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CONTROLS
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TEXT
TAGS: PGOV, GE, PREL, US
SUBJECT: TOUCHING ANOTHER CSU NERVE -- THE WALDHEIM
DECISION AND CSU ANXIETIES ABOUT THE US-FRG RELATIONSHIP

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY. AS ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE, THE DECISION TO PUSH AHEAD ON THE DOUBLE ZERO SOLUTION TOUCHED A SENSITIVE NERVE WITH THE CSU AND OTHER CONSERVATIVE BAVARIANS, AND STIRRED UP DEEP SEATED ANXIETIES ABOUT THE DEPTH OF THE USG'S APPRECIATION FOR GERMAN SECURITY CONCERNS. DURING THE COURSE OF THE SUMMER, HOWEVER, IT HAS ALSO BECOME CLEAR TO US THAT A SECOND, UNRELATED USG DECISION -- PLACING AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT KURT WALDHEIM'S NAME ON THE VISA WATCH LIST -- ALSO TOUCHED DEEP UNDERLYING NERVES AMONG BAVARIA'S CONSERVATIVE POPULATION, AND HAS BROUGHT TO THE SURFACE

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CERTAIN IRRATIONAL (BUT NONTHELESS REAL) EMOTIONAL DOUBTS ABOUT AMERICAN PREDICTABILITY AND RELIABILITY AS A SENIOR ALLIANCE PARTNER. BAVARIA'S CONSERVATIVES LOOK AT WHAT HAPPENED IN THE WALDHEIM CASE, BELIEVE THERE IS VERY LITTLE WHICH DISTINGUISHES HIM FROM THOUSANDS OF GERMANS, AND ASK SOMEWHAT BITTERLY IF IT IS ONLY THE FACT THAT THE FRG IS MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY POWERFUL AND "USEFUL" THAT KEEPS IT FROM BEING IGNOMINIOUSLY "DUMPED" AND "CAST INTO OUTER DARKNESS" THE WAY WALDHEIM WAS. AS BEST WE UNDERSTAND THE REACTION TO THE WALDHEIM CASE, WE ARE HEARING THE EXPRESSION OF A COMPLEX SET OF EMOTIONS RELATED TO UNRESOLVED WARTIME ISSUES, THE PERCEIVED INEQUALITY OF PRESENT US-FRG RELATIONS, AND THE INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE FEAR OF REJECTION (AND NEED FOR ACCEPTANCE) BY THE UNITED STATES, BOTH ON MORAL AS WELL AS ON PRACTICAL, POLITICAL GROUNDS. (INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, SPD AND GREEN LEADERS AND VOTERS APPEAR TO BE CONSIDERABLY LESS CONCERNED BY THIS ISSUE THAN THEIR CONSERVATIVE BAVARIAN BROTHEREN.) END SUMMARY.

3. DURING THE PAST COUPLE OF MONTHS WE HAVE BEEN STARTLED TO DISCOVER THE INTENSITY, DEPTH AND BREADTH OF THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF THE WALDHEIM DECISION ON CONSERVATIVE BAVARIAN LEADERS AND (WE ARE TOLD) A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF THE RANK AND FILE. CSU SECRETARY GENERAL GEROLD TANDLER, FOR EXAMPLE, TWICE OPENED GENERAL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH US WITH LONG AND IMPASSIONED DISCOURSES CRITICIZING THE USG FOR ACTING AGAINST WALDHEIM PUBLICALLY. AFTER OUR LATEST DISCUSSION WITH HIM TANDLER SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT WE PASS ON HIS VIEWS TO WASHINGTON BECAUSE THEY WERE, HE SAID, WIDE SPREAD AMONG THE ELECTORATE AND REFLECTED AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF CSU THINKING. MORE SURPRISING THAN TANDLER'S REMARKS WAS THE APPROACH MADE BY BAVARIAN FDP CHAIRMAN MANFRED BRUNNER, WHO TOLD DPO THAT HE, BRUNNER, HAD BEEN STRUCK WITH HOW MANY OF HIS SUPPORTERS HAD BEEN UPSET BY THE WALDHEIM DECISION.

4. THE INTENSITY OF INTEREST AND CONCERN, WE HAVE DISCOVERED AS A RESULT OF INQUIRIES WE MADE FOLLOWING OUR MEETINGS WITH TANDLER AND BRUNNER, APPEAR TO BREAK DOWN FAIRLY CLEARLY ALONG CONSERVATIVE-NONCONSERVATIVE LINES, WITH GREEN AND SPD LEADERS AND SUPPORTERS BASICALLY UNCONCERNED ABOUT THE ISSUE.

