

EIRSpecialReport

The significance of the West German national elections

by Webster Tarpley

On Oct. 5, citizens of West Germany will go to the polls to cast their votes for the country's ninth Bundestag, or federal parliament, since the establishment of the Bundesrepublik Deutschland in 1948. That Sunday's vote will decide whether the present ruling "social-liberal" Bonn coalition of Social Democrats (SPD) and liberal Free Democrats (FDP) led by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher will withstand the challenge of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), who are offering as their chancellery candidate Franz-Josef Strauss, the prime minister of the federal state of Bavaria. A third force in the election fight, influential out of all proportion to its numbers, is the Europäische Arbeiterpartei (EAP), the European Labor Party in the Federal Republic. The EAP's chancellery candidate is Helga Zepp-LaRouche, wife of former Democratic presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche.

Because West Germany is one of the pillars of the Paris-Bonn axis, the most important political combination in the world today, because of this country's status as economic giant of Western Europe and strategic centerpiece of the continent, these elections are of decisive importance for the entire world.

European media, unlike those in the U.S., are now devoting broad attention to the battle between Schmidt, the stolid manager from Hamburg, the old Hanseatic League trading city at the mouth of the Elbe in northern Germany, and Strauss, the volatile, impulsive Bavarian from the deep south. Television programming is full of speeches by Schmidt, delivered in measured High German accents, and by Strauss, in his abrasive Bavarian peasant dialect. These two have been joined by Helga Zepp-LaRouche, who is getting less television time, but who is generating excitement by the sheer political content of her television and radio appearances. Zepp is from Trier, near the French-German-Luxembourg border, the home town of the Renaissance philosopher and politician Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa.

This West German election is different from the present phase of the U.S.



Helmut Schmidt, in Hamburg cap, on campaign tour.

presidential contest. West German voters can do something more than choose among competing brands of Trilateral Commission degeneracy. This is true because Schmidt and Zepp-LaRouche, on the one hand, and Strauss and company, on the other, represent the two hostile policy factions that are presently struggling for control of Europe and the world.

The contributions of Zepp-LaRouche and the other leading candidates of the EAP—Uwe Friesecke, Anno Hellenbroich, Elisabeth Hellenbroich, Gabriele Liebig—represent the clearest and most competent formulation of the economic development faction. The EAP is running on a five-point program that calls for deepening the Franco-German alliance, launching the European Monetary Fund as a new, gold-based universal monetary system, fully exploiting nuclear energy, reshaping German education through a return to the classical models of Leibniz, Schiller, and Beethoven, and massively assaulting the drug problem.

Schmidt's program

West German political history since the fall of Willy Brandt in 1974 has been marked by the EAP's increasing ability to force Schmidt's convergence on successive approximations of the EAP program. This process has not been simple, and there have been repeated phases of backsliding on the part of the chancellor, but the trend is unmistakable. Whatever his inadequacies may be today, Schmidt has come a long way since he took

About the author

This unique, in-depth report on the West German electoral campaign and its aftermath was commissioned by *Executive Intelligence Review* from American journalist and economist Webster G. Tarpley to provide U.S. and other non-German readers with an accurate overview of political trends in America's most important allied country, developments that have been ignored or distorted in the U.S. press accounts.

After first coming to Italy as a Fulbright scholar in 1966, Mr. Tarpley has been writing on European political and economic developments from Western Europe for nearly a decade. Since March 1979, he has produced and presented the "Osservatorio Economico," a weekly half-hour wrap-up on world economic developments for the Vatican-linked television channel Teleradiosole in Rome.

Tarpley directed the team of authors who produced the 1978 book-length study *Who Killed Aldo Moro?* The authoritative Milan newspaper *Corriere della Sera* called it the most exhaustive account of the kidnap and murder of the former Italian premier and the background of international terrorism.

He brings to his account of the 1980 German elections both the "outsider's" insights as an American and the "insider's" view of one who has lived and worked in West Germany. A long-time associate of *EIR* founder Lyndon LaRouche, Webster Tarpley headed the conservative Democrat's presidential campaign committee in Europe this year.

office in 1974, and key parts of his present policy profile—the French-German alliance, the European Monetary Fund, the tendency to decouple from Washington and NATO—come straight from the EAP. In these elections, the EAP is seeking to go beyond its high-level influence, and to consolidate its own machine of political power.

Helmut Schmidt has staked the future of his government on an alliance with French President Giscard d'Estaing, his old friend from the days when both were finance ministers during the monetary crises of the early 1970s. The Schmidt-Giscard combination is an attempt to replicate the de Gaulle-Adenauer “entente cordiale” of the early sixties, this time with more ambitious content. The Paris-Bonn axis of today, virtually the only going concern in the entire field of international diplomacy, is committed to a policy of war avoidance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, through the maintenance of the highest possible level of diplomatic, economic, and cultural contacts with the East bloc.

More importantly, Bonn and Paris have taken the first steps towards the creation of a new gold-anchored international monetary system, the European Monetary System of March 1979, to replace the IMF and related relics of the defunct Bretton Woods system. The future of the human race is very much riding on the quality of political and economic moves that Paris and Bonn come up with during the coming months, since these are the only world capitals that have maintained any approximation of fruitful, global strategic initiative during the period of cataclysmic crisis that the world has been passing through during the last year in particular.

This is the essence of the Bonn-Paris alliance, which was ceremoniously affirmed during July on the occasion of President Giscard's visit to West Germany, the first by a French head of state since General de Gaulle.

Strauss: apostle of confrontation

Franz-Josef Strauss is a horse of a different color. Strauss's pedigree goes straight back to the intelligence circles of the Wittelsbach family, the dynasty that held the throne of the Kingdom of Bavaria until 1918, and to the related intelligence establishment of the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian monarchy in Vienna. Contrary to surface impressions, the influence of these feudal aristocrats is far from extinct, especially down in the Danube Valley, where Franz-Josef hails from.

One of Strauss's most intimate associates continues to be Grand Duke Otto von Hapsburg, the pretender to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, the Austrian Empire, and the Kingdom of Hungary, though Otto has been keeping a lower profile these days than he did in last year's elections for the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Otto and Franz-Josef—the name is not coincidentally an allusion to the next to last Austro-

Hungarian sovereign—see eye-to-eye on a conception of society that has deep roots in the feudal turf of pre-World War I Eastern Europe.

In matters of foreign policy, Franz-Josef Strauss is an apostle of confrontation with the Soviet Union and its allies; even more blatantly than Henry Kissinger or Zbigniew Brzezinski, he speaks in the linguistic clichés of the cold war of the 1950s. In his campaign speeches, vehement to the point of raving, the old Dulles dream of “rollback of Communism” is never far below the surface. Strauss is in basic agreement with the Dutchman Josef Luns, the general secretary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her Svengali, Sir Keith Joseph; with France's hawkish pseudo-Gaullist Jacques Chirac; and with Italy's Amintore Fanfani, another Christian Democrat who is hooked up to the same Jesuit and former Nazi networks that give Strauss his power.

