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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 April 1980

Dear Michael,

Visit by Herr Strauss

As requested I attach a brief for the Prime Minister's use in preparation for the lunch she is giving in honour of Herr Strauss, Chancellor-candidate of the CDU/CSU opposition in the FRG, on Friday, 25 April.

Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
No 10 Downing Street
London

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22 APR 1980





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VISIT OF HERR STRAUSS

1. Herr Strauss's visit to the UK was organised through contacts between the political parties in early February. As a courtesy, HM Embassy told Chancellor Schmidt's office that the invitation was being issued. At that time it was not known that the visit would fall so close to the European Council.
2. Herr Strauss has undertaken a number of foreign visits this spring. He was in Paris in February, and visited the United States immediately after Chancellor Schmidt's visit there on 4-5 April. He appears to have made a good impression on some of President Carter's advisers, including Mr Brzezinski. He is also having some success in presenting himself to the FRG electorate as a responsible international statesman, as well qualified to conduct affairs with leaders of both East and Western countries as Chancellor Schmidt.
3. Federal elections take place in the FRG on 5 October. On the basis of present opinion polls it is impossible to predict whether the CDU/CSU opposition will succeed in ousting Chancellor Schmidt's SDP/FDP coalition. Much will depend on how far the Green Party (ecology and environment) succeed in attracting votes from the FDP, the junior party in the coalition. Providing the FDP get more than 5%, and thus qualify for representation in the Bundestag, the odds are on the survival of the present coalition.

/4.

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4. In December 1979 Herr Strauss addressed a letter to the Prime Minister (separate letters went to President Giscard and President Carter) on the subject of the German Nationalstiftung. Following a request by the German representative in the Bonn Group, acting on direct instructions from the Chancellor, a reply to Herr Strauss's letter, signed by HM Ambassador at Bonn, was routed through the Federal Government. This letter was finally passed on, together with the letters from the other two Ambassadors, on 17 March. A second letter from Herr Strauss, which crossed with this reply, was acknowledged by the Private Secretary at No 10. The Prime Minister may like to assure Herr Strauss that no discourtesy was intended by the indirect delivery of the substantive reply but that Herr Strauss's letter raised issues which were under discussion in the Bonn Group and on which we were bound to take advice from the Federal Government of the day. A copy of Herr Strauss's letter and Sir O Wright's reply are attached.

5. A Personality Note on Herr Strauss and a copy of the guest list are attached, together with a submission on Herr Strauss prepared by the Department at the time of his election last July as opposition Chancellor candidate.

The personality note enclosed was done in 1976. The FCO will get me an up-to-date version for thing tomorrow.

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Mr Fergusson

R. Burgess

P.S. *r* / L.P.S. has seen

FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS

Mr Hurdstone - to see minutes JB

BC

1. I submit Bonn telegrams Nos 358 and 361 and 25 Saving reporting and commenting on the election of Franz Josef Strauss to be the opposition Chancellor candidate for the 1980 Federal elections.

D I also attach the Leading Personalities Report on Herr Strauss which brings out very well the contradictory elements in Strauss's volatile nature and explains briefly the background to the "Spiegel" affair referred to in para 6 of Bonn telegram No 361. In his telegram of comment, Sir O Wright emphasizes the dangers for the FDP and speculates on the possibility of Herr Strauss becoming Chancellor in 1980.

Background

2. The election of Herr Strauss has galvanised the Federal German political scene and opened up the prospect of the most bitter election campaign in the history of the FRG. His election would have been virtually unthinkable only five years ago.

THIS IS A COPY. THE ORIGINAL IS
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3 (4)
OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT.

Temporarily Retained

4. This mistrust of Herr Strauss, widespread even among Conservatives in Germany, at least outside Bavaria, is at first sight hard to explain. Only committed opponents claim, unconvincingly, that Herr Strauss is a neo-Nazi: he is neither a racialist nor a reactionary. Nor is he unduly nationalistic: although devoted to his native Bavaria, he is not an out-and-out proponent of German reunification. He is rather an Atlanticist and a European. He is further a highly intelligent politician of greater political

/subtlety

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A | subtlety than foreigners - or even many of his own countrymen - customarily give him credit for. He has served twice as a Cabinet Minister with distinction. However, as the LPR brings out, he is also an enemy of moderation, in his private as in his public life. As the French would say, "il manque de goût". He can attract people with his charm but, as easily, repel them with his vulgarity. He is ruthless, relentless, and unscrupulous to a degree hardly matched by any other prominent European politician, though he bears certain resemblances to M Chirac in France and the Rev Ian Paisley. The "Spiegel" affair has left an indelible imprint on the still sensitive fabric of German democracy.

Public Opinion

5. This background helps to explain why German press reactions to Herr Strauss's election have been noticeably more reserved than the British. Bonn telegram No.25 Saving summarizes these reactions: "apprehension", "lack of enthusiasm", "more than a little concern", "critical", "resentment" are key phrases that spring to the eye. The commentaries in "Die Zeit" and the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" mentioned in para 3 will carry weight with influential Germans, and will indeed reflect their thinking. The German electorate is not yet sophisticated enough to relish the prospect of an election campaign with no holds barred.

The FDP

B | 6. As Sir O Wright rightly points out, the next Federal election could hinge on the fate of the FDP. The disappearance of the FDP would almost certainly guarantee victory for the CDU/CSU. However, I am not sure that Herr Strauss's emergence as the CDU/CSU candidate is necessarily bad news for the FDP. Faced with the choice between two powerful and highly contrasted personalities, a number of voters may well seek refuge in a third, less exciting and more moderate force. In particular, I would expect many former CDU supporters to move back to the FDP (which used to be a right wing party) rather than to the SPD. Such defections from the CDU could more than compensate for the defection of any FDP supporters to the SPD.

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(S)

(80 Elections

7. It is of course much too early to speculate usefully on the prospects for the 1980 elections. The present coalition could lose the next election through a combination of circumstances - eg a world energy crisis - largely beyond their control. Alternatively, Herr Strauss could by then have frightened or alienated so many Conservative voters that Herr Schmidt won in a landslide. In practice I suspect that, as usual, the outcome will remain in doubt up till the last moment. We must continue to bear in mind the possibility that the next Federal Government will be led by Herr Strauss.

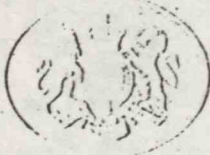
British interests

8. How would British interests be affected by the advent of a Strauss government in Bonn? Herr Strauss is by no means hostile to Britain, but his instincts are to look first to the United States and second to France. In that sense he would not be a natural ally. But he would unquestionably be strong on defence issues and disposed to drive a harder bargain with the Soviet Union than successive SPD/FDP governments have done. He would work hard for a strong European Community but would also fight very hard for Bavarian farming interests within the Community. We could expect a tough ride over the CAP and Community budget if those issues were still topical by then. The Soviet Union, which has dubbed Strauss an "enemy of détente", might well regard his election as potentially destabilising. There could be difficult moments between Moscow and Bonn but, as realists, the Russians would try to deal with Herr Strauss and an effective working relationship might prove possible. It was striking that Mr Brezhnev had a lengthy tête-à-tête with Herr Strauss when he visited Bonn in May 1978. Détente would not come to an end, but Ostpolitik would be pursued with a different emphasis on the German side.

