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 "Americanophile"; 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: pursual 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

is to the attacks on "big business and big labor," or the pleas for a "return to the land," vaunted by Nazi demagogues in the 1920s and 1930s. As governor of Bavaria, he said in 1978: "The peasant's vocation is a form of undertaking that unlike any other is suited to economic stability and environmentally healthy production.... We do not want any industrialization of agriculture. . . . Our peasantry is an indispensable element of a wholesome population faithful to its homeland. . . . "Globally, Strauss extends his polemic against industrialization and technology: "Today the mass-consumption society, as realized in the West and still, with ever-greater obstinacy, striven for under social-industrialism, is no longer a viable form of society, and in no way, despite the illusions cultivated by the U.N., should be transferred to the developing countries."

In the same speech, Strauss identified his own philosophy as "pragmatism," and in a fashion reminiscent of postwar propaganda about universal German guilt, excoriated "great plans and visions of the future" stemming from "German idealism."

Strauss in 1979 went so far at a Pan-European Union symposium as to throw the Nazi charge against the industrialists: "This technological development is nothing other than the palpable expression of an intellectual tendency that ultimately led to Fascism in Italy and to its National Socialist imitation in Germany, and in a weaker form to the centralized governments and administrations of other European countries under the myth of the nation-state." Strauss himself, despite his attacks on the United Nations, explicitly favors a supranational world government along the lines sketched by his friend Zbigniew Brzezinski in *The Technetronic Age* (1968), and beneath it, as prescribed by the Pan-European Union, a balkanization of the West into ethnic principalities.

HELGA ZEPP-LAROUCHE

Mrs. Zepp-LaRouche, who also ran for Chancellor in 1976, is known throughout Western Europe as a scholar specializing in the great 18th-century German philosopher, writer and historian Friedrich Schiller, and in the 15th-century German philosopher and political leader Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa. Her own philosophy was recently stated in her preface to a 58-page campaign pamphlet published by the Europäische Arbeiterpartei, titled "What Wehner Refuses to Say About Strauss":

"Permit me at the outset to offer a personal comment. It makes me happy that Strauss has lost the last two elections on the state level. It makes me happy, because it says something good about the German population.

"Precisely at a point when the question of a positive national identity for the Federal Republic is still in no way resolved, and every conceivable enemy of our state is consistently looking for ways to undermine our morale as a republic, precisely then have we won this small but important victory....

"We have come to a point at which the German population bears a special world-historic responsibility, as Chancellor Schmidt and East German Premier Honnecker have recognized and publicly acknowledged. Never again can Europe, West and East, become the arena of war. Not because the German people carry the blame for two world wars, but because we in particular can measure the grief bound up with war, do we have a special responsibility.

"The German population in the Federal Republic and the German population in East Germany have the specific historic task of giving détente policy a lasting foundation. While the expansion of East-West trade, even under conditions of the present world monetary system, represents an important means of securing peace, an active strategy of war-avoidance is still required. . . .

"If the European Monetary System can go into its second phase, and thus, through gold-backed credits, put into motion an industrial upswing on a global level, the Federal Republic will assume a unique role. Precisely because the West German economy is Europe's most important, and in a certain way acts as the motor of Europe, we will decisively determine the course of the world economy.

"We in the Federal Republic must deliberately follow the 'volcano theory,' that is, participate as an exporter of high technology in the development of the underdeveloped sector; at the same time, as an 'avant garde,' we must develop the next, higher stages of technology....

"Our positive national identity thus lies precisely in the tradition of so-called German idealism, of the strategic policy of a Leibniz, the economic policy of a Friedrich List, the tradition of mathematical-physical science of a Georg Cantor, a Bernhard Riemann, a Christian Gauss. It lies in the humanism of Friedrich Schiller, in the classicism of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven

"A population schooled in the great humanists, deriving from them its ethical standards, and drawing on them for its concepts of the future, will reject a political leadership that can only exist when the population is degraded.

"Rather, such a population will demand the representatives it needs because it will be elevated by such a leadership. In the sense of Nicholas of Cusa, and thus according to natural law, political leaders must be distinguished as, not the cleverest spokesmen for the population, but those with the highest moral standards and the greatest readiness to pursue the national good."