The perception of the majority of German industrialists and bankers, who back Schmidt, is that Strauss's commitment to confrontation in the political, economic, and ultimately strategic arenas is so strong that if the Bavarian were to succeed in his quest for power by establishing himself as tenant of Bonn's Palais Schaumburg, the chancellor's official residence, the outbreak of head-on confrontation between the great powers in Europe would be a foregone conclusion.

It is thus a matter of immediate importance to the nations of the world that the West German electorate, according to all surveys taken to date by a broad spectrum of polling organizations in the country, seem to have every intention of giving Schmidt four more years in power with a parliamentary majority somewhat larger than the present one. Somewhere between two-thirds and three-fourths of the citizenry judge Schmidt the best man for the chancellor's post, making him the first German politician who has been able to top the popularity of founding Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who was number one among his countrymen for almost a decade after his death.

Strauss, by contrast, is seen as too likely to set the Russian tanks rolling in the wake of social conflict, strikes and disorder on the home front. Schmidt would today be on the verge of an overwhelming landslide victory, were it not for the German public's intense dislike for the left wing of Schmidt's Social Democrats, represented by men like Horst Ehmke, Egon Bahr, Erhard Eppler, and other satellites of former chancellor and present SPD chairman, Willy Brandt, who is a close friend of Robert McNamara of the World Bank.

EAP surveys show that the overriding concern of the West German population is the maintenance of peace in Europe. In reaction to the Carter administration policies, which are seen by the average German as aberrant and adventurous, there is a colossal anti-Amer-



Franz-Josef Strauss (r) during a parliamentary session.

ican resentment abroad in the land, a resentment which is still boiling under the surface merely because no politician of the major parties has chosen to become a spokesman for it. For the mature German citizen, the experience of war as catastrophe, as *Untergang*, is now the operative factor in determining political behavior.

Ironically, this feeling, which derives from the tragic experience of Hitler's assault on the Soviet Union, has led to a profound psychological rapprochement with the Soviet people. This is based on the convergence of the German and Russian perceptions of war as the total negation of everything that makes life worthwhile, and of war avoidance as the imperative necessity. Germans and Russians, one increasingly hears, have "war in their bones," and differ in this from the political culture of the United States, which knows almost nothing, by comparison, of war's real devastation, and is thus seen here as a country that courts confrontation in a totally irresponsible manner.

The threat of war

Schmidt's two slogans for the SPD campaign are "*Sicherheit für Deutschland*" (security for Germany) and "Increase the well-being of our people while warding off threats." Several months ago Schmidt compared the world situation of today with that of July-August 1914, on the eve of the outbreak by miscalculation, of World War I. He has repeated this analysis recently, stressing that the present world configuration is "eminently dangerous."

In a television interview with several journalists

organized by Bavarian television several weeks ago, Schmidt offered the following analysis. The principal causes of the threat to peace are essentially four: Iran, after the fall of the shah and the taking of the American hostages; Afghanistan, after the Soviet invasion; the Middle East; and the threat of a massive new escalation in the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. At the beginning of this year, Schmidt continued, all dialogue between the United States and the Soviets had been broken off, and the diplomacy of the superpowers had been paralyzed by crossed ultimatums. Schmidt said that this extremely dangerous "wall of mutual silence" had been overcome only through the diplomatic initiatives, first of the French Republic under "my friend" Giscard d'Estaing, and then by the Federal Republic of Germany. Schmidt stressed above all the necessity of such dialogue: "Security derives from having one side listen to what the other is saying," he asserted in one of his speeches.

In this connection, Schmidt has repeatedly underscored the importance of maintaining equilibrium between the United States and the U.S.S.R. This equilibrium is imperative, he said during his Bavarian television interview, and the purpose of arms limitation, arms control, and disarmament is to guarantee that equilibrium can be reduced to lower and lower levels of overall military appropriations. In response to a question about Ronald Reagan's quest for U.S. military superiority, he answered that Germany would never accept such a policy. Out of this flows Schmidt's commitments to favor talks between Washington and Moscow on the limitation of the medium-range missiles in Europe. This

was the only result of his late June trip to Moscow, other than the approval of several important development deals with the Soviets.

In a more recent television broadcast from the offices of the *Nürnberger Nachrichten*, a newspaper in northern Bavaria, Schmidt elaborated that a new cause of world instability is the destructive economic effects of the 1979 oil price increases, which are now being acutely felt by all countries. Schmidt said that he was deeply concerned that the prospect of rising unemployment and inflation would cause a turn to protectionism and thus deal a fatal blow to the integrity of world trade. From this point of view, he added, today's world economic situation can only be compared with that of the years 1931, 1932 and 1933.

In a speech before the Munich International Energy Conference, Schmidt added that without the development of nuclear energy, there was a danger that wars could break out for the control of a dwindling world oil supply.

If Schmidt is compared to the corresponding level of politicians in the United States or Great Britain, he appears to be a paragon of statesmanlike competence, towering over disgusting immorality and abysmal stupidity of his counterparts. However, this standard of comparison is not the relevant one. Schmidt, like Giscard, must be measured according to the standard of necessity, of the adequacy of their policies to guarantee the survival of the human race at this strategic juncture, since this is the role they must perform; and from this point of view, Schmidt's rating looks very different.

Schmidt's problems center on conceptualizing the relation between monetary crisis, world depression, and the threat of war in today's world-strategic process. Most simply put, Schmidt has for the moment dropped all initiatives in the direction of the urgent implementation of the second or credit-issuing phase of the European Monetary System. As recently as several months ago, he was reported to be thinking hard about ways to wipe out the Eurodollar market and use this liquidity for development credit within the framework of the new European Monetary Fund. But, for the time being, both Schmidt and Giscard seem to have decided that this is a bridge that can only be crossed after the German elections, and perhaps even after the French elections late next spring. Schmidt seems to see these issues as either-or: either stress dialogue and peace policy, or else push the EMF, but German and international power relations do not permit both.

Thus, the EMF is never mentioned these days by Schmidt or by his finance minister, Hans Matthöfer. The Europäische Arbeiterpartei, however, continues to make the EMF the core of its campaign. Schmidt tends to point to his own track record in economics with the smug complacency of a successful sales manager. He said on television that when the SPD took office, it took

four D-marks to buy a dollar; now it is about 1.75. Pointing out that the West German economy has thus been shielded from the increased cost of oil, Schmidt praised the D-mark as one of the hardest currencies in the world, established as such by all the currency markets in the world, not many of whose brokers are German Social Democrats, he quipped. We have the greatest currency reserves of any nation in the world, the second greatest gold reserves in the world, the lowest inflation rate and the lowest rate of joblessness of any major industrial nation, Schmidt continued.