5. AT THE HEART OF TANDLER'S AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES' COMPLAINT WAS THE ASSESSMENT THAT THE USG'S TREATMENT OF THE WALDHEIM CASE APPEARED TO BE AN EXAMPLE OF A BIG POWER USING ITS MUSCLE TO PUSH AROUND A HELPLESS, HAPLESS, AND WORSE -- UNIMPORTANT -- VICTIM. WHAT MADE THE US DECISION PARTICULARLY INCOMPREHENSIBLE, TANDLER SAID, WAS THAT IT WAS DONE FOR NO APPARENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL STRATEGIC OR TACTICAL PURPOSE. (TANDLER AND OTHERS WITH WHOM WE SPOKE DO NOT HOLD WALDHEIM IN PARTICULARLY HIGH ESTEEM, SO THEIR COMMENTS ARE NOT PROMPTED BY A SENSE OF POLITICAL OR PERSONAL LOYALTY.)

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6. DEEP DOWN, ON AN EMOTIONAL LEVEL, CSU ADHERENTS AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES IN BAVARIA IDENTIFY WITH WALDHEIM, HOWEVER, AND ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH HIS FATE. "HE COULD HAVE BEEN MY FATHER." "IF HE'S EXCLUDABLE FROM THE US, TWO THIRDS OF THE WEHRMACHT (GERMANY'S WORLD WAR II ARMY) IS EXCLUDABLE," " MY FATHER WAS IN THE BALKANS AND BURNT PARTISAN VILLAGES. IS HE EXCLUDABLE, TOO?" WERE AMONG THE REACTIONS WE HEARD.

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7. OUR DISCUSSIONS SHOWED THAT WALDHEIM SYMBOLIZES FOR CONSERVATIVE BAVARIANS THEIR OWN SENSE OF HELPLESSNESS IN THIER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE "US GIANT." WALDHEIM'S TREATMENT, SEEN THROUGH THEIR EYES, IS THE EMBODIMENT OF EVERYTHING THEY FEAR, AND HAVE FEARED FOR YEARS, COULD HAPPEN TO THEM BECAUSE OF THE UNEQUAL NATURE OF THE US-FRG RELATIONSHIP. TANDLER, AND BRUNNER, BOTH REPORTED THAT TYPICAL BAVARIANS WONDERED OUT LOUD IF THE US WOULD ONLY CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FRG INTERESTS AS LONG AS IT PROVED "NUETZLICH" (USEFUL) TO THE USG, AND NOT BECAUSE THERE WAS ANY SENSE OF LOYALTY TO THE RELATIONSHIP. IN ADDITION, TANDLER NOTED, THE UNITED STATES IN THE IMMEDIATE POST WAR PERIOD BECAME FOR MANY GERMANS OF HIS GENERATION A SUBSTITUTE FOR THEIR LOST SENSE OF MORAL IDENTITY AND FEELING OF WORTH. "THE UNITED STATES," TANDLER SAID, "BECAME A SUBSTITUTE FATHER FIGURE FOR US," AND WHEN THAT FATHER FIGURE REJECTED A PERSON --WALDHEIM-- WITH WHOM SO MANY GERMANS IN HIS SITUATION COULD IDENTIFY WITH, IT HAD A DEEP, NEGATIVE, EMOTIONAL IMPACT.

8. COMMENT

THE DISQUIET WE ENCOUNTERED IN THE CSU AND CONSERVATIVE PORTION OF THE FDP DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT EITHER OF THESE COULD OR WOULD SEEK SOME OTHER PARTNER OR ALLIANCE STRUCTURE WITH WHICH TO ALIGN THEMSELVES (THOUGH SOME IN THE CSU STILL LOOK FOR POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE FRENCH.) INDEED, THAT THE CSU RECOGNIZES THAT THEY HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE IS IN ITSELF A FURTHER SOURCE FOR FRUSTRATION. THE CONSERVATIVES IN BAVARIA SEE THEMSELVES AS CHAMPIONS OF THE SAME BASIC WESTERN, JUDEO-CHRISTIAN, DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-COMMUNIST, MORE OR LESS MARKET ECONOMY VALUES AND STRUCTURES SUPPORTED BY THE US, AND THEY DESPERATELY WANT TO BE ACCEPTED AS MORAL AND SOVEREIGN, IF NOT NECESSARILY ECONOMIC OR MILITARY EQUALS. THE WALDHEIM CASE STIRRED UP, AND IN SOME INSTANCES "CONFIRMED" THEIR WORST FEARS, ABOUT THEMSELVES AND ABOUT THE US, I.E. THE FUNDAMENTAL INEQUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND THE SENSE OF

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HELPLESSNESS IN EFFECTING US ATTITUDES ON ISSUES OF
MAJOR CONCERN TO THE CSU. AS WE DEAL WITH THE CSU
IN THE COMING WEEKS AND MONTHS WE NEED TO BEAR IN MIND
THESE SENSITIVITIES BOTH PUBLICALLY AND PRIVATELY IF WE
ARE TO AVOID UNNECESSARY DISPUTES WITH POLITICIANS
WHO ARE, AT THE HEART OF IT, OUR SUPPORTERS AND ALLIES.
FISCHER

ADMIN
END OF MESSAGE

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