

Press Manufacture Scandal Around Deal With Soviets

The first open attack against West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt for signing the 25-year Economic Cooperation pact with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev May 6 surfaced last week around an interview Schmidt gave to *Newsweek* editor Arnaud de Borchgrave. Writing in the May 22 *International Herald Tribune*, Borchgrave claimed that Chancellor Schmidt had crossed out a number of his statements in the final transcript of the *Newsweek* interview, statements that would have substantiated Borchgrave's claims of West German "self-imposed Finlandization," handing the country over to the Soviet Union.

Although Schmidt does not characterize the treaty as "self-imposed Finlandization," the May 23 West German press, led by the daily *Die Welt*, grabbed onto Borchgrave's accusations in order to discredit the recent Schmidt-Brezhnev agreement.

The intended effect of both Borchgrave's article in the *International Herald Tribune*, and articles similar to the *Die Welt*, excerpted below, is to develop a fear that West German trade with the Soviet Union will lead to a situation in which West Germany will be as dependent on the Soviet Union for its existence as Finland allegedly is.

According to Borchgrave, Schmidt crossed out the answer, "Yes, I did that," when he was asked if he protested to Brezhnev about "Soviet-Cuban adventure in Africa." Another charge is that Schmidt crossed out his own reference to "Marxist-Leninist states in Africa," which were "a clear case of (Soviet) imperialism."

The entire incident has been dismissed as "nonsense" by Schmidt's press spokesman, Klaus Boelling. In a letter of protest published May 24, Boelling wrote that "You will not find in the interview anything which permits the conclusion that the Federal Republic is in the process of giving itself away to the east."

Die Welt, Bonn, May 23, 1978

"What the Chancellor Crossed Out of An Interview"

"The American Newsweek-journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave views Bonn as being on a course of 'self-imposed Finlandization.'"

Springer Foreign Service, Paris-London

Bonn's foreign policy is handling Moscow with velvet gloves, and steering a course of "self-imposed Finlandization." These conclusions were drawn by *Newsweek* journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave after an interview with Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. What Schmidt said in the interview was so important to the journalist, that he broke a journalistic rule. Yesterday he betrayed to the *International Herald Tribune* which words the Chancellor personally crossed out of the interview, and which he added in by hand . . .

Newsweek journalist Arnaud de Borchgrave mentioned a reference in his report to the *International Herald Tribune* about the fact that in the meantime,

President Carter's Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brezinski spoke about a self-imposed Finlandization of the Federal Republic. After three hours and 45 minutes with the Chancellor Borchgrave was of the opinion that Brezinski was correct. In the excerpts from the interview that the Parisian paper had published in the meantime, the Chancellor stood for Bonn's official Eastern policy. According to the Chancellor, the Federal Republic is a medium-sized, non-nuclear power, which is not larger than the U.S. state of Oregon, and which has no occasion to intervene in major world-political questions because of its vulnerable geo-strategic situation . . .

"Schmidt. After You"

The following are excerpts of Arnaud de Borchgrave's interview with Chancellor Schmidt, published in the May 29 issue of Newsweek under the title "Schmidt: After You."

Q: The Soviets and their surrogates have recently been scoring some major geopolitical gains. How does one stop this drive from gaining momentum?

A: Of course the USSR tries to strengthen its influence — if not always successfully. But there is no thought of the West being overwhelmed. The Soviets are realists. They will not end détente, which is in their own interest. We Europeans are concerned about the expansion of Soviet influence — political and military — and I made this clear to President Brezhnev the other day. On the other hand, Germany is a medium, non-nuclear power the size of Oregon . . . in a very delicate and vulnerable situation. No German leader will ever forget this. Nor will he forget the Berlin equation and how anxious we are not to endanger but to maintain that island of liberal democracy. So our freedom of action is limited. It would be unrealistic and improper for a German head of government to be indulging in those fields of world politics outside our area of responsibility, or even giving advice to the leading Western power.

Q: What is your opinion of the current Soviet-Cuban drive into Africa?

A: That is clearly not compatible with the concept of détente. No doubt about it.

Q: Did you yourself say that to Brezhnev?

A: He certainly got the general idea, as we did discuss Africa thoroughly. Despite some differing views, we agreed upon the inviolability of boundaries and the indivisibility of peace. I expressed the view that some operations could endanger American readiness regarding a SALT agreement.

Q: And what did he say?

A: Nothing. He just listened.

Q: If the Cubans get involved directly in Rhodesia, what do you think the Western reaction should be?

