

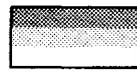
In the non-nuclear areas the Chinese are also accelerating weapons system development. One noted area is anti-tank missiles. After a period of attempting to purchase this technology in the West, from the French for one, the Chinese have dropped out of the market. The evident reason is that they are now producing their own version of the Sagger anti-tank missile, a Soviet weapon which is much simpler and easier to produce and was reportedly provided to the Chinese by the Egyptians. The evidence that this is already in production was provided by a September issue of the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army pictorial magazine which showed Chinese soldiers using what was clearly a Sagger weapon in maneuvers, with the claim that these weapons were made in China. While this may be a bluff, showing weapons in fact provided by Egypt, nevertheless there is a good possibility that production is underway.

The Egyptians have similarly provided Mig-23 jet fighters, which are being used to produce an upgraded version of the standard Mig-21 fighter which has been in the Chinese arsenal since the 1950s, and also T-62 tanks, which are well beyond the more antiquated T-54s now used by Peking.

Even without this, however, augmented nuclear capability, with evidence of U.S. aid to that capability, is enough to bring the Soviets into considering that they cannot sit back and passively watch this process. One signal of Soviet anger is a Radio Moscow report that the Israelis have sold China missile systems. Whether this is true or not, the source of the accusation is significant in itself.

At this point the question then comes back—have the Chinese indeed crossed the threshold of Soviet toleration? It should be noted that without ICBMs, the Chinese cannot put their warheads into the European part of the Soviet Union—presently existing IRBM (Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles) which are stationed in the western Sinkiang region, Tibet and in northeast China, cannot travel that far.

It is far from clear whether these questions are being asked or even considered by people such as Harold Brown and Zbigniew Brzezinski. It is interesting to recall that the Chinese were able to construct their bomb, and make subsequent rapid progress in their missile systems, only through the presence of some 80 top Chinese scientists trained in the U.S. and Britain who went back to China in the 1950s. Many of the best of these, including their top rocket man, H.S. Tsien, were trained and worked at the California Institute of Technology, Brown's location before joining the Carter administration. We may speculate perhaps about what kind of new contacts are being made, or reestablished, between these former residents of the United States, and U.S. scientific and defense technology personnel.



W. Germany

Chancellor Schmidt presses NATO for detente policy

by Rainier Apel

President Carter's foreign policy is "highly incalculable" and has proceeded without consultation with America's European allies, charged West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt before a closed-door meeting of his party's parliamentary grouping Feb. 14. Schmidt's blunt assessment was reported widely throughout the European press, and reflects the predominant consensus of opinion in Western Europe concerning the Carter presidency.

The Schmidt leak, together with interviews given by his Defense Minister Hans Apel and Apel's remarks at the 17th International *Wehrkunde* meeting taking place over the past weekend, indicate the continuing sharp differences in conception of the Western alliance between Bonn and Washington. Apel's message at this international gathering was that if NATO is to guarantee peace, it has to follow a policy of detente and cooperation, instead of confrontation as the U.S. and Britain urge.

In an interview given to West German television late last week, Apel explained the issues quite bluntly: "We are not here to play around with figures. What we have to take care of is the question of how to make practical defense decisions. It is by no means useful to our alliance if we are continuing to blame each other instead of consulting each other."

Apel issued a sharp rebuke to former U.S. defense secretary James Schlesinger, who toured West Germany for two weeks in an effort to convince the authorities in Bonn they must "increase their defense budgets, build up their armed forces." Said Apel, "Mr. Schlesinger's opinion is certainly of interest, but he is a private person, and in the present situation we can only take into account what official persons, that is, governments, have to say, and not what private persons think."

Elsewhere in the interview, Apel simply refused to discuss an increase in the military budget, in the number of combat troops, or deployment of Bundeswehr naval and ground forces to "hot spots" abroad. West German forces will stick to their constitutionally defined area of

military operations—middle Europe and the North Atlantic coast, he said flatly.

