

Report from Bonn by Rainer Apel

Resistance grows to INF sell-out

The "Wohlstetter report" has finally alerted some government officials to the decoupling danger behind the missile treaty.

The "unofficial" Jan. 12 release at the Pentagon of a report by the Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy, titled "Discriminate Deterrence," has created an uproar here, threatening to destabilize the Bonn government's approval of the Reagan-Gorbachov treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). The Commission, co-chaired by Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Fred Iklé and "limited war" strategist Albert Wohlstetter, calls for the removal of the U.S. strategic nuclear umbrella from Europe (see *Feature*, page 34).

In an interview with the daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* published Jan. 13, Alfred Dregger, chairman of the Christian Democratic group in the German parliament, expressed concern that the Wohlstetter report may "shake up the foundations of the alliance." A week later, he denounced the report as a child of the Reykjavik summit. Making the report's recommendations political practice, he warned, would "make Soviet military dominance over Europe a certainty."

In an interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Willy Wimmer, defense spokesman for the Christian Democrats, denounced the report as eroding "the coherence of the Western defense alliance in the long run" and "leading to a retreat of the U.S. into a Fortress America, which we Europeans cannot accept."

Lothar Ruehl, deputy defense minister in Bonn, criticized the report in an essay published by the daily *Die Welt* Jan. 19. The report is to be taken with the greatest caution, wrote Ruehl,

because it gives more strategic emphasis to the Persian Gulf and Asia than to Central Europe. Wohlstetter's call for taking U.S. strategic missiles out of the defense of Europe, Ruehl wrote, is "fatal in its consequences for Western European security." Ruehl saw one main flaw in all "alternate" scenarios for NATO conventional/tactical defense under INF conditions: "Without a sufficient number of nuclear weapons in Europe, really efficient deterrence is not possible."

This debate calls into question continued German acceptance of the INF Treaty itself. The German military has been furious about the INF conditions ever since the U.S.-Soviet summitry began. But the government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl—under the tutelage of Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher—stood by the U.S. State Department.

The Bonn government approved the treaty, as long as it looked like this would profit Germany—for example, bringing economic deals with the Soviets, as a payoff for Bonn's support of the deal. Or, positive developments in Berlin as a prelude to "motion" on the long-sought reunification of Germany. Or, (a special hope of Kohl), Gorbachov's announcement of a visit to Bonn. Further, Bonn hoped that support for the INF deal would and ease threats of a U.S. troop withdrawal.

What made the Germans furious, was the fact that to their questions, there was no response from Washington. Remarks the U.S. ambassador to Bonn, Richard Burt, made during a

press round-table Jan. 13, calling the German economic-monetary policy "chauvinistic" and "co-responsible for an eventual U.S. recession," made things even worse. Burt lectured the Germans: "Economic frictions between the United States and the Federal Republic are more serious than frictions in the sphere of defense." He threatened the "linkage of both frictions," predicted "growing sentiment for troop withdrawal in the U.S. public."

Burt's statements caused Chancellor Kohl to have his government spokesman, Friedhelm Ost, write a six-page letter of protest on Jan. 16, telling the ambassador that he was "simply wrong on nearly all points."

Then on Jan. 18, another house of cards collapsed, when Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze came to Bonn and did not provide the expected date for a Gorbachov visit to Bonn. Instead, he dwelt upon rosy but unsubstantiated remarks about "big chances for Berlin" and "good prospects for German-Soviet economic cooperation." He brought, however, an invitation to Kohl's main political rival, Christian Democrat Lothar Späth, to meet Gorbachov in Moscow between Feb. 8 and 11.

This seems to have especially upset Kohl, and he used the occasion of a Jan. 20 interview with the French daily *Le Monde*, to lash out against Gorbachov's German policy: "Freedom is more important than unity, than borders. The Federal Republic is not for sale. A new Stalin Note [for pro-Soviet neutralization and reunification of Germany] will not, under any circumstances, be a way out for Germany."

Rumors in Bonn have it that suddenly, now, the pro-INF faction is in a clear minority. This is important news for those U.S. senators reluctant to ratify the treaty.