Conclusion

9. On balance, there would be nothing for HMG to fear in a Strauss victory, though in certain areas we would have to be prepared to fight our corner that much harder, especially in the Community.

/As



As it happens, Herr Strauss's right hand man, Herr Stoiber, is visiting the UK as an official guest of HMG from 19 to 23 November and Ministers will have an opportunity of learning more about Herr Strauss and the CSU from him.

D A S Gladstone

D A S Gladstone
Western European Department

12 July 1979

cc EID(I)
EESD
Defence Dept
Planning Staff

*I saw a fair amount of Herr Strauss
in 1957-59 when he was Defence Minister - and
he was certainly an effective one. And I have
the impression that his more disagreeable attributes
were less conspicuous then!*

Ed
13

*Mr Gladstone's perceptive minutes could form the basis
for a reply to Sir D. Wright. I agree especially with points
A, B and C and with the whole of para. 8.*

Mullhark 16/7

STRAUSS, DR h c FRANZ JOSEF

Minister-President of Bavaria and Chairman of the CSU.
Chancellor-candidate of the CDU/CSU for the 1980 election.

Born 1915 in Munich. Studied law and economics. Served throughout the war reaching the rank of Lieutenant in an anti-aircraft unit. He passed his law examinations during leave from the Army during the war. 1945 POW in American hands. Founder member of the CSU in 1945. Elected to Bundestag in 1949. Appointed Federal Minister without Portfolio in 1953, and Minister for Atomic Affairs in 1955. Minister of Defence 1956-62. Chairman of the CSU in 1961. Minister of Finance 1966-69. 1970 appointed Chairman of the Deutsche Airbus GmbH.

After his fall as a result of the "Spiegel" affair in 1962, Strauss went back to Bavaria, gradually to build up his return to the Federal scene. In 1966, he threw in the CSU vote on behalf of Kiesinger, thereby guaranteeing his election. Between 1966 and 1969 he again proved his many-sided abilities as Minister.

His move back to Munich as Minister-President in 1978 did not diminish his influence in Federal politics and he eventually won the nomination as Chancellor-candidate when a sufficient proportion of the CDU decided to put its weight behind him rather than the younger Albrecht.

Herr Strauss' career has been marked by many controversial episodes, political, financial and social. He can be loud and aggressive, but can also display considerable charm. He is a German of a very special Bavarian variety. In the past he has been one of the most adamant "Atlanticists". He is not ill-disposed towards Britain which he has often visited, but, like many in his part of Germany, he is inclined to view British motives, particularly concerning the EC, with reservation.

He is Catholic and is married with 2 sons and a daughter. He speaks fluent English and French. His hobbies include shooting and bicycling.

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STRAUSS, FRANZ JOSEF

Chairman of the CSU.

Born Munich 1915. Studied law and economics. Received the Maximilian Prize as one of the two most brilliant boys of his year in Bavaria. Served throughout the war reaching the rank of Lieutenant in an anti-aircraft unit. He passed his law examinations during leave from the Army during the war. 1945 POW in American hands. Founded the CSU in Schongau in 1945. Elected to Bundestag in 1949. Appointed Minister without Portfolio in 1953, and Minister for Atomic Affairs in 1955. Minister of Defence 1956-62. Chairman of the CSU in 1961. Minister of Finance 1966-69. 1970 appointed Chairman of the Deutsche Airbus GmbH.

He performed what at the time was thought by most people to be impossible, namely to produce from more or less nothing an efficient, reasonably popular Bundeswehr. He saw himself as an eventual Federal Chancellor. As a result of the "Spiegel" affair in 1962, in which he was not only involved in the arrest in Spain of Ahlers and of other members of "Spiegel" staff in Germany, but also in attempting to conceal his participation in the affair before the Bundestag, he was obliged to resign. His answers given in the Bundestag were described by the Minister of Justice as being "just outside the bounds of legality". He was later forced to admit to his complicity by Schröder, then Foreign Minister, in a Cabinet meeting. After his fall Strauss returned to Bavaria to sulk, and gradually to build up his return to the Federal scene. His chance came in 1966, when Erhard's government collapsed. He realised that unless a serious claimant to the Chancellorship other than Schröder were to be found, his future would remain baulked. He threw in the CSU vote on behalf of Kiesinger, thereby guaranteeing his election.

Between 1966 and 1969 he again proved his many-sided brilliance as Minister of Finance; at first, in restoring the economic balance together with Schiller; and later, in denigrating the SPD prior to the 1969 Federal election. After the CDU/CSU failure in 1969 Strauss was the most aggressive spokesman for all out opposition to the SPD/FDP Coalition. He supported the election of Dr Barzel as CDU Chairman and Chancellor candidate in 1971, though without enthusiasm. But public distrust of Strauss outside Bavaria, and his attacks on Brandt's popular Ostpolitik, were among the reasons for the CDU/CSU's failure at the 1972 election. He played a part in Barzel's downfall in May 1973 and remains a potent source of trouble for the CDU leadership, especially over Ostpolitik. His success in increasing the CSU's share of the vote in the 1974 Bavarian Land elections to an unprecedented 62 per cent further enlarged his prestige within the CDU/CSU., though his national reputation suffered from his so-called Sonthofen speech, in which he argued that any opposition tactics were justified, which would bring down the Government, even if it meant pushing the country into an economic crisis. But, as often in the past, he has used it obstructively rather than constructively. He accepted Kohl's nomination as Chancellor-candidate of the CDU/CSU for 1976 with bad grace, and for a time seemed to be toying once more with the idea of establishing the CSU as a separate party at the national level.

PRIME MINISTER

Lunch for Dr. Franz Josef Strauss
Friday, 25 April 1980

I attach the list of guests attending your lunch tomorrow for Dr. Strauss, and a draft seating plan.

Ian Gow has seen the seating plan.
Do you agree please?

