many people anxious and this has to be taken very seriously. Hence our motto will continue to be: safety first. Compared with other countries, we have achieved very high safety standards. And through my initiative we have also achieved international cooperation in the matter of reactor safety.

“Everywhere, oil substitution leads to an increase in electricity consumption and this can very quickly produce supply bottlenecks. For all these reasons, France, for instance, is already in the process of building an additional 33 nuclear power stations to be completed by 1985.

“This is causing many people in the Saar and in Rhineland Palatinate much concern. Thirty-three nuclear power stations. France will then produce 50 percent of its electricity from nuclear energy—six years from today. The Eastern bloc plans to expand its nuclear energy production from 33,000 140,000 MW within ten years. ... I cannot imagine that all these governments in East and West are wrong and that we alone are so much wiser with regard to energy and have so much bigger reserves than the others.”

NATO and the policy of détente. “Stable as we may seem, we still live with risks, including the risk of inadequately safeguarded peace. That is why peace is the most important task of our foreign policy. A policy for peace demands constant efforts to maintain the balance in Europe, a balance of

the powers that affect Europe.

“This includes the need for our Alliance and our country to retain its defense capability. It includes determination and a will for compromise in our attempts to ease political tensions in the conflicts of interests around the world. It includes above all the development of systems of international arms control and limitation. A policy of détente and defense capability, both together form the common policy of the Alliance....

“We shall continue in the '80s to make our appropriate contribution within NATO to the collective defense of the West, to its defensive capability. But our responsibility at the same time demands fresh efforts to achieve arms control and disarmament....

“I am firmly convinced that the leadership of the Soviet Union and of the other members of the Warsaw Pact want peace. I have no doubt about it. We for our part expect them to assume that the Western Alliance and we in this country have the same will for peace....

“The SALT II agreement has established the principle of self-restraint on the basis of parity in the ICBMs of both superpowers. ... It would have been logical in terms of a balance of strategic arms if the Soviet Union had exercised self-restraint with regard to its long-range theater nuclear forces (LRTNF). But in a actual fact it has for the past two years been introducing the most modern missiles in this category, the SS-20. In terms of quality, they are far superior to earlier Soviet systems.

“They carry three nuclear warheads, each aimed at a different target. They are of long range and great accuracy. They are reloadable, mobile, and therefore practically invulnerable. In May 1978, I had an opportunity to explain my concern about this development to Mr. Brezhnev, and this summer to Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Gromyko. Mr. Brezhnev stated in general terms that he was willing to enter into negotiations on this issue as

well. And in his speech in East Berlin in October he came out in favor of specific negotiations in this field.

“The United States of America is also ready to negotiate. We can but warmly welcome this readiness to negotiate on both sides, which we have played a considerable role in bringing about.

“The Western Alliance could not, however, overlook the fact that the Soviet Union has continued to build up its lead in LRTNF, which even previously was quite considerable....”

The European Community. “The progress achieved so far in the development of the Community would hardly have been possible without ever closer bilateral relations between the member states. This applies especially to Franco-German relations. They have reached a level of intensity and diversity which is unprecedented in Franco-German history. I am particularly grateful for the very close cooperation I have established with President Giscard d’Estaing. I deem it a great honor and am proud of it.

“But in occupying ourselves with the further development of the European Community we must not lose sight of the fact that East and West have to reflect on their longstanding mutual cultural inspiration. This embraces not only the classical ages of Rome and Byzantium, not only Oxford and Prague and the Sorbonne; it also embraces Cluny as well as Zagorsk, Bergen or Novgorod, Czeszochowa, as well as Aachen or Weimar. The big industrial centers are likewise manifestations of our common culture, those of Lancashire, the Ruhr, and the Donets Basin. It is all one common culture. We have a common destiny. Kant was right when he said: “Peace is not a natural state among men, it has to be nurtured.” This is just as true today as it was 200 years ago. That is why a policy for peace is the most important task for the 1980s.”