

WEST GERMANY

Peace leaders and SPD join hands



By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

FROM THE HIGH PEAK OF THE German peace movement on a sunny Saturday in October, with perhaps a million and a half people out taking part in the largest and best organized demonstrations in recent history, the new set of problems looming on the horizon were the problems of success. The movement has grown too big and strong to be ignored, strangled or isolated. But it may be diluted, diverted and divided by what it will settle for as political leaders clamor to take the reins of the bandwagon.

This was the meaning of the sharp clash between Willy Brandt and Petra Kelly at the gigantic rally here on October 22. The appearance of Brandt meant that the Social Democratic Party (SPD)

together of the peace movement and the SPD means the achievement of a long-standing political goal. Leinen was a Young Socialist leader before going on his own "long march" through the ecology and peace movements. In his view, the movements will enrich and renew the SPD, and the SPD will be able to translate movement ideals into practical policies. Leinen introduced Brandt as the man who had set German policy on a new course when he knelt in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Brandt had been allowed to speak only after he had assured the movement coordinating committee that he would finally say a clear "no" to the missiles. What he said was that Germany needed "not more means of mass annihilation, but fewer. Therefore we say no to ever more new nuclear missiles."

Petra Kelly, who had insisted on speaking after Brandt in order to catch his

en up? He offered this answer: "Powerful people have got it into their thick heads that deploying Pershing II is more important than getting rid of the SS-20."

Brandt proposed three demands that the movement make. First, "serious negotiations instead of deployment. Second, a superpower agreement first to freeze and then to destroy nuclear weapons. Third, transfer money spent on arms to the worldwide struggle against poverty, hunger and oppression."

Children dying of hunger and disease

Many predict that the SPD will take over the movement. This arouses sharp misgivings.

while billions are wasted on the arms race is not only inhumane, it is wrecking the world economy, the SPD leader argued.

"I call not only on friends and partners in West and East, but also on the governments of our own country: do not fear the Germans' strong desire for peace! Make use of it!" the old Social Democratic leader urged.

Brandt said that although he would "like the blocs to be overcome," since they existed, "we belong in the Western Alliance." But European interests should be effectively represented within it.

Kelly retorted that saying "no" to the missiles and "yes" to NATO was "absurd." Absurd or not, this is undoubtedly the majority position in Germany today.

The crowd that had packed into Bonn's vast Hofgarten Mall gave the SPD leader a mixed greeting. Some Greens hoisted an accusing sign reading "Hypocrite" as he began to speak. But he was applauded when he said that "we must not become prisoners of the assumption that there is no such thing as human or computer error." He was booed, however, when he paid tribute to the role of the Bundeswehr

Human chain in Bonn on the Rhine River

as "an army in a democratic state, helping to ensure peace."

Much of Brandt's speech seemed addressed more to the Americans, or to the German government, than to convinced opponents of the NATO missile decision, so it is hardly surprising that the crowd made unfriendly noises. But Brandt seemed surprised, and annoyed. He appeared furious that Petra Kelly used her speech to criticize his.

Kelly expressed the "hope that the SPD understands the change in its security policy as reparation for its nuclear errors, and not as a strategy for integrating an independent movement in order to betray it once again." This was an allusion to



the SPD's abandonment of the antinuclear movement of the late '50s. The point, she said, is not which chancellor can best use his influence with the U.S., but to reject nuclear arms without compromise.

In the press conference after the rally, Brandt accused Kelly and the Greens of partisan attacks.

A journalist close to the movement asked author Heinrich Boll whether he feared that the movement was about to be taken over by officialdom. Boll looked puzzled. "I thought what we wanted was for the government to take over our ideas," he said innocently.

It hadn't happened yet. And meanwhile, despite leadership battles, the movement still belonged to its activists,



leadership was finally following the party's rank and file into opposition to the deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles. It signalled the beginning of the almost inevitable SPD takeover of the movement. This prospect arouses sharp misgivings, notably among some Green Party leaders, who see the SPD giant getting ready to steal and water down their issues.

But to others, and in particular the Autumn Peace Action coordinating committee's chairman Jo Leinen, the coming

(Above) Peace movement leaders at Bonn press conference after rally (Right) Author Heinrich Boll

verbal sidesteppings, retorted that there should not be just fewer mass annihilation weapons, but none at all.

Brandt said he wanted to speak for those who were "bitterly disappointed that no political will to an agreement had showed up clearly at Geneva." Why, he asked, had the Soviet offer to destroy a considerable number of SS-20s, with on-the-spot inspection, not been tak-

who had achieved the most extraordinary mass mobilization in recent history.

Coordination committee chair Leinen announced that there were nearly half a million people demonstrating in Bonn, 150,000 in West Berlin, 300,000 in Stuttgart and Neu Ulm in southern Germany, where the Pershing II missiles are to be deployed, and 400,000 in Hamburg, making it the largest demonstration in the northern port city's history.