Sue Goodchild
—

24 April 1980

Mr Alexander for information

LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE LUNCHEON TO BE GIVEN BY THE
PRIME MINISTER IN HONOUR OF DR. DR. G.C. FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS,
MINISTER-PRESIDENT OF BAVARIA AND CHAIRMAN OF THE CSU ON FRIDAY,
25 APRIL 1980 AT 1.00 PM FOR 1.15 PM

The Prime Minister

Dr. Dr. G.C. Franz Josef Strauss

Herr Hans Klein, MDB

Organiser of Dr. Strauss's Election
Campaign. Former Press Spokesman
for Olympic Games in Munich 1972

The Rt. Hon. Sir Ian Gilmour, MP

The Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Rippon, MP

The Lord Harris of High Cross

Sir Bernard Braine, MP

Mr. James Scott-Hopkins, MEP

Mr. Robert Conquest

Mr. Alistair McAlpine

Mr. Ian Gow, MP

Mr. Michael Alexander

DRAFT SEATING PLAN FOR LUNCH ON FRIDAY, 25 APRIL

Mr. Ian Gow

Mr. Alistair McAlpine

Sir Bernard Braine

Mr. Robert Conquest

Herr Hans Klein

PRIME MINISTER

THE RT. HON. SIR IAN GILMOUR

DR. DR. G.C. FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS

The Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Rippon

The Lord Harris of High Cross

Mr. James Scott-Hopkins

Mr. Michael Alexander

ENTRANCE

Mr. Alexander

LIST OF GUESTS ATTENDING THE LUNCHEON TO BE GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER
IN HONOUR OF DR. DR. G.C. FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS, MINISTER-PRESIDENT OF
BAVARIA AND CHAIRMAN OF THE CSU ON FRIDAY, 25 APRIL 1980
AT 1.00 PM FOR 1.15 PM

1. The Prime Minister
2. Dr. Dr. G.C. Franz Josef Strauss
3. one from Dr. Strauss's office (Mr. Hans Klein MDB)
4. The Rt. Hon. Sir Ian Gilmour, MP
5. Lord Harris of High Cross
6. Sir Bernard Braine, MP
7. Mr. James Scott-Hopkins.
8. Mr. Robert Conquest
9. Mr. Alistair McAlpine
10. Mr. Ian Gow, MP
11. Mr. Michael Alexander
12. The Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Rippon, MP

Conservative Central Office

10 Downing Street



10 DOWNING STREET

M. Whitmore

Photocall for Her Strasser

There will be 15
people for this photocall,
including 4 TV crews
plus equipment, so I
strongly recommend we do
it in the Front Hall
or Blue Drawing Room.
Please let me know

which the Am. would
prefer before 12.00 so
that I can make
the arrangements.

Charles. Am—

25/4



cc
PM - G/H

10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

I attach some information on the
vase you will be receiving from
Dr. Strauss tomorrow.

es.

24 April 1980



With the Compliments of the

Conservative Party International Office

32 SMITH SQUARE · LONDON SW1P 3HH

Telephone: 01-222 9000

Cables: Constitute London SW1P 3HH

Sally, Here is a translation of the description of the vase which Dr Shanas will give to the P.M. tomorrow. As I told you, blue & white are the colours of Bavaria, & this piece has been chosen as non-political and appropriate for a lady. Rosemary.

Vase No. 833, Design 892

The vase comes from the well-known Nymphenburg Pearls, or Royal Service, collection, which was created in the years 1792-5 by the famous Nymphenburg designer, Dominikus Jacobus Auliczek, the successor of Franz Anton Bustellis. Before he embarked upon his 30 years of intense artistic activity in the Nymphenburg porcelain factory, Auliczek had studied in Vienna, Rome, Paris and in 1755-6 in London.

The decoration dates from the beginning of the 19th century, when the blue base colour was very fashionable in Nymphenburg. Only the most precious pieces were decorated in this way, because the cobalt blue was hard to handle but above all the difficulty of procuring it made it as expensive as gold.

The strong impression created by the basic blue colour is relieved by the brightly coloured posies in the two oval panels edged with a fine gold border.

Translator's note. The Nymphenburg porcelain factory is an old and famous establishment on the outskirts of Munich near where Dr. Strauss comes from.

GRS 600A

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FM BONN 231400Z APR 80

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 347 OF 23 APRIL

INFO SAYING BMG BERLIN C-GS IN FRG PARIS WASHINGTON

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VISIT BY STRAUSS TO THE UK: 24/25 APRIL

1. FRANS-JOSEF STRAUSS, LEADER OF THE CSU AND OPPOSITION CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE FOR THE OCTOBER FEDERAL ELECTIONS, IS DUE TO PAY A TWO DAY VISIT TO THE UK STARTING TOMORROW, 24 APRIL. HE WILL BE SEEING SENIOR MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, INCLUDING YOURSELF AND THE PRIME MINISTER.
2. IT IS NOW 9 MONTHS SINCE STRAUSS BECAME CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR-CANDIDATE AND LESS THAN 6 MONTHS REMAIN BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS. YET HE STILL GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF A MAN WHO IS TRYING HARD BUT SO FAR UNCONVINCINGLY TO CHANGE HIS SPOTS. HIS TRADITIONAL REPUTATION FOR IMPETUOSITY STILL DOGS HIM WHILE HIS ATTEMPTS TO ASSUME A MORE STATESMANLIKE AND BALANCED STANCE HAVE DONE LITTLE SO FAR TO ENHANCE HIS CREDIBILITY OR MAKE AN IMPACT ON THE ELECTORATE. IN PURSUING HIS NEW IMAGE HE APPEARS TO BE RUNNING THE RISK OF LOSING MUCH OF HIS IDENTITY.
3. AS PART OF HIS ATTEMPT TO ENHANCE HIS IMAGE AS A POLITICIAN OF INTERNATIONAL STATUS STRAUSS HAS MADE A NUMBER OF OVERSEAS VISITS. IN RECENT WEEKS HE HAS BEEN TO ROMANIA (WHERE HE TALKED TO CEASESCU), FRANCE (WHERE HE SAW BARRE) AND THE UNITED STATES (WHERE HE WAS RECEIVED BY THE PRESIDENT AND SAW MANY OF THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION). DESPITE THESE HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS THE VISITS HAVE NOT MADE A MAJOR IMPACT IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. STRAUSS HAS GENERALLY GIVEN THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS TREADING IN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S FOOTSTEPS AND WALKING IN HIS SHADOW. IN RECENT WEEKS THERE HAS BEEN NO DEARTH OF THEMES ON WHICH TO TAKE ISSUE WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT - AFGHANISTAN, IRAN, THE CHANCELLOR'S REMARKS ON TNF AND HIS PROSPECTIVE VISIT TO MOSCOW, THE BUDGETARY DEFICIT - BUT STRAUSS'S CRITICISMS HAVE BEEN MUTED AND AMBIVALENT AND HE HAS SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO CARVE OUT A DISTINCTIVE POSITION FOR HIMSELF OR CAPITALISE ON THE WEAK POINTS IN THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES.
4. THERE ARE STILL NEARLY 6 MONTHS REMAINING BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER. BUT ON PRESENT FORM THE CDU/CSU DOES NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING ABLE TO BRING ABOUT A DECISIVE SHIFT IN THE BALANCE BETWEEN THEM AND THE SPD. BARRING MAJOR UPSETS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY CREATE A RIFT BETWEEN THE TWO COALITION PARTIES, A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT THIS AUTUMN STILL SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO COME ABOUT (IF AT ALL) AS A RESULT OF INCURSIONS BY THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS (THE GREENS) OR LESS LIKELY BY LOSSES ON THE PART OF THE FDP THAN AS THE RESULT OF A MAJOR BREAK-THROUGH BY THE CDU/CSU (WHO GOT 48.6 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE LAST TIME).
5. STRAUSS CLEARLY ATTACHES CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO HIS VISIT TO BRITAIN. IT COMPLETES HIS SERIES OF VISITS TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S MAJOR ALLIES. STRAUSS HIMSELF HAS AN INSTINCTIVE SYMPATHY FOR HMG'S POLICIES ACROSS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, AND A PUBLICLY DECLARED ADMIRATION FOR THE