A: That would be a good one for (U.S. Secretary of State) Cyrus Vance to answer . . . Cuba is a small island,

only 10 million people, right on America's doorstep. It would be strange indeed if the United States with 220 million people should be hypnotized by Cuban military adventures on another continent. There must be some means to prevent this from happening.

Q: In other words, you're saying that Europe today is powerless to do anything about the Soviet-Cuban drive in Africa?

A: I wouldn't say powerless, but it's not for us Europeans to lead the Western Alliance. That's a U.S. mission. Nor is it for us to see to it that the balance of power is maintained. It's for the West as a whole.

Q: Do you now feel that you understand what the Administration wants and where it wants to go?

A: On a personal level, contact with Mr. Carter could not have been better. There were many more letters and phone calls than the public knows about. But it became clear to me that after Vietnam, presidents are not as successful with Congress as before, and it is far more difficult to read the long-term political lines of Congress than the concepts of the Administration. We have to deal with Congress directly more than ever before. Our embassy is not enough. . . .

Q: Policy planners and strategists argue that NATO is now clearly inadequate to respond to challenges to Western interests outside the geographical limits of the alliance. What do you think the West should do to protect its vital interests outside NATO's boundaries?

A: (First,) NATO has never been able in all its 29 years of existence to defend the interests of member states outside the area defined by the pact. Second, I don't believe that the goals and concepts of NATO should be geographically enlarged. . . .

Q: Why does Brezhnev keep talking up the growing danger of a world war, since there is no threat whatsoever from the Western side? Is this designed to produce more concessions and conditioned reflex of appeasement from the West?

A: On the one hand, yes, but on the other hand, nobody should underestimate the enormous losses the Soviets suffered under Hitler's attacks, memories that are still vivid in Brezhnev's generation. They therefore have a strong motivation for defense. At the same time, Brezhnev's dedication toward peace is beyond doubt. It seems to me that the Soviet leadership during the last ten years, following the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, has tried to maintain a delicate balance by keeping the military with them while they went ahead with détente with the West. . . .

Q: Turning again to economic matters, Japan's External Economic Affairs Minister Nobuhiko Ushiba has warned about the danger of a world depression. What do you think?

A: I have personally been warning the world of such a danger for the last four years. . . . Let me say once again that leadership from the U.S. — financial, commercial, monetary, political — is sorely needed. But the lack of an American response following the fivefold increase in oil prices, and the inability even to live up to the promises and obligations which had been undertaken. . . . have contributed significantly to the threat of a world depression.

If the biggest and richest nation in the world is producing a current account deficit of \$35 to \$40 billion a year, one cannot expect that the rest of the world will get back on its feet. There is no cure without the stabilization of the world's most important currency. . . .

Q: China is now shopping for military hardware in Western Europe. Do you feel this is a step in the right direction as a means of counterbalancing Russia's growing military power?

A: Mr. Brezhnev asked me a question about this, and I told him that the simple statistical fact is that our trade with the Chinese giant is in the same order as with the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Military hardware is very costly; how is China going to pay for large quantities? I think there is more noise than substance in these stories. My country is not involved. . . .

Schmidt Educates Carter

West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has converted a regional election campaign for his Social Democratic Party into a platform for instructing President Carter on where U.S. national and international interests really lie. Here is a selection from Schmidt's lecture topics:

On Henry Kissinger

Schmidt was asked by a *Newsweek* reporter about Kissinger's warning that an "appeasement syndrome" is setting in around "several Western capitals." The Chancellor's reply: "I do not know which capitals Mr. Kissinger has in mind. He certainly could not be including Germany among these."

On U.S. Energy Policy

"There are troubles with the United States, or at least with the Congress, on the question of nuclear energy, which is essential for the Third World's fight for survival."

On President Carter

At a recent meeting of the Aspen Institute in West Berlin, Schmidt
Congressmen mouthing a standard series of British attacks against Carter's poor leadership, lack of "guts," etc. "Gentlemen," the Chancellor interjected, "I ask you to please moderate your statements; otherwise I'll have to defend Jimmy Carter. . . . You are simplifying the picture of the President. I have experienced him as someone who asks the right questions and who has amazingly rapid comprehension. The U.S. President has courage—unlike some people."

On Music

Schmidt, an enthusiast of the classical organ repertoire, recently objected to Carter's mind-destroying habit of playing a continuous series of rock, folk, country-western, and light-classical records while he conducts the affairs of the nation. "He doesn't even turn off the music while we talk on the telephone. I can't understand anything he says, with those blaring violins and trumpets."

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