Schmidt tying his own hands

All well and good: but at the same time the motor force behind the deterioration in the military-strategic realm is the ongoing economic decline, as has been obvious in famine-ridden East Africa. This was the focus of Helga Zepp-LaRouche's first national TV spot. The other side of the coin is seen inside West Germany: beneath the appearances of order and well-being is a population with a birth rate of 1.4 children per woman,

Catholic bishops attack Schmidt

The conference of Roman Catholic Church bishops, with the consultation of one of Franz-Josef Strauss's campaign advisers, last week drafted a pastoral letter which was read from the pulpits of over 12,000 churches, criticizing the Schmidt government for "sacrificing our youth's future by following a policy of inflationary public state debts."

In a speech given a few days later on Sept. 23 by Archbishop Josef Höffner. The Archbishop declared that West Germany's politicians and industrialists were leading the country into a "world catastrophe" with their industrial development policies. He called such policies a "cancer" which threatens to engulf all of God's creation, and especially singled out what he termed "the reckless pursuit of nuclear energy construction." The head of the conference of bishops added that man should not treat nature as his resource reserve, but must find his way back to the simple methods of soil cultivation practiced by the Benedictine Order and the Cistercians.

Schmidt responded to the bishop's move by calling it an unprecedented and unwarranted interference of the Church in political affairs. He added that there was nothing in the Old or New Testament dealing with state finances.

far below the level of simple reproduction, which is 2.2.

The point is that Schmidt has chosen not to use the election as a forum of mass education around the leading strategic and economic issues, beyond the level of the general briefing summarized above. In his appearances he is rather more concerned with projecting an image, that of the sober, self-controlled statesman-like, reliable steward of the public interest, all in comparison to Strauss, who is none of these.

This strategy means that Schmidt has tied his own hands in a critical period. It is well known that Schmidt's attitude towards "unpredictable" President Carter is one of personal loathing, and deep distrust; nevertheless, Schmidt is careful to keep these well-known facts under wraps during the campaign, lest he offer grist for Strauss's mill. Behind the scenes, an official of the Bonn coalition predicted that until Oct. 5, Schmidt would avoid all overt clashes with Carter. But after that, he said, there would be a series of extremely tough confrontations between Bonn and Washington, growing more out of the predictable course of events than out of any special plan of Schmidt's.

He characterized the Bonn government as sick and tired of receiving ultimata from Washington, and said that he was eagerly awaiting the day when Schmidt or some other member of the cabinet would tell Carter to go to hell. For this, a united Europe would be necessary, but, he added bitterly, some countries, like Italy, are little better than colonies of the United States. In Italy, the Americans have erected an iron curtain against the necessary "historical compromise" between Christian Democrats and Communists, he said, and it is the Americans who need constant terrorism to make sure that the PCI is kept out of the government. Kissinger is the evil spirit who curses at the German détente with the East, the *Ostpolitik*, he went on. Pretty soon, he concluded, the French and the Germans are going to get together with the Soviet Union and impose a solution on the Middle East in coherence with European interests.

Top officials of the Bonn coalition are known to consider Zbigniew Brzezinski a dangerous lunatic, and to keep certain artifacts of Brzezinski's more crack-brained escapades on prominent display in their offices, where they can be ridiculed for the amusement of visiting officials and guests.

Unfortunately, not much of this is allowed to seep out in public, despite the fact that people are more than ready to hear it. At high-point in the recent Polish crisis, Schmidt showed the extent to which he underestimates the political maturity of the population here. Helmut Kohl, the CDU chairman, and Strauss had both demanded that Schmidt declare his full support of the Polish strike movement, and that he deny the Warsaw government a DM 1.4 billion loan that had been floated by a consortium of German banks. Schmidt, thinking

himself very sly, rejected the opposition demands, saying that he agreed instead with President Carter that interventions into the Polish situation should be kept to a minimum, and adding that he had just received a letter from Carter recommending that Western economic help to Poland should be increased, not cut.

Schmidt may have cleverly boxed in the hapless Kohl and Strauss, but many intelligent Germans perceived these remarks as the cheap election trick they were. One veteran SPD factory councilor in a steel mill in the Saarland told this writer: "We've had it up to here with letters from Washington telling our government what to do, and Schmidt should have said so." Despite deep popular loathing of the Carter administration's dangerous antics, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's campaign for reelection has steered clear of attacks on Carter. The political mood in the electorate is increasing hostility to having Bonn pushed around by Washington. But a strange taboo has descended on this question in the past few months.

One index is this year's Autumn Forge maneuvers, which are billed as the biggest war games on German soil

Der Spiegel attacks the EAP

The West German magazine *Der Spiegel* prominently features in its Sept. 22 issue an article entitled "Dark Forces," which characterized the European Labor Party (EAP) as rightwing and Nazi, mysteriously supported by both the CIA and KGB. The EAP's leading candidate in the October elections is Helga Zepp-LaRouche, wife of the American political leader Lyndon LaRouche.

Der Spiegel accuses Mr. LaRouche of brainwashing his supporters through "deep analytical therapy" and "endless interrogations with deprivation of sleep and food . . . a political Jim Jones."

Der Spiegel is a left-liberal magazine whose editor, Rudolph Augstein, was arrested in Italy last year on drug charges.

The EAP has issued a leaflet pointing out that "the original source of most of the lies in this week's *Der Spiegel* is the weekly New York City newspaper *Our Town*, whose editor is Ed Kayatt, a convicted felon who served time in prison for fraud involving U.S. government bonds." Kayatt, the leaflet continues, is a protégé of Roy Cohn, a lawyer whose first claim to fame was his participation in the McCarthy witch-hunts of the 1950s and who now distinguishes himself as a lawyer for international organized crime members.

since 1945, with hundreds of thousands of NATO troops, especially British troops, taking part. Last year, Defense Minister Hans Apel's ministry had protested what it termed the unnecessary scale of similar maneuvers. This year, despite the fact that the maneuvers are a bigger and more absurd provocation in every way, Apel meekly took his place beside NATO General Secretary Joseph Luns and NATO Supreme Commander Bernard Rogers at the Royal Air Force base in Gütersloh for the official opening ceremony. At the time, Helga Zepp-LaRouche of the EAP urged Schmidt to end West Germany's status as an intimidated, occupied nation by calling off maneuvers that coincide with the Warsaw Pact fall maneuvers in the neighboring German Democratic Republic, as well as with the critical final phase in the West German election campaign.

Appearing in an EAP television election spot following the second program evening news, Zepp-LaRouche introduced herself as the wife of Lyndon LaRouche, the American presidential candidate and economist, and sharply attacked the Carter administration for deliberately threatening Europe with nuclear destruction in the service of Zbigniew Brzezinski's military fantasies. "Enough is enough," she said emphatically.