/PRIME

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PRIME MINISTER AND YOURSELF. HE HAS LET IT BE KNOWN THAT IN GENERAL HE CONSIDERS THAT THE BRITISH REACTION TO AFGHANISTAN HAS STRUCK THE RIGHT NOTE, AND HE HAS BEEN PUBLICLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE UK CASE ON THE COMMUNITY BUDGET.

5. ALTHOUGH HE HAS NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN MOUNTING A DECISIVE CHALLENGE TO THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR, STRAUSS IS STILL A MOST FORMIDABLE OPPONENT AND THE ONE LEADING OPPOSITION FIGURE WHOM SCHMIDT RESPECTS. SCHMIDT CLEARLY CANNOT (AND DOES NOT) OBJECT TO STRAUSS BEING RECEIVED AT A HIGH LEVEL IN LONDON, BUT THE TIMING IS SLIGHTLY AWKWARD IN RELATION TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND THE PRESENTATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE VISIT WILL NEED CAUTIOUS HANDLING TO AVOID THE RISK OF ANY OFFENCE BEING TAKEN HERE. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT A FIRM STATEMENT BY STRAUSS OF SUPPORT FOR OUR CASE ON THE COMMUNITY BUDGET WOULD BE OTHER THAN HELPFUL.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING WASHINGTON PARIS

GOODALL

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Copies sent to No 10 Downing St.

Conservative Party International Office

32 SMITH SQUARE · LONDON SW1P 3HH Telephone: 01-222 9000 Telex: 8814563 Conpar

Programme for the Visit of Dr. Franz Josef Strauss

24-25 April 1980

The Chairman of the German CSU Party, Dr. Franz Josef Strauss, will be visiting London at the invitation of the Chairman of the Conservative Party on 24-25 April 1980 for talks with the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. Dr. Strauss is Minister-Präsident of Bavaria and the CDU/CSU candidate for the Chancellorship in the Federal elections due to take place on 6 October this year.

Dr. Strauss will be accompanied by his wife, who will follow a separate programme, and the following:

Mr. Hans Klein, Member of the Bundestag, organiser of
Dr. Strauss's election campaign.
Mr. Godel Rosenberg, Press Spokesman for the CSU Party.
Mr. Dieter Schmidt, Director of CSU International Office.

24 April

1500 app.

Arrive Heathrow airport by private plane.
Met by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, MP on behalf
of the Conservative Party, Mr. Scott Hamilton
and Miss Rosemary Spencer of the Conservative
Party International Office, and the German
Ambassador; de Havilland Suite.

1600

Arrive House of Commons for meeting of Conservative
Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1800

Meeting with media representatives, Grosvenor House
Hotel.

2000

Dinner at the German Embassy.

25 April

1130 Meeting with the Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Foreign Office.

1215 Private talks with the Prime Minister, 10 Downing Street.

1315 Working lunch with the Prime Minister and others,
10, Downing Street.

1430 app. Depart for Grosvenor House Hotel.

1530 Press Conference, Grosvenor House Hotel.

1900 app. Depart Heathrow.

RS/MB
23.4.80

CONSERVATIVE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

24 Old Queen Street, S.W.1.

MEMORANDUM

From Evelyn McDermott	To Lord Thorneycroft cc Alan Howarth Scott Hamilton
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Franz-Josef Strauss

In view of Herr Strauss' visit I thought it might be useful to collect some briefing material on him.

I enclose an article from 'Now' magazine. This is extremely laudatory of Strauss but it does contain informative background facts as well as an interview in which he gives his views on i) East-West relations ii) the mixed economy in Germany iii) relations with the G.D.R.

I also enclose a recent cutting from The Times assessing his election campaign. The article from the New Statesman is a counterblast to the 'Now' piece.

The German Election Campaign

1. Strauss has been keeping a very low profile as he attempts to ensure a strong 'centre' vote. The Times cutting discusses this and makes the obvious point that while keeping Strauss "under wraps" avoids the risk of his making volatile right-wing statements, it does nothing to enhance his image "... Herr Strauss has not yet found the right touch", it concludes.

2. There have been fears among the Social Democrats that there could be increasing support for the Right as a result of the Afghanistan invasion/Iran hostages problems. This view has only partially been confirmed. The government coalition is still ahead in the polls. Die Welt (6th April) claimed the government was increasing in popularity after a dip at the beginning of the year. Polls also give the SPD/FDP coalition a lead of seven points in the forthcoming Westphalia Länder elections on 11th May. One factor in the government's continuing popularity is, no doubt, Schmidt's full awareness of the strong ties felt by West Germans with East Germany and hence his continued contact with the GDR government.

3. The "Green" Party. Until the provincial elections this spring it was predicted that the environmentalist "Green" Party would collect only 4 per cent of votes for the Federal Parliament and thus fail the 5 per cent hurdle. But in March they gained six seats in the Baden-Württemberg elections. The CDU party retained its overall majority but on a slightly smaller vote. The next provincial elections take place at Saarland on Sunday and the final Länder elections this spring are at Westphalia on 11th May. The latter election could give a good hint of what is to come in the general election because of Westphalia's size and make-up. The SPD-FDP coalition is ahead in the polls and the death of the CDU leader there on April 21 (Heinrich Koppler) will not help CDU chances. So far the SPD claim the Greens have taken votes away from them but it will be interesting to see if their increasingly left-wing outlook will hinder their voting success.

P.S. The West German government have today formally recommended their Olympic Team to boycott the Olympic Games.

London visit helps Bonn opposition candidate for Chancellor to build up statesmanlike image

Herr Strauss woos centre voters

From Patricia Clough
Bonn, April 21

The spotlight in the West German pre-election scene shifts to London this week when Herr Franz Josef Strauss, the Opposition candidate for the chancellorship, arrives on a two-day visit.

Appearances in foreign capitals are an important ritual for aspiring German leaders, giving them stature and possibly votes back home. That applies particularly to Herr Strauss, whose greatest talents lie in foreign affairs.

He has already visited Paris, Washington and Bucharest and a trip to Moscow would be greatly appreciated; but so far no invitation has been forthcoming. Some of the glamour however has been taken from his visits to France, the United States and Britain; each time his rival, Herr Helmut Kohl, the Chancellor, had been there only a short while before.