The Wehrkunde meeting

Apel's opening remarks at the Wehrkunde meeting of NATO government representatives were notable for their sane, peacemaker approach in the face of the outrageously provocative postures of the Anglo-American spokesmen, Robert W. Komer, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense, Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution, Senators Tower (Texas) and Cohen (Maine), and Admiral Shaer, Commander of NATO's "Southern Flank."

Apel began by rejecting the notion that detente was dead, or that the West had "fallen asleep" during a 10 year Soviet arms buildup. France and West Germany are not opposed to NATO, he stated, and the two countries had not formed a bloc against the U.S.A.

"I cannot see that the past decade has been one of Western failure. There has been success in arms control and in trust-building. I think it would be a big misinterpretation of the Franco-German summit to state that it represented a lack of European solidarity with the United States."

Apel defended the NATO resolution of 1967, which defined a combination of defense spending, arms control and detente toward the Warsaw Pact nations. According to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Apel was the only spokesman to recall that resolution.

Defense Undersecretary Robert Komer then spoke, apparently on behalf of the government in Peking. "On the other side," he said, "developments in Southeast Asia are offering improved perspectives of stability in the 1980s. A strong convergence of strategic interest between NATO, Japan and China is developing. As the Chinese have stated, strength is provided by joint deterrence in Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia."

Komer attacked what he called Europe's "reluctance to cope with the military needs of the alliance." He stated that he had more "trust in America's reaction at present ... than in the reaction of our allies."

Insulting Rapallo

If Komer insulted the Europeans, a West German opposition spokesman, Christian Democratic Union defense specialist Manfred Woerner, had apparently been instructed to make the reason for the insults explicit: the Schmidt government's "Rapallo" thrust.

"If, at present, leading spokesmen of industry in West Germany call for the continuation of the old detente policy by pointing to the effects trade with the East has on the job situation at home," said Woerner, "they have to be taught a lesson. There are good reasons for using food as a political weapon only very cautiously," he

continued. But the Soviets are going beyond "the military level acceptable for mere defense needs," and hence should be embargoed.

Apel continued to make his replies blunt and to the point: rather than paying attention to non-NATO members such as Pakistan or China, NATO has to secure its own social-economic basis. He pointed to Greece and Turkey as the countries who ought to receive aid, but are instead cut off and destabilized. To stabilize NATO, said Apel, means to provide economic support for these nations on NATO's "southern flank."

Whoever talks of Pakistan, he continued, must mean India. "India is a much more stable and reliable partner for the West than Pakistan, which faces internal collapse" under General Ziaul-Haq's Muslim Brotherhood rule.

According to Frankfurt press, even Komer had to agree with Apel.

Admiral Shaer, "Southern Flank" commander, did not agree. Shaer proposed a policy that, as the Europeans know, would ensure thermonuclear war. "NATO's southern flank includes Africa, all of the Middle East, and all of the states bordering the Indian Ocean." He called for an extension of NATO's operational areas beyond present treaty boundaries.

Apel replied with a blunt attack on any notion of "Western protectorates" in the Third World. The result would be the Third World flocking into the Soviet camp. What the Third World and NATO both require, he stated, is a "longterm economic stabilization strategy," and not "hurriedly considered military steps which are only reactions to steps by the other side."

Apel's undersecretary, Andreas von Buelow, then criticized the U.S.A. for bellicose posturing when it lacks even a functioning draft system. As if to recall Helmut Schmidt's remarks on Carter's "incalculable" behavior, von Buelow called on the Americans to work out a constant military policy, and outline it clearly to the allies, instead of continuing the present posture of back and forth maneuvering which is much more puzzling to NATO members than to the Soviet Union.