"I know the United States better than Schmidt, to say nothing of Strauss," said Zepp-LaRouche, "and I know that the real America is not the bankers of New York, Boston, and Chicago." The real America, she asserted, would welcome the imposition of rational policies on Washington by joint Franco-German policy initiatives. First among these must be the implementation of the second phase of the European Monetary System, in the context of energetic measures to neutralize Carter's confrontation policies in all the relevant world arenas, she said.

Results of vacillation

Schmidt's reluctance to undertake such meaningful, high-impact measures in the months before the election has permitted a noticeable deterioration in the policy climate. By shying away from the domestic political risks of an open repudiation of Carter and everything that he stands for, Schmidt has armed the enemies of détente policy, both in Washington and Moscow. From the Soviet point of view, Schmidt is the man who met with Brezhnev in June, who received a member of the DDR Politburo in Bonn for the first time this spring. But he is also viewed as an accessory to the December NATO decision to deploy the medium-range Euromissiles, a prime mover in the boycott of the Olympic Games, and the vice-chairman of the SPD, a party which provided major inputs into the Polish destabilizations. Although Soviet President Brezhnev, in his recent Alma Ata speech, repeatedly stressed the Soviet centrist faction's desire for cooperation with France and

the Federal Republic, there is no doubt that the Paris-Bonn-Moscow combination has lost momentum when it could have been accelerating.

Clearly, this was not Schmidt's intention. His calendar for August had originally called for a visit by Polish party secretary Edward Gierek to Schmidt's private home in a quiet suburb of Hamburg, a privilege that Schmidt extends only to those foreign leaders whom he finds both personally and politically congenial, and which has never been offered to Carter or Thatcher, who lose on both counts. After that, Schmidt was scheduled to travel by car into East Germany for a meeting with the DDR chief-of-state and party leader Erich Honecker. This meeting was slated to yield further massive improvements in inter-German trade, energy agreements, and possibly a dramatic all-German call to preserve the peace in Europe and the world, containing a pledge by both sides that world war will never again be unleashed from German soil. This meeting, which was to have taken place near the Werbelinsee, northeast of Berlin, would have been the first-ever summit of the two German states. Afterward, Schmidt was scheduled to visit the Baltic seaport of Rostock. There he was expected to receive a very warm reception from local citizens, which would have duly impressed West German voters.

As it turned out, Gierek was forced to cancel his visit, and it was left to Schmidt to call off the projected German summit, fearing that it would coincide with Polish or Soviet military moves to crush the Polish strikes, or that provocateurs might exploit his presence in the DDR to touch off rioting there. West Germany's right-wing Springer press, which backs Strauss, was quick to assert that the basic thesis of Schmidt's *Ostpolitik*—that East-West negotiations and dialogue must be maintained under all circumstances, and especially in times of crisis—would not hold water.

How Schmidt is boxed in

To find the cause of these setbacks for Schmidt, one need look no further than his own party, the SPD, and his coalition partner, the FDP.

The most serious problem is represented by Herbert Wehner, leader of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, boss of the powerful AFA (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Arbeitnehmerfragen, or working group on employee problems), the interface between the SPD and the huge German trade union confederation. Wehner is the *éminence grise* of the SPD—and the most powerful British agent in West Germany today. He is, for example, a much higher grade asset, from the British point of view, than the better-known Willy Brandt, who tends to act as a spokesman and vehicle for policies decided upon by Wehner. When, in the wake of the Polish destabilization, the official East German press agency Neues Deutschland



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (l).

issued a stinging attack on the West German media and “revanchist circles” for blatant interference in the Polish situation, there can be little doubt that Wehner’s networks in the East bloc, including various networks dating back to the infamous SPD Ostbüro espionage and subversion operation of the cold war years, were being targeted.

Wehner started out in the Weimar Republic as an anarchosyndicalist professing views similar to those of Gregor Strasser of the so-called left wing of the National Socialist German Workers Party. Later, Wehner became a communist, joining the Ernst Maslow-Ruth Fischer putschist-terrorist faction of the old KPD (German Communist Party). He worked in the British-infested Paris office of the Comintern. During the Second World War, Stalin decided that an anglophile agent like Wehner was expendable, and tapped him for a high-risk infiltration mission into the Nazi capital of Berlin. Wehner, traveling toward Germany on the classic “northern route,” figured out what was happening and gave himself up as a Comintern agent to the Swedish government, who did not extradite him to the Reich, but merely interned him. When the war was over, Wehner popped up almost immediately as a leading SPD politician in the strictly controlled self-government organs of the British zone of occupation in Germany. Up to that point, he had never been a member of the SPD.

Wehner’s world-outlook is that of an anarchosyndicalist and a German chauvinist. He also has some romantic slavophile tendencies. Because he is such a vehement enemy of the American System of economic growth, he is strongly anti-American; for the same reason, he detests French economic dirigism, and has exerted as much anti-French influence as possible. It is reportedly Wehner who has also been running the major

containment and harassment operations against the influence of the EAP and Lyndon LaRouche in the SPD since the fall 1974 “incompatibility” decision, which barred SPD members from joining the EAP.

Wehner was unquestionably a major factor in the Polish destabilization, and he did not act alone. Partners in this operation included such figures as Horst Ehmke, Erhard Eppler, and Egon Bahr, presently the organizational boss of the SPD and formerly the top envoy in the East bloc for former Chancellor Brandt. Some of these, like Brandt’s old sidekick Ehmke, are among Schmidt’s most bitter personal enemies. Much of Schmidt’s real power, by contrast, comes from outside the SPD and the trade unions altogether. Schmidt has the backing of key sectors of German high-technology industry, including nuclear reactor exporters and firms trading with the East bloc.

The pro-environmentalist, antinuclear bias of a large, swampy section of the Wehner-led SPD Bundestag faction is another big problem for Schmidt. High-level figures of the Bonn coalition say privately that as soon as the election is over, the federal government will launch a nuclear reactor construction effort modeled on the French program, including significant funding for the high-temperature reactor, the fast breeder, and a big increase in fusion research appropriations. But in public, Schmidt allowed himself to be upstaged by the EAP and by Strauss on this critical issue.

At the recent world energy conference, Strauss took a stand for a clear and unconditional “yes” to nuclear energy, while Schmidt hemmed and hawed about the unsolved problems of nuclear waste disposal, ending up with a lukewarm commitment to nuclear. Official SPD propaganda says that the party wants neither economic growth nor nuclear energy “at any price,” and approves



Folk musicians campaign for the FDP.

nuclear only to cover energy needs that cannot be met by coal and a hodgepodge of “renewable” sources.