As much as the numbers, the organization was stunning. To build the "human chain" from the Eucom U.S. forces headquarters in Europe at Stuttgart to Wiley barracks (a Pershing site) in Neu Ulm took not only 150,000 people but the organization to spread them out to the right places at the right time. It all went smoothly, with enough people for a double chain. Among them were four women—Betty Ellis, JoAnn Metz, Nancy Jones and Citizens Party candidate Kathy Anderson—from Women Against Military Madness in Minnesota, who were there to help link Neu Ulm in southern Germany with New Ulm in southern Minnesota, where a "celebration NEIN" was being held in solidarity.

In Bonn, at the symbolic "five minutes before 12," a double human chain surrounded the government center and looped over the Rhine to express the idea that "the government is a minority surrounded by the majority of the population demanding no new nuclear missiles in our country."

In the diplomatic suburb of Bad Godesberg, a second chain linked the embassies of the eight known nuclear powers—the U.S., the USSR, China, Britain, France, India, Israel and South Africa—to express the demand for universal disarmament.

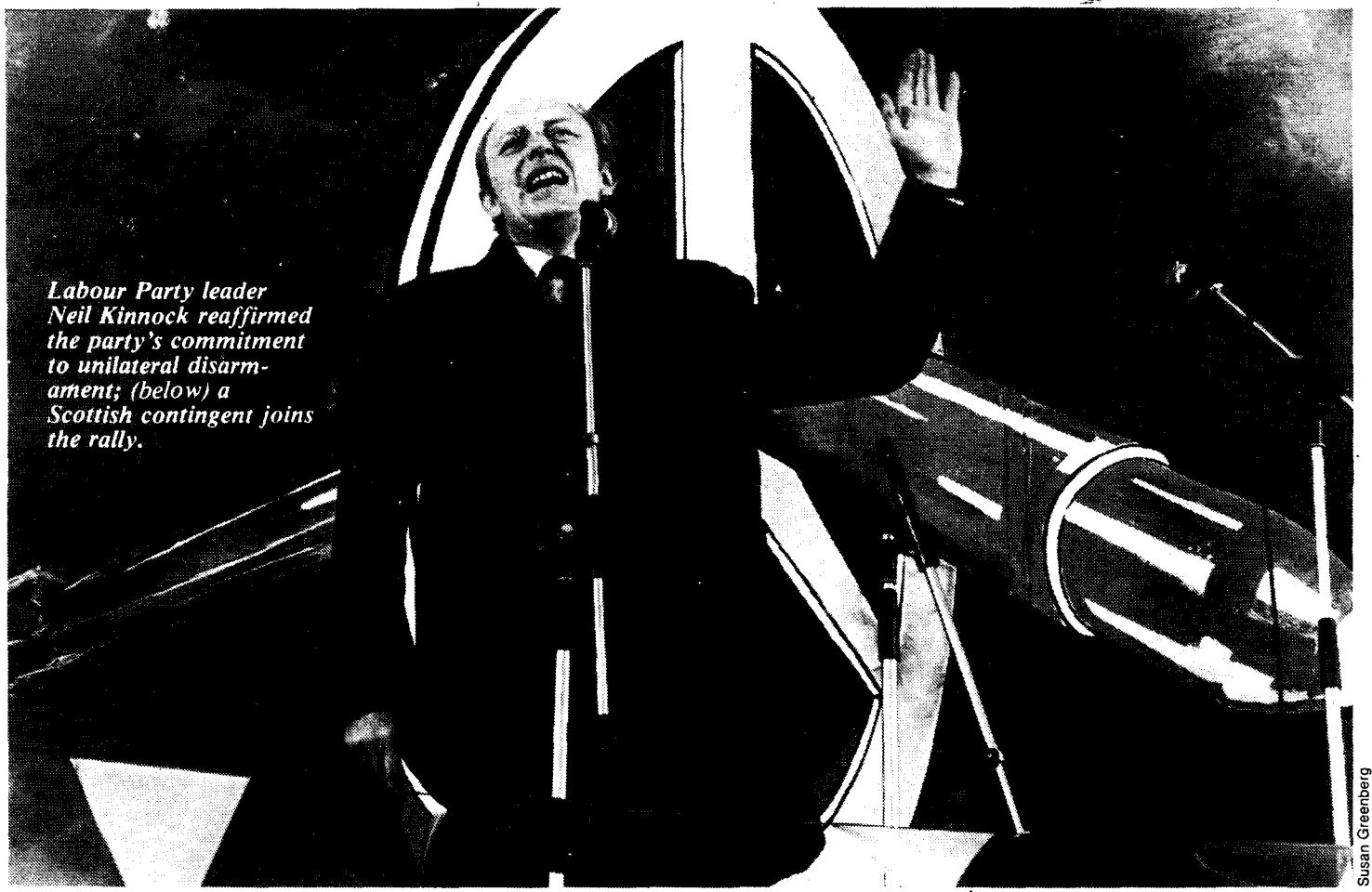
At the Bonn rally, East German Protestant pastor Heino Falcke said he admired the "body language" of the movement. He also stressed that Germans must strive "not only to prevent the coming world war, but to end the war that has long been being waged against the Third World and our natural environment." He said that "swords must be beaten into ploughshares that can create bread in the Third World."