Talks with Mrs Thatcher, Lord Carrington, a lecture to the parliamentary foreign affairs committee, interviews and a press conference on Thursday and Friday will certainly do no harm to Herr

Strauss's efforts to build up his image here as a statesman.

For several months Herr Strauss has been cultivating a controlled, thoughtful, moderate style in strong contrast to his usual ebullient, controversial, often extreme and unpredictable ways.

He has avoided the outbursts and outrageous remarks for which he has become famous. To the wonderment of many he has passed up the chance of tearing the Chancellor to pieces over his Afghanistan policy, on the ground that the international situation was too serious to exploit for party political ends.

Thus he has sacrificed what public opinion analysts say are his two main assets, his image as a man for times of crisis and as a foreign policy wizard.

Herr Strauss, since he is unlikely to lose his traditional supporters on the right wing, is seeking to win over voters in the centre, who mistrust him and might be tempted to go over to the coalition parties or simply not to vote.

So far, however, Herr Strauss the statesman has gone over like a lead balloon. Even party supporters in the Baden Württem-

berg and Saarland election campaigns this spring admit that he has made virtually no impact on the public's mind.

Despite his new style, local party leaders there have seen to it that he made only a minimum of appearances, fearing he would frighten away voters.

To the disappointment of the Christian Democrats he appears to be doing no better than the unfortunate Herr Helmut Kohl, whom he somewhat ruthlessly replaced as chancellor-candidate. As yet he is virtually indistinguishable from the general political wallpaper.

To a certain extent Herr Strauss is holding himself back, knowing that a candidate could wear himself and his image out in the long months leading to the elections. Aged 64 and no longer in top form, he may be saving his energy for the final spurt when the campaign begins in September.

But on May 11 there are crucial Land elections in north Rhine-Westphalia where a poor showing for the Christian Democrats would confirm their fears that they will lose in the autumn.

Obviously Herr Strauss has not yet found the right touch.

THE VINDICATION OF FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS

Few Western politicians have been more systematically defamed, yet the uncrowned King of Bavaria could become the next West German Chancellor. **Brian Crozier** traces his stormy career

Will the little old lady's prayer be granted? She, it was, who came up after Franz-Josef Strauss had spoken at a mass rally, and said in hushed tones: "Herr Strauss, every night I pray to God that you will be our next Chancellor."

"Madam," he replied, "you ought instead to pray every night that the situation in Germany will not get so bad that I shall be voted into power."

This is Strauss's own version of a story that circulates in various forms. Here is another, which I provoked myself when I said to him in French after listening to him in full oratorical flight: "Monsieur Strauss, vous êtes une force de la nature." Without pause, he shot back: "Beaucoup de gens disent que je suis une catastrophe de la nature." ("Many people say I'm a catastrophe of nature.")

He has, then, a sense of humour. Indeed, his jovial Bavarian grin is truer to his nature than his scowl in certain news pictures. As with other powerful and controversial personalities, the CDU-CSU candidate in West Germany's Federal elections next October is full of paradoxes. Built like a bull, he looks like the son of a master butcher that he is, but he has a mind of rare subtlety and

brilliance. No other Western politician in modern times has been more systematically defamed. Indeed if a tenth of the allegations against him were true, he would be unfit for high office. Yet time and again, he has taken his enemies to court and emerged clean.

He is accused of dictatorial tendencies and excessive nationalism; yet his record is impeccably democratic, European and Atlanticist. At 64, his hair is still reddish-brown and his energy seems inexhaustible.

He has the aura of a Churchill or a de Gaulle, of one who awaits a national call. The uncrowned King of Bavaria — so different from the mad and decadent King Ludwig — he struck unease into the minds of his followers last November when he accepted the Premiership (as "Minister-President"), foregoing his seat in the Bundestag. Had he dropped his ambition to be Chancellor? Had he lost his self-confidence?

The issue came to a head last May, when the leader of the Christian Democrats Helmut Kohl, nominated another provincial Minister-President, Ernst Albrecht of Lower Saxony, as the party leader of the combined CDU-CSU. Strauss was talked into challenging Albrecht. He won, by 135 votes to 102, after an impassioned debate in

which 92 speakers had their say — a measure of the mixed emotions his name arouses among CDU supporters.

Almost at once the anti-Strauss campaigners sprang into action, just as they have done at crucial points throughout his political career. Why are his enemies so determined and what do they say? One line is that he arouses in Germans the kind of atavistic responses that led to Hitlerism. The smear specialists claim to have unearthed a "Nazi past". One of them, a writer named Bernt Engelmann, in the name of a self-styled "Democratic Initiative Press Service", alleged that Strauss was a member of the National-Socialist Führungsoffizier corps while serving on the Eastern front.

Not so, said a long-time political opponent of Strauss's, the well-known author Hans Helmut Kirst. They had been in uniform together, and far from being a Nazi, Strauss had taken a clear anti-Nazi line, risking his life. Other wartime comrades said the same.

After he was invalided out of active service, he risked his neck by issuing discharge papers to students at his gunnery school so that they could flee the American advance. For the record, the young Strauss did make a token gesture to the Nazis in 1937, when he joined the Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps on being told he would never get his degree if he stayed aloof. But the most damaging of the many Strauss "affairs", which led to these accusations, came over the magazine *Der Spiegel* in 1962. It cost him his job as Defence Minister. Today, however, a postscript seems in order. The high-ranking Czech defector, General Sejna, revealed to Western intelligence services years after the event that the *Spiegel* affair was a KGB exercise to discredit Strauss.

Again, as recently as December last year, Erich Mende, leader of the West German Liberal Party who had forced Strauss to step down by threatening to quit Adenauer's coalition, made retrospective amends. In a front-page article in the monthly paper *Student*, Dr Mende entirely cleared Strauss of abuse of his powers. It was a "Spiegel scandal," he declared, not a "Strauss affair."

While the inquiries were going on *Der Spiegel* had had two more digs at Strauss, alleging that Robert Gross, chairman of Lockheed's, had set up an intimate supper for the Defence Minister with the film star Jayne Mansfield. It added that a prominent German businessman, Friedrich Jahn, had

continued on page 14

NOW! FEBRUARY 45, 1980

Though a scholar of formidable intellect, Strauss cultivates an outdoors image: RIGHT: Boating with his family BELOW: Brakeman on a bob-sleigh BOTTOM RIGHT: A hunting trip in his beloved Bavaria



APPI/ULLSTEIN





Strauss with his wife, the elegant and intelligent Marianne: A political partner as well as mother to his two sons and one daughter

Strauss vindicated

continued from page 10

found Strauss a call-girl for the night during a stop-over in New York.

There were two flaws in these gutter stories. One was that Jayne Mansfield had never heard of Strauss and pointed out that at the time of the alleged supper she was seven months' pregnant. The other was that Jahn declared that he had met Strauss for the first time five years after the year of the alleg-

ed incident - 1959 - and that neither then nor later had he provided a call-girl.