The role of the FDP

On this front, like all fronts, pressure against Schmidt continues to come from his coalition partner, the Free Democrats. The EAP and Helga Zepp-La-Rouche are calling on West German voters to turn the FDP out of office and open the way for an SPD-EAP coalition.

The FDP is the direct descendant of the old German Democratic Party of the Weimar Republic, whose founding father was the subsequent Nazi Finance Minister Hjalmar Schacht. After World War II the British-sponsored, reconstituted FDP was a popular back door route for various personalities who had not stayed clean during the 1933-45 period to get back into politics. The principal leader of the FDP during the 1950s, Erich Mende, was part of the international dirty-money networks that later sponsored Bernie Cornfeld's Investors Overseas Services (IOS).

During the 1970s, the FDP became the most zero-growth of the Bonn parties, with a strong antinuclear wing. Even more than the left SPD, the FDP is a party closely attuned to the Club of Rome. It is the party of Countess Marion Dönhoff, a Kissinger liaison who edits the weekly *Die Zeit*, the party of Malthusian Ralf Dahrendorf of the London School of Economics.

In elections held last spring in North Rhine-Westphalia, the most populous and most heavily industrialized of the West German federal states, the FDP failed to obtain 5 percent of the votes and thus disappeared

from the state parliament. The panic-stricken FDP leadership is now banking everything on two interrelated tactics to stave off repetition of this defeat and the ouster of the party from the Bundestag in the national election.

First, the FDP chairman, the chubby Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, is playing the peace card to the hilt, trying to outdo Schmidt in cashing in on the popular will to avoid war. “*Ohne Frieden geht nichts*” (“without peace, nothing works”), is the headline of the FDP's election newspaper. Genscher is crisscrossing the Federal Republic at a breakneck pace, asking for votes to continue the “Schmidt-Genscher” government and to stop Strauss—not to implement “liberal policies,” as the FDP slogan usually has it. Genscher reflects current strategy among the British faction formerly headed by Lord Mountbatten, demanding on the one hand that the United States and the U.S.S.R. begin negotiations without preconditions on the Euromissiles, while repeating a litany of protest about the Soviet presence in Afghanistan on the other. Genscher has succeeded in the past in sabotaging Schmidt's policies, simply by threatening to withdraw from the coalition in favor of a deal with the CDU-CSU.

Secondly, the chaotic, antinuclear, pro-marijuana “greenie” wing of the FDP, as typified for example by Hamburg Bundestag Deputy Helga Schuchard, a frumpy Gloria Steinem, has totally disappeared from the national print and broadcast media. Eclipsing them has been Count Otto Lambsdorff, the economics minister. Lambsdorff has been pushed up front in an effort to provide a moderate point of identification, especially for disgruntled CDU voters who are not comfortable with Strauss, would like to see Schmidt stay on as chancellor, but would rather die than cast a vote for “subverter of the state” Brandt and the SPD left wing.

Count Lambsdorff, a petty oligarch like so many FDP spokesmen, started a campaign for middle-class votes—small businessmen, professional people, and so forth—that made him one of the most hated men in Germany. In an appeal to small employers, Lambsdorff asserted that German workers have slacked off, and should work much harder if they ever expect to compete with the Japanese. In the factories of the Ruhr, Hessen, Stuttgart and Lower Saxony, the workers were furious. “Let that bum count come down here and tell us what he thinks after a day on the assembly line,” said one angry factory councilor. Nevertheless, among some CDU strata, the tactic is working: some will abstain from voting, which is virtually unheard of here, but others will vote FDP.

At the same time, the FDP left wing has periodically come out of the closet. The party youth organization, the Judos, now fully support the legalization of hashish and marijuana, a position that is also widely attributed to the interior minister, Gerhard Baum of the FDP.



Willy Brandt at a rally in Salzgitter.

Baum, unlike his colleagues Genscher, Lambsdorff, and the agriculture minister, Josef Ertl, is a member of the younger, "greenie" generation of the FDP.

In addition to his notorious softness on the drug issue, Baum has been pal-ing around more with known terrorists during the past year. First there was the case of Horst Mahler, the West Berlin lawyer who was a key member of the Baader-Meinhof gang, the so-called Red Army Fraction, during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Mahler, who had undisputedly shared in several of the Baader-Meinhof's earlier crimes, repudiated terrorism while in jail. Baum, interior minister since a 1978 cabinet reshuffle, bought the story, and that certainly helped Mahler to win parole this year after having served only half of his sentence. Long conversations between Baum and Mahler have even been published as a book, *The Minister and the Terrorist*.

More recently, during the hot phase of the election campaign, Baum decided it was time for another public appearance with Mahler, allegedly to keep in contact with disaffected youth who might otherwise drop out and pick up the gun. This came at a time when the Baader-Meinhof was launching its August buildup for new terrorist acts during the election campaign, with Chancellor Schmidt as the number-one target. Baum appeared at a public forum with Mahler and Professor Klug, the former interior minister of the federal state of Hamburg.

The round table was presided over by Rudolf Augstein, the editor and publisher of *Der Spiegel*, West Germany's biggest weekly news magazine. Augstein was arrested last year in Italy on charges of possession of marijuana. The discussion was interrupted by pro-

terrorist youths, and even a convicted terrorist on leave from jail, who screamed their defiance of the capitalist state and the pigs who work for it. *Die Zeit* called the meeting a failure, while the CSU branded Baum "the terrorists' friend," and for once they were right.

Certain SPD members would like to see their party attain the absolute majority in the parliament, in comparison to the 42.6 percent the SPD received in the 1976 elections. This would make possible an SPD *Alleinregierung*, or one-party government. In 1976 the CDU-CSU got 48.6 percent, and the FDP 7.9 percent. During his *Nürnberger Nachrichten* television interview, Schmidt noted that never, not in the pre-1918 German Empire, nor in the Weimar Republic, nor since World War II, had the SPD ever achieved an absolute majority. "It would be very nice," Schmidt said, to have the honor of leading that kind of victory, "but it's not going to happen." For the SPD to become the biggest faction in the Bundestag, which has not happened since 1933, would already represent a great personal triumph for the chancellor, and the polls show that this is within reach.

Strauss runs amok

The biggest architect of the probable social-liberal election victory will of course be Franz-Josef Strauss himself. The Bavarian patriarch, who just turned 65, is nothing but a raging, greedy Id, constantly out of control, and running amok. But since Franz-Josef goes ape in *every* speech, for the last year his own personality has been *the* issue of all German and thus much of European politics. Strauss is what is called here a *Wählerschrecker*, a candidate who scares off voters and is always placed on the defensive by having to explain his most recent ranting fit.