Peace, environmental concerns and the Third World were constantly tied together.

Ilse Bräus, an official of the Trade Union Confederation DGB, said organized labor would not let the conservative government get away with its plan to limit the right to demonstrate. She said it was a "political disgrace" that plans for NATO missile deployment were already underway, and a "scandal" that the East German government had broken up independent peace demonstrations.

Communist Etty Gingold, speaking for survivors of the anti-fascist resistance, said that "even the most wild optimist among us would never have dared dream that the tradition of our struggle for peace would be carried on in such a powerful peace movement, supported by the majority of our people. We bring to it our bitter experience: Hitler, war and

Continued on page 22



Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock reaffirmed the party's commitment to unilateral disarmament; (below) a Scottish contingent joins the rally.

Susan Greenberg

BRITAIN

CND death rumors prove exaggerated

By Susan Jaffe

LONDON

THE SAME DAY THAT THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organized the largest antinuclear rally in British history, newspapers here reported that American Cruise missiles would arrive 10 days later. Demonstrators also read in their morning papers that, according to a new public opinion poll, unilateral disarmament had lost support in Britain and opposition to the Cruise was waning (though 48 percent still oppose deployment, to 37 percent in favor). And a few days before the massive October 22 rally in Hyde Park, some right-wing graffiti artists in London pasted stickers over CND's ubiquitous publicity posters that read "Cancelled due to lack of public support" and "KGB-Approved."

Undaunted and unamused by such developments, the protesters filled the park, coming from as far away as Wales and Scotland. Overwhelmed police were unable to provide the media with a crowd estimate until the very end of the afternoon, and then it was half the number that a CND activist overheard on police radio. Scotland Yard claimed publicly

that 200,000 people were at the rally, but a CND spokeswoman quoted the Yard's internal count as 400,000.

Among those in the gathering were members of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's own party, a group called Tories Against Cruise and Trident, as well as the small Yanks Against Reagan. Historians for the Right to Work carried a banner reading "We demand a continuing supply of history." Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, Ron Todd of the 1.6-million-member Transport and General Workers union and Dorothy Cotton of the American Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign addressed the rally. Women and Families for Defense, a conservative answer to the Greenham Common women's peace camp, staged counterdemonstrations, as did the Coalition for Peace and Security, which serenaded the demonstrators as they marched to Hyde Park with recordings of a Thatcher speech followed by a rendition of the "Internationale." (Missing from the rally were the popular rock bands that perform at most American antinuclear rallies. Police do not allow music in royal parks so the rally was strictly political.)

Although most British political observers believe Cruise deployment is inevitable, Bruce Kent, general secretary of CND, told the crowd, "Never be pessi-

mistic. We have a long road ahead but we have achieved a great deal already...all over Europe millions of people are with us. And not only Europe but in America and Canada. We are really a partnership."

Kent cited several small recent victories against the Cruise, including the Pentagon's decision to keep the missiles inside the U.S. Greenham Common Air Base and away from the protesters. However, the agreement to station Cruise in Britain only permits launching from vehicles outside the base. Kent also argued that British soldiers should refuse assignments to guard the Cruise because the missiles are illegal under international law. "To release a nuclear weapon 15 times bigger than [that used on] Hiroshima is not only a sin, it is a crime," he said. Later CND Chairwoman Joan Ruddock told reporters that members of CND would lie in front of vehicles carrying the missiles. "It will be impossible to take those missiles onto British roads," she predicted.

Most of the rally speakers saw similar signs of encouragement. Neil Kinnock, the new Labour Party leader, looked out into the crowd and said, "This is the best answer to the Heseltines (defense minister) and Thatchers who say this movement is dead."

As head of the opposition party to the prime minister, Kinnock reiterated Labour's support for unilateral disarmament, a nuclear freeze, a no-first-strike policy on nuclear weapons by NATO and demanded that Britain's nuclear arsenal be put on the negotiating table in Geneva—stands that some political analysts believe cost Labour last June's election. "The argument that we can only negotiate from a position of superiority is a lethal absurdity," he said.

Continued on page 23



Susan Greenberg