Of the other "affairs", the one that yielded the most smoke for the least fire was probably the campaign hinting that Strauss as Defence Minister had enriched himself with "cuts" from lucrative defence contracts with the Lockheed Corporation. Although it turned out that he had done no such thing, his opponents leaped at the chance of anti-Strauss copy on the eve of the general elec-

tions of October 1976. Both *Der Spiegel* and *Stern* - another mass circulation magazine - carried stories about "vanished documents" alleged to have been removed by Strauss from the Defence Ministry. A Ministry spokesman told the Press that Strauss, on returning to office as Finance Minister in 1966, had indeed sent for documents from Defence and hinted that they might have related to Lockheed contracts.

When all the smoke dispersed, it was found that Strauss (a) had not removed any documents and (b) had at no time been told officially that documents had vanished - which seemed to indicate that a concern for truth was not a high priority in Bonn a week or so before the elections.

Too brainy to take over the family butcher's business from his father, Franz-Josef graduated in History and Classical Philology. He still reads Latin and ancient Greek for relaxation (and also the occasional thriller).

On the whole, his detractors have left his private life alone. There is little for them to seize on. He enjoys Champagne and dry wine, and good Bavarian cooking. He gave

Fighting the Soviet military threat

Interviewed at his Bavarian home by Brian Crozier, the former German Defence Minister outlines his plans to strengthen Europe and the Western alliance

As a former Defence Minister, how would you tackle the problem of Soviet military expansion if you became Chancellor?

The Soviet Union has expanded its military strength, not only in Europe but globally. The Soviets have achieved strategic parity with the US. The answer must be to restore the validity of the American security guarantee for Europe by deploying medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe itself. For it is absurd to expect the Americans to deter the Russians from using their medium-range missiles in Europe by their own intercontinental missiles alone, thereby risking the destruction of their country, so that the Europeans become hostages and the

Americans are paralysed. There must be an adequate counter-force on European soil.

But there is more to it than that. The tremendous Soviet build-up is designed not so much for a final showdown as for political blackmail, by paralysing the will of the Americans and Europeans while the Soviet Union expands its power in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere, as now in Afghanistan.

As a German and a European, are you satisfied with US leadership in recent years?

Between friends, criticism ought to be offered in private, not in public. But to be more positive, I hope the Americans by now have got over their long-running passion plays we have all witnessed, and overcome the complexes of Vietnam and Watergate. In this context, the ugly events in Tehran may well be helpful, although the price the Americans are paying is high. They are absolutely right to request full solidarity from the Europeans. But on their side, they should always consult the Europeans from the start.

Chancellor Schmidt, Prime Minister Thatcher and President Giscard have all

declared themselves in favour of the SALT II draft treaty, admittedly before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. What is your view of it?

If I were an American Senator, I would make up my own mind, but I think it was a mistake on the part of Chancellor Schmidt to attempt to influence the Senate vote, because it seemed to hint at a hidden threat to reject any Nato decision on the modernisation of nuclear weapons if the Americans decided not to ratify the draft treaty, but I don't think it is up to us Europeans to interfere in American internal decisions. I refrain therefore from giving advice, as unlike Helmut Schmidt, I have no wish to be a self-appointed adviser to all countries of the world.

If you become Chancellor, you will inherit a "Social market" economy which has changed very little since the Adenauer government. Will you keep it unchanged?

I would put it differently. I helped Erhard introduce the social market system as early as June 1948, against the votes of the Communists and Helmut Schmidt's Socialist friends. He was unable to dismantle it, but he inherited it from us.

In fact, on his own past and even recent statements, Mr Schmidt is an opponent of the system. The SPD (Social Democrats) wanted centralised economic planning and advocated the so-called "Deutschland Plan". If they had succeeded, we would

Pilloried in the Press

Strauss has been the victim of many hostile campaigns over the past 20 years

up smoking 10 years ago. He drives his BMW 600 fast on the unrestricted autobahn — when he can — but has stopped flying solo. His late marriage, at the age of 42, was both a love match and a political partnership. Elegant and intelligent, his wife Marianne is more than wife and mother to their two sons and one daughter.

Best known as a Defence and Finance Minister, Strauss has had a more varied experience of high office than any other German politician, although he still awaits the supreme call. Will he now extend his Bavarian dominance to the rest of Germany? Organised heckling rattles him and the German electoral system works against him. But the "Greens" of the Ecology party could well split the Left vote and give him a big majority.

Certainly recent world events appear to help him. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan confronts Helmut Schmidt, and his political opponents, with the embarrassing need to explain away their policy of "detente", now shown to have little substance. Strauss, on his side, is the man who can claim that "I told you so."

The Barth Affair (1961): Named after the commander of a squadron of West German F-84 Thunderstreak fighter-bombers which lost their way and landed in Berlin. Strauss, then Defence Minister, was accused of risking war.

The Fibag Affair (1961): A construction company, Finanzbau-Aktiengesellschaft was involved in a contract for the building of dwellings for US forces and their families. Strauss, although clearly not involved in alleged corruption, had written a letter recommending the architect. Strauss took his opponents to court four times and secured an injunction each time to prevent them repeating the allegations.

The Spiegel Affair (1962-65): On Strauss's intervention as Defence Minister, the publisher of Der Spiegel, Rudolf Augstein, managing editor Claus Jacobi and Defence correspondent Conrad Ahlers were all arrested after they had published an article on a Nato exercise, said to have been based on secret official papers. The Liberals (FDP) threatened to leave the coalition and forced Strauss to resign as Defence

Minister, after allegations that he had misled the Bundestag. In June 1965, charges of treason against Augstein and Ahlers were dropped; and so were inquiries against Strauss for alleged misuse of powers and unlawful detention.

The Uncle Aloys Affair (1964-66 and 1974): Dr Aloys Brandenstein, an industrialist, was involved in allegations of corruption over arms deals. Again Strauss took his opponents to court three times and again secured injunctions to prevent the allegations being repeated.

The Lockheed Affair (1976): In June Der Spiegel and Stern alleged that Strauss had removed documents from his time as Defence Minister. Bonn spokesmen hinted that the papers may have been related to Lockheed defence contracts. It was later established that Strauss had not, in fact, removed any.

The Pigsty Affair (1978): Former Chancellor Willy Brandt was ordered to refrain from repeating a false allegation that Strauss had described the Federal Republic as a pigsty, on penalty of a 500,000 DM fine or six months' jail. The trade union leader, Heinz Oskar Vetter, having declared that the same words "should be stuffed down the swollen throat of the swineherd from Passau" (in other words Strauss), was subsequently fined 5,250 DM.



RIC GEMMELL

'We must rekindle the real values of life in young people and restore a sense of history'

Chancellor Kiesinger's Grand Coalition), our public debt totalled 14 billion DM for the whole period. During each of Helmut Schmidt's years in power, the public debt grew by more than 150 per cent of our accumulated total. Today, the debt is gigantic. I would not change the social market system, therefore: I would restore it to full efficiency.