There is method in this particular madness. Late in 1974, when Schmidt was just settling in as federal chancellor, Strauss delivered a notorious speech in the town of Sonthofen which, Helga Zepp-LaRouche claims in her introduction to the EAP election pamphlet, "What Wehner Refuses to Say About Strauss," has been the Strauss strategy ever since. In that speech Strauss said: "The economic situation will have to get much worse before we will have a chance to get people to listen to our ideas, warnings and proposals. Everything has to go bankrupt somehow, followed by a real shock in public awareness. We have no reason to want to avoid this crisis, because otherwise there is only a pause, and after the pause everything starts going in the wrong direction once again." In the meantime, Strauss stressed, it would be a big mistake to propose positive solutions to any problems whatsoever. In his reflective moments, Strauss probably cackles while comparing himself to Goethe's Mephistopheles, the devil who always negates. Schmidt's standard characterization of

Strauss is not off the mark: "He is incapable of peace. We cannot vest control of all of us in a man who cannot keep himself under control."

Thus, there is almost nothing to say about Strauss's positive program: he has none. In a television interview from the offices of the *Westfalenblatt* in Bielefeld, Strauss summed up his positive program in two points: maintain the free, democratic order, and peace in freedom, meaning a strong commitment to NATO. If elected, he said a few days ago, I wouldn't go to Moscow or the DDR, but to Washington. Strauss told the *Rheinischer Merkur* that he stands for "Peace and Freedom—not peace through surrender on the installment plan, not getting chummy or showing willingness to give in." "Pax Americana, not Pax Sovietica," says Strauss, and that means "functional alliances, not a paper guarantee from Moscow." When asked how his *Ostpolitik* would differ from Schmidt's, he replied: "More dignity, less chumminess, more reserve, more clarity."

One of the reasons that Schmidt looks good as chancellor is that the visible alternatives in the SPD are all so vastly inferior to him in ability and maturity. It is a rule of thumb in European politics that the older politician who has experienced war and postwar reconstruction will acknowledge a reality principle in some form. Only from this point of view can the function of the EAP be fully appreciated...to ensure that West Germany is provided with 'survivable' leadership through the 1980s and beyond.

Otherwise, Strauss has made the following claims: "If I were chancellor, there would be no Russians in Afghanistan." "If the Poles could vote, they would choose me, and not Gierek." "In contrast to Helmut Schmidt and the German trade unions, I stand on the basis of democracy."

The Strauss campaign is otherwise a cataract of raving insults and abuse, much of it aimed at Schmidt personally. Strauss has branded the popular chancellor as "ready for the mental hospital," "Moscow's errand

boy," "the tool of Moscow," "the blue-tailed fly," "a chameleon," "the panic chancellor," "the war chancellor," "the peace prattler," "the Moscow faction," "the top executive of Marxists, Incorporated," "a fraud," "a liar," "the prophet of panic," a man guilty of "delusions of grandeur," responsible for "war hysteria."

According to Strauss, the "course of the SPD is decided today by the Marxist long-range strategist Herbert Wehner, by the false prophet Willy Brandt, and by the underground manipulator Egon Bahr, who is responsible for the fact that SPD propaganda can hardly be distinguished from the propaganda of Julius Streicher and the magazine *Der Stürmer* back in the 1930s." *Der Stürmer* was a broadsheet of the Nazi stormtroopers.

Strauss during the same speech called the SPD rank and file "the street mob and a collection of vagrants" paid and organized by Egon Bahr—who is taking Strauss to court on that one.

But Strauss's classic speech probably remains the one he gave several weeks back to a joint CDU-CSU delegate conference in Munich, which has been repeatedly excerpted in television spots. Here Strauss gives a veritable litany lasting a quarter of an hour on the following model: "If you think that Wehner's connections to Moscow are more important than our connections to Washington, then you should vote SPD or FDP. If you think that we should pay more to East Germany, then you should vote SPD or FDP. If you think we need more government and not less, then you should vote SPD or FDP. If you think that another currency reform would be a good thing, then you should vote SPD or FDP. If you think the government knows what you should do better than you do yourself, then you should vote SPD or FDP." And so on, winding up with "The question is not whether we should be red or dead, but whether we will be red first, and then dead in a war against the United States." All this, and more is the product of what Strauss called on television "my cool analytical mind, my hot heart and passionate mouth." "I say what I think and I do what I say," concludes Franz Josef. Small wonder that Schmidt's old nickname *Schnauze*, "the Lip," is seldom heard these days.

While Strauss is out on the hustings warning against the consolidation of the "SPD State," the CDU-CSU "leadership team" has been able to generate, at last count, two issues in addition to the "issues" implied so far. Each is, in its own way, the fruit of profound desperation.

The secretary and campaign manager of the CDU, Heinrich Geissler, is responsible for the charge that Schmidt is robbing old people of their pensions. "Schmidt is a political pension thief," is Geissler's refrain. Geissler himself is a sneak, vain, cynical, and calculating. The substance of his attack is that the

social-liberal coalition is computing pensions on the basis of net earnings during a working lifetime, rather than gross earnings. Schmidt, says Geissler, is a con man.

Otherwise, there is only the debt issue. The Strauss boys have discovered that the yearly debt service on all forms of public debt (federal government, federal states, and cities) is now more than the total debt load when the CDU-CSU left the government in 1969. Strauss's shadow finance minister, Schleswig-Holstein governor Gerhard Stoltenberg, and Strauss himself have therefore been spreading the ridiculous rumor that the D-mark is about to fall, with a Weimar-type inflation just around the corner. Strauss says he predicted it all; in 1969, when the social-liberals took power with Willy Brandt, he wrote: "Here and today begins the sellout of Germany." Karl Klasen, the former head of the German central bank, the Bundesbank, pointed out that the total debt burden is only 28 percent of the yearly German GNP, compared to figures like 52 percent for the United States and 61 percent for Great Britain.

The future of the parties

By now, the only real question left open regards the exact dimensions of the CDU-CSU debacle, and Strauss knows it. In the wake of the coming election defeat, the older generation of CDU-CSU politicians will be swept away. Strauss will remain as power broker, but he will be washed up politically. CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl, Geissler, Stoltenberg, the CDU's Hesse boss Alfred Dregger, CSU Strauss cronies like Friedrich Zimmerman, Gerold Tandler, Werner Dollinger, and General Secretary Edmund Steuber—all will be finished. The future of the CDU-CSU will belong, by all indications, to the Lower Saxon finance minister, Walther Leissler Kiep, the prime minister of Baden Württemberg, Lothar Späth, and the Lower Saxon prime minister, Ernst Albrecht, all CDU. Of these the most dangerous is certainly Kiep, the synthetic product of linguistic labs and image makers. Kiep, smooth-talking and urbane, has been cultivating a sort of Jack Kennedy mystique for a number of years. He passes out T-shirts that say "Kiep Smiling." His pedigree is pure Anglo-American; two years ago he told a crowd in Hannover, "I love Queen Elizabeth." Kiep is a mouthpiece for Zbigniew Brzezinski's controllers: he has lately been saying that it is time to send the Federal German navy down to the Cape of Good Hope to guard the routes of the oil tanker convoys. Kiep and Albrecht are holed up in the Lower Saxony government with Science Minister Eduard Pestel, the leading spokesman in West Germany for the Club of Rome, of which he is an assiduous collaborator. Lothar Späth's political profile is still blurry.