As might be predicted, however, West Germany is under enormous pressure from the United States to behave in "solidarity" with Washington, particularly with respect to the Soviets. The extent to which this pressure forces Bonn to tread a particular sort of tight-rope was indicated by the fact that, despite all he said at the Wehrkunde conference to indicate the contrary, Defense Minister Apel also stated at that time that if the U.S. decided to boycott the Moscow olympics, West Germany would have to follow suit.

Be it said, however, that Chancellor Schmidt was subsequently reported highly displeased that such promises had been issued by cabinet members.

More significant is the fact that even within Schmidt's own cabinet, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a member of the Free Democratic Party, has been behaving as an outspoken supporter of the Carter line, including the boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Genscher—whom U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance praised this week as “standing like an unshakeable tower”—is organizing behind-the-scenes in West Germany on behalf of the U.S. policy. He has met with a number of leaders of the opposition Christian Democratic Union party, and urged one CDU member, Walter Leissler-Kiep (also a member of the Trilateral Commission) to go to the U.S. and meet with Vance personally to discuss the international situation.

The facade of U.S.- West German cooperation

It is statements from such cabinet members as Genscher, together with certain other of the compromises that West Germany is forced to make in order to maintain its alliance ties with the U.S., that provide the American media with any fuel to misreport that there are few important differences between Bonn and Washington. Rather, it should be understood that Bonn affirms its solidarity with the U.S. out of perceived economic and military necessity—and in the hope that the present Washington administration, or the incoming one, can be induced to see reason.

For example, the Bonn Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry, and Chancellery have begun working to come up with a policy that would allow the Soviet Union a face-saving gradual retreat from Afghanistan, the news daily *Die Welt* reported. The new concept, in diametrical opposition to the U.S., would have the following features:

1) the West must refrain from any degrading demands upon the Soviet Union. Present U.S. policy is seen as “not very helpful” from this standpoint.

2) Bonn will not break or bypass any treaties with the Soviet Union or other countries. To do so would make the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis look like “child's play.” Such a crisis would lead to an arms race which would have to be supported primarily by West Germany, since the smaller European NATO countries and France would have nothing to do with such a policy.

3) West Germany will do nothing which would undermine next fall's Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), to take place in Madrid.

4) Bonn thinks that a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is indispensable, but the West should not use it for its own advantage. Carter's declaration that the Persian Gulf is of vital strategic interest to the United States is seen in Bonn as bringing more trouble than benefit to the West, *Die Welt* said.

Italy

Showdown underway in the Christian Democracy

by Umberto Monteverdi

A great deal is at stake in the national congress of the Italian ruling party, the Christian Democracy, which began Feb. 15. Not only will the outcome of the factional battles to be fought there determine whether Italy will have a stable government. The only possible stable government in Italy—the “historic compromise” that would bring the Italian Communist Party and Christian Democrats together in a coalition—is a government of the type that would also reenforce Europe as a “superpower for peace,” against the Anglo-American alliance's dangerous “flight forward” toward world war.

The importance of the congress is reflected in the open intervention into the debate of the Societas Jesu—the Jesuits—the powerful intelligence organization of the European “black nobility” that, whenever possible, prefers to manipulate events without showing itself publicly. To influence the DC convention, the Jesuits have come out into the open.

Within the DC there are powerful forces controlled by the Societas Jesu. Foremost among these is the grouping controlled by the protégé of the Roman black nobility, Senate president Amintore Fanfani. With the backing of his Jesuit sponsors, Fanfani is now urgently engaged in an effort to prevent a second faction, identified with former premier Giulio Andreotti and Benigno Zaccagnini, party general secretary, from taking power in the party and the government.

At present, Italy is ruled by a pro-Carter government under premier Cossiga. Andreotti, in particular, seeks to assemble the forces needed to collapse Cossiga's regime, and would assume the premiership himself as head of a national unity government with Communist participation—even at the cabinet level.

Because the Communists are the second largest party behind the DC, a new Andreotti government of that type would be the first stable, majority government Italy has known for many years.

Following Andreotti's earlier practice as Prime Minister, a new government under his control would reestab-