Egon Bahr and Herbert Wehner (respectively, the Secretary General and the parliamentary leader of the SPD) and others in the SPD are said to be advocating "socialist" measures to facilitate reunification with East Germany. Would you comment?

First, a word about our post-war history. The German Socialists voted against Germany's entry into Nato and against the activation of German forces, on the ground that such steps were incompatible with German reunification. Had the Socialists been elected at that time, the Atlantic Alliance and Europe would not now dispose of Germany's 500,000 armed forces, which are militarily indispensable. Not only would Germany not be in Nato, but the Deutschland Plan, already mentioned, would have meant the complete separation of Germany from Europe and the Atlantic Community. It would have led to a Communist Germany.

This was of course the Soviet aim, but now politicians like Herbert Wehner and Egon

Bahr are coming back to these plans of two decades ago. The conversion of the Socialists to Nato was purely temporary.

Is Germany sharing in the great wave of conservative feeling shown by the British and European elections?

I believe so. But I should like to point out that Margaret Thatcher won a majority of about 60 per cent in Parliament with little more than 43 per cent of the voters behind her. That is the way the British electoral system works. In the last elections, we of the CDU-CSU achieved 48.7 per cent of the national vote, and if we had the British system, we would have had a two-thirds majority in the Bundestag.

A final point. I believe the attractiveness of socialistic slogans, of Utopian models and inflated promises, has come to an end. People simply don't swallow this kind of thing any more, and young people in particular. We must not confine our political programmes to promises of more welfare and ever-rising living standards. We must rekindle the real values of life in young people, and restore a sense of history and historical responsibility. Materialism is not enough. Today as the Eighties begin, we face serious risks of energy shortages and threats to sources of raw materials. Only a liberal world economy can guarantee prosperity and progress for all, for the developing countries as well as for the industrialised ones.

have had a confederation with the East German Communists, with poverty and dependence on Moscow as the inevitable consequences.

Over the past 10 years, the State sector of the economy has grown from 37 per cent to 47 per cent. During our 20 years in government (with myself as Finance Minister in

EW
ATES-
MAN
8/3/80

'THE THOUGHT strikes one', concluded an NS profile of Franz-Joseph Strauss published fifteen years ago, 'that it may not be the Foreign Ministry or even the Chancellorship of West Germany, that Herr Strauss is after, but the Presidency of a United States of Europe in 1980.' Well, 1980 has arrived and Strauss is, after all, the Christian Democratic coalition's candidate for the Chancellorship; yet the 1965 prediction was not so very wrong. Strauss is still the man he always was - a passionate believer in a united, federal Europe, with Germany as the dominant force - and the outcome of his contest against Helmut Schmidt later this year will have enormous significance for both Eastern and Western Europe.

One would not normally consider that residents in the Communist countries of Europe are better informed than Westerners about such an important figure. Compare, however, Brian Crozier's profile of Strauss in *Now!* last month with a thoughtful piece by Adam Krzeminski in a recent issue of the Polish weekly *Polityka*. Crozier's article is a straightforward PR job, lauding Strauss's 'sense of humour', his 'jovial Bavarian grin', his 'mind of rare subtlety and brilliance', his 'impeccably democratic' record, his 'inexhaustible' energy, his 'elegant and intelligent' wife.

Crozier's encomium is undoubtedly the first of many which his co-thinkers will produce during the German election campaign. The New Right always like to have a hero who can be worshipped without reserve, a 'person of destiny' who will build a world fit for Robert Moss. The Shah held this baton for a while before passing it to Milton Friedman, who in turn handed it to Margaret Thatcher. Now we have Strauss: 'He has,' says Crozier, 'the aura of a Churchill or a de Gaulle, of one who awaits a national call.'

The true nature of Strauss's 'national call' is rather different: he does not await it, he inspires it with his atavistic longings for *Reich*. As the article in *Polityka* puts it, he is a demagogue playing on the most dangerous emotions.

IT SHOULD be stressed that the Polish article is not a central committee hand-out: *Polityka* and its editor, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, have a creditable record of independence - refusing, for instance, to sack their Jewish

staff or participate in any way in the anti-semitic purges of 1967-68. The article on Strauss, headed 'Nostalgia for Bismarck', takes as its text a long historical and philosophical essay by Strauss which was published in *Die Welt* last September. Krzeminski comments that 'when a politician begins to write essays on the past, he does not usually do so in order to discover the historical truth, but in order to find in the past a justification for what he is doing in the present.'

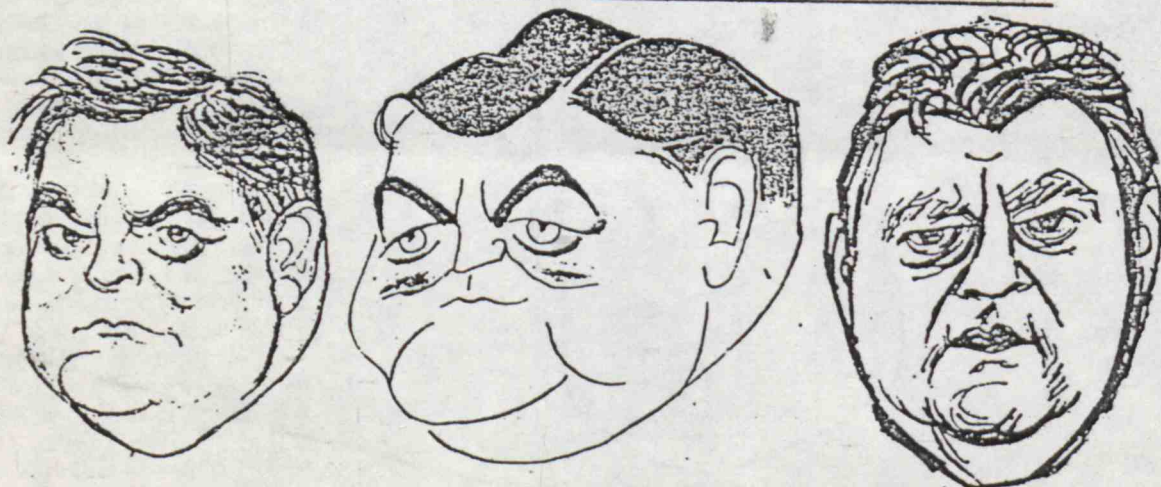
Strauss began his essay by reminding his readers that it was exactly forty years since the outbreak of the Second World War. The progression of events from 1914 to 1945 is, to Strauss, obvious: 'In 1914, with the outbreak of the First World War, commenced the decline of Europe from its glorious leading position in the fields of politics, military power, economic predominance and cultural superiority. It reached its tragic nadir at the end of the Second World War, when in April 1945 American and Russian soldiers shook hands at Torgau on the Elbe.' At that point the history of Europe came to an end.