Under Adenauer, the CDU was the conservative

Catholic party. With Kohl and Strauss, it has become the Catholic Volkspartei, or People's Party. With Kiep and Albrecht, the CDU would touch bottom as a liberal Catholic party, aligned with the Club of Rome, and ready to celebrate the coming of the Age of Aquarius.

The changing of the guard is approaching in the SPD as well. Wehner will be stepping down as Bundestag faction chief in 1982. Schmidt has been described by insiders as immensely tired, telling friends that two full terms is all that a man can stand. That would mean that Schmidt, too, might resign during 1982. Schmidt thinks that he has succeeded as chancellor far beyond anything that anybody could have expected. He reportedly feels that demands that he keep détente alive and create a new world monetary system at the same time are just plain unreasonable.

One of the reasons that Schmidt looks good as chancellor is that the visible alternatives in the SPD are all so vastly inferior to him in ability and maturity. The best of these is Hans Apel, a stolid Hamburg businessman type whose experience as former finance minister and present defense minister recalls Schmidt's own career before he rose to the chancellorship. But Apel is Schmidt's inferior by at least one full order of magnitude. Until recently, Apel was the unquestioned successor. Next comes the current finance minister, Hans Matthöfer, a former trade-union bureaucrat who is cagey but who has all of Schmidt's crass defects—pragmatist, big operator—with none of Schmidt's saving competence. Even less acceptable is Justice Minister Hans-Joachim Vogel.

Beyond these senior ministers, the outlook is even bleaker. It is rule of thumb in European politics that the older politician who has experienced war and postwar reconstruction will acknowledge a reality principle in some form. This even applies to British agents. Those too young to have such experience are for the most part mere plastic technocrats, veering on the whole toward leftist heteronomy. That is what we find if we look at Schmidt's younger cabinet officers like Volcker Hauff (technology), Rainer Offergeld (development), Dieter Haack (housing), Jürgen Schmude (education).

Only from this point of view can the indispensable historical function of the EAP in West Germany be fully appreciated. As we have seen, the EAP is necessary first of all because of the fact that Schmidt, good as he is by empirical standards of evaluation, simply is not good enough. Equally important, it is the role of the EAP to ensure that West Germany is provided with "survivable" leadership through the 1980s and beyond, a problem that will become absolutely critical in only a couple of years, depending on how long Schmidt holds out.

Were it not for the EAP's past campaigns, Schmidt would never have come as far as he has today. The EAP's campaigns in Lower Saxony and Hesse in 1974,

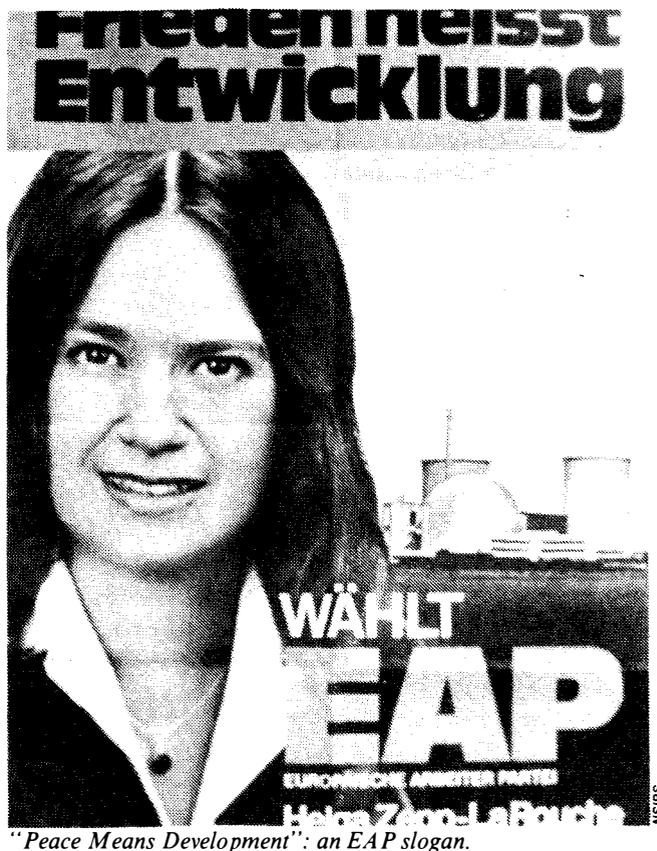
in the Ruhr in 1975, and during the Bundestag elections in 1976, all of which centered around versions of the LaRouche International Development Bank, were indispensable in preparing Schmidt personally and West German public opinion in general for the 1977-78 developments that led to the mid-1978 Schmidt-Giscard decision to found the European Monetary System.

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During this phase the EAP's impact was, above all, mediated through policy-generating circles. During last year's campaign for the European Parliament, the EAP's access to four nationwide television spots gave the party a vastly heightened mass impact. During that campaign, Helga Zepp-LaRouche appeared in 20 million German homes before the backdrop of the Biblis nuclear reactor complex, the largest in the world, demanding a full commitment to nuclear energy as the only alternative to the immiseration of the developing sector and world war. This spot resulted in massive pressures on Schmidt to announce an enhanced commitment to nuclear energy, which the chancellor first delayed until after the election, citing the usual left SPD "greenie" opposition, and then diluted altogether. The spot was apparently so memorable that it was cited in a front page editorial of the Munich daily the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* a few weeks ago in an attempted slur of the EAP.

Despite its expanded influence, EAP deputies were not elected, due in large part to voting manipulations that spanned all national parties and the trade unions as well. A key factor was the stubborn refusal of the television, radio, and press to report the EAP's campaign in accordance with its newsworthiness. A leading pollster marveled at the party's ability to achieve significant results in the face of virtual media boycott, but



"Peace Means Development": an EAP slogan.

stressed that real saturation and penetration begins only when a candidate is on television several times a week, rather than a total of four 2½-minute spots, the sole coverage the EAP was allotted.

This year, in order to be present in all 10 federal states, the EAP, mobilizing something less than 100 fulltime activists, had to collect more than 35,000 signatures on petitions, filled out in duplicate according to exacting bureaucratic standards. By Oct. 5, these same EAP members and volunteers will have distributed more than 500,000 program folders. They will have put up almost 20,000 posters and billboards.

Being present in all 10 federal states means that the party will be assigned four 2½-minute radio spots and ten 4½-minute radio spots. In addition, various regional television stations, corresponding to federal states, have been filming coverage of EAP rallies. In the wake of Helga Zepp-LaRouche's television attack on Jimmy Carter, *Stern* magazine and other publications have requested interviews.

EAP pressure on Schmidt to tell the truth about Carter is hitting a very sensitive point very hard. One Zepp-LaRouche radio spot contained a reference to Carter as *unzurechnungsfähig*, conveying the idea that Carter is unable to account for his own actions, and that the President is mentally incompetent. The North German Radio of Hamburg played the spot as record-



NSIPS/Philip Ulanowscy

Helga Zepp-LaRouche with a portrait of Schiller.

ed. Several days later, the West German Radio of Cologne called the EAP federal executive to complain that the term *unzurechnungsfähig* represented a slanderous insult of a foreign political leader. The West German Radio, the most servile of a bad lot, demanded that the passage be deleted. Several days later, Hesse's Radio of Frankfurt called in with the same demand.

The EAP program demands the construction of 80 more nuclear power reactors during the next 20 years, plus the implementation of the total fuel cycle in the Federal Republic. For many years the EAP was the only German party with this quality of commitment to advanced nuclear technology. It is likely that Schmidt's real postelection nuclear posture will look very much like what the EAP is demanding.

The EAP, in cooperation with the West German Anti-Drug Coalition, has made drug trafficking an explosive political issue in this country, mainly at the expense of the FDP, which acts as the semi-official prodrug lobby. It has recently come to light that the SPD, FDP and CDU-CSU are all parties to a secret agreement, through which they are all committed to make sure that the drug issue is not raised in the campaign. In so doing, they have abandoned the issue to the EAP, which intends to use it to expose the bankruptcy of the other parties.

Related to this issue is the question of education and

culture. In the homeland of Beethoven, Schiller, and Riemann, each of the four established parties is using rock, disco, and other varieties of counterculture to attract young voters. This is wholly coherent with the educational and cultural policies of each of these parties, which now comes down to total betrayal of the Leibniz tradition in favor of the most destructive Anglo-American empiricist pragmatism. The EAP is demanding a return to German humanist traditions that made this country the leading musical, philosophical, archaeological and scientific power in the world.

The basis of the EAP's views on these leading issues was summed up by Helga Zepp-LaRouche during her keynote speech to the party's election congress held in the Rheingau some weeks ago. In that speech, she described the decades-long commitment of Anglo-American intelligence, through the Versailles war-guilt clause, the years of Nazi rule, and the crushing imposition of postwar "collective guilt" on all German citizens for the crimes of the Nazi regime, to the utter destruction of every positive national identification and sense of patriotism in the German nation. As a result, any real German patriot is routinely defamed as a Nazi. The EAP stakes its claim for a positive sense of German national identity which must be present to mobilize the population of this country to make the contribution that is required of them in the industrial and scientific

development of the Third World. The German Federal Republic, she said, has today attained a degree of national maturity that makes possible and necessary a fully independent foreign policy of active war-avoidance which must be asserted in cooperation with France in direct opposition to the insane confrontationism of Washington, London, Tel Aviv, and Peking.

The choice is either to declare the Second World War and its aftermath over once and for all, or to face the Third World War, Zepp-LaRouche concluded. The EAP's policy of technological and scientific development is the only basis for overcoming the conflicting anticommunist and anticapitalist compulsive delusions built into the leading institutions of the two Germanies, and preparing the terrain for eventual German reunification in the context of a European development bloc "from the Atlantic to the Urals."

The EAP is running to replace the FDP in the Bundestag and in the ruling coalition, but there is no guarantee of success. The West German political system has two built-in features which make changes in the party landscape extremely difficult. The first is the five percent clause, which bars any party from sending deputies to the national and state parliaments until that party has obtained a full 5 percent of the total vote. This aspect of the Federal Constitution was motivated by the need to avoid the proliferation of splinter parties that had marked the Weimar Republic. Today, the five percent clause acts as a psychological deterrent to any person seeking an alternative to the four present Bundestag parties, because of the extremely high risk that such a vote will turn out to have been thrown away.

The second obstacle regards the parties themselves. In comparison to American political parties, the West German counterparts, like European parties in general, are highly uniform, centralized multi-level bureaucratic structures, highly oriented to national issues. Labor, business, professional and cultural organizations tend to be tightly nailed down, by one party or another. This rigidity of political structures is generally unfavorable to the growth of new parties.

The current national tours of Helga Zepp-LaRouche and the other leading EAP candidates have yielded indications that this picture is changing. Many regional power brokers are saying, "As long as it is Schmidt or Zepp-LaRouche, I'll choose Schmidt. If it gets to be Matthöffer or Zepp-LaRouche, that's a different story." Many of these contacts agree that a new party may be the way to avoid the blind alley that SPD, FDP, CDU and CSU will clearly represent by the mid-1980s at the latest. Many express admiration and respect for the courage of the EAP, which says out in public "the things that we can only discuss behind closed doors."

Photographs in this section are courtesy of the German Information Center, unless otherwise identified.

The philosophies of the candidates

European voters are more accustomed than Americans to explicit statements of politicians' philosophical outlook. The following is a summary of the philosophies of the three candidates for the Chancellorship of West Germany.

HELMUT SCHMIDT

As the Chancellor remarked in an interview in early 1979, he began his political career an Anglophile; later reduced his ties to Britain to become an "Americophile"; and now considers himself a Francophile. Schmidt was referring to his ties to the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies during his tenure as Defense Minister (1969-74), when he worked closely with IISS German member Theo Sommer. At the end of the Nixon-Ford administrations, he deemphasized his ties with Britain, in favor of a closer working relationship with U.S. conservative layers, but in reaction to the Carter administration's foreign policies, soon went through the same transition as his predecessor Chancellor Adenauer: pursuit of a Franco-German alliance with France's President Giscard.

Schmidt has said that his personal philosophy is that of Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*: to behave so that one's morality coheres with a universal rule. This outlook, in abstraction, is characteristic of many other estimable Germans; by comparison with a Charles de Gaulle, however, it lacks active commitment to transforming the outlooks of others, as a means for shaping history.

In practice, Schmidt's philosophy is said to rest on the maxims of the Stoic Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius—patient endurance of fools and ingrates, because there is no single principle of natural law to guide the development of nations and men's minds. At the same time, because Schmidt is a German nationalist, his Kantian rationality is sometimes influenced by the "Leibniz" humanist world outlook, which was the foundation for the American Revolution. He is known to be a practicing student of Bach's organ music, and during his university study in war-devastated Hamburg, had intended to become an architect and city planner.

FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS

Strauss is often called a neo-Nazi by those who have little inkling of how close his social philosophy actually