In his search for the causes of the First World War Strauss writes:

Every explanation that the course of events leading to its outbreak became inevitable as a result of the authoritarian structure of the German Reich, the failures of its middle class, the behaviour of the 'right', the weakness of the liberals, their insufficient collaboration with the working-class movement, the special laws limiting the activities of the Socialists - each of these explanations is nonsensical.

Strauss looks to the geopolitics of the nineteenth century for his explanation. Germany's tragedy, he says, was in its central position in Europe. England sided with Prussia at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 but by the end of it, after the Germans had won and proclaimed the creation of the German Empire, England was already on the side of France. 'Bismarck knew that he had to wrench the Reich, as it were, from the very throats of Germany's neighbours.' The political and military structure of the Reich created by Bismarck resulted from his desire to make it militarily powerful without its armaments policy leading to the creation of a Franco-Russian alliance against the Reich.

Krzeminski's article in *Polityka* challenges



Plus ça change: how the NEW STATESMAN has seen Strauss over the years. Left to right: Vicky 1960; Vicky 1965; Horner 1968; Minnion

to the 19th Century

airman Strauss

Strauss on all these points. The misfortune of the Germans, he writes, has not been their central position in Europe, but their conviction that the Reich must be wrenched from the throats of Germany's neighbours – to be more precise, that the Reich must be conquered for Prussia. He continues:

The tragedy of the Germans – and Europe – has been in the fact that this powerful European nation was not united by the liberal revolution of 1848 but by the reactionary conservative alliance of the Hohenzollerns, army and bureaucracy. Already in the very proclamation of the Reich at Versailles, after the defeat and humiliation of France, one can discern the seeds of its later defeats. One of the sources of the later catastrophe was Bismarck's foreign policy, which made Wilhelmian Germany quite unsuitable for the role of the 'European Middle State' about which Strauss writes such a great deal.

Fascinated by the eagles of the Reich and 'a Europe of powers', Strauss glosses over the fundamental dichotomy of Bismarck's creation: the contradiction between the autocratic system of Wilhelmian Germany and its social and political reality, in which the majority was made up by socialists and liberals. That, argues Krzeminski, was the real and fatal antimony: a powerful economy on the one hand and on the other a pre-democratic system in which the social democratic opposition was treated not as an essential element in parliamentary control of the rulers but as 'an enemy of the Reich' and 'scoundrels without a homeland'.

A system in which the rulers, instead of discussing with the other elements in the state the need for modernisation, unleashed the *Kulturkampf* and determined from above, as it were, 'the internal enemies' in the shape of socialists, Catholics and the national minorities of Poles and Danes. The result of Bismarck's policies was to destroy the self-confidence of the German middle class, so that it resigned itself to playing a secondary role in the state.

No wonder that Bismarck, that politician for whom Strauss is longing and to whom Kissinger so often refers, was unable to leave a successor who could think for himself.

For Poles, Bismarck's Reich in its role of the German 'Middle State' signified the perpetuation of the *Alvensleben* Convention of 1863, when Prussia offered Russia military assistance against the Poles who had risen in January against their Russian oppressors. Not

surprisingly, Krzeminski feels rather strongly about this, arguing that it was done in accordance with Bismarck's 'European' principle, which was defined as follows: 'Beat the Poles that they should lose the will to live. I sympathise with their plight, but if we want to survive then we cannot act otherwise than destroy them.' This quote from Strauss's mentor is particularly ominous in view of a remark made by Strauss himself in the course of an interview with Brian Crozier which accompanied the *Now!* profile. Asked how he would tackle the problem of Soviet military expansion, the former defence minister replies:

The answer must be to restore the validity of the American security guarantee for Europe by deploying medium range ballistic missiles in Europe itself.

It is noteworthy that later in the same interview, Strauss mentions that 'we must . . . restore a sense of history and historical responsibility' in young people. As Krzeminski shows, Strauss's own historical sense is a distinctly queer one.

AFTER the First World War, Strauss argues, it was the Social Democrats and the Soviet

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Christopher Hitchens

IF THE CZECHOSLOVAK security state has one redeeming feature, it is the ability to make a tremendous variety of enemies. The war of nerves between the Prague secret police and Julius Tomin's seminar has thrown this into sharp relief. The latest recruits to the front line of engagement against arbitrary rule are a large group of Western philosophers and a significant number of young working class Czechs.

Last Wednesday there took place a meeting between Dr Anthony Kenny, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and Dr Telicka, Minister-Counsellor of the Czechoslovak Embassy in London. Dr Kenny, one of whose fellows was recently manhandled in Prague, was asking for clarification about exactly what is and what is not legal for a foreign academic visiting Dr Telicka's fascinating country. Dr Telicka was not, perhaps, as illuminating as he might have been. He failed to enforce a recognisable distinction between the term 'unpopular' and the word 'illegal'. He accused Dr William Newton-Smith (the victim of the manhandling at Tomin's seminar) of 'departing from his prepared text', which raised the insoluble question of how he knew this, and of how it breached the Czechoslovak criminal code. Dr Kenny was unsatisfied, though he was pleased to hear that perhaps the police had been (in the universal language of the total state) 'overzealous'.

Later that same evening, an outbreak of overzealousness infected an entire herd of Czech policemen. Twenty-seven people attending Julius Tomin's seminar were arrested, and eight of these detained for the traditional 48 hours. Among those held were Tomin himself, Professor Radim Palous, Ivan Dejmal (in whose flat the meeting took place), Milos Rejchrt (a spokesman for Charter 77), an industrial worker named Streda and Karel Sling (son of Otto Sling whose show-trial execution in the fifties is now officially regarded as 'a mistake').

The variety of opinions held among this



1980.

Union that became the evil spirits in Germany's history, while the conservatives became its only bulwark. If anyone caused the Second World War, it was Stalin: 'It is quite untrue,' Strauss wrote in *Die Welt*, 'that Hitler wanted a second world war. But he did want a victorious war of conquest in the West, the conquest of the West and a great, 1,000-year Reich that would be the greatest centre of power in history.'

Being a supporter of Bismarck, but unwilling to embrace Hitler, Strauss does his best to blame the Social Democrats for what happened in 1933. At the same time, the manner in which he presents Hitler – without mentioning his responsibility for genocide, the concentration camps, and his vision of Europe as a continent of masters and slaves – is such that Hitler has become nothing more than a *Realpolitiker* repairing the evil effects of the Versailles treaty. Strauss adds:

The legend has been deliberately created that Hitler was the executor of Bismarck's will and testament and the continuer of both Bismarck's and Wilhelm II's policies; that he fulfilled the dream of the conservative middle class; that he... set out to destroy the Social Democrats who

claimed to be the only champions of social and political democracy.

Not so, says Strauss: for socialist ideas were very strong in the National Socialist Party, and who else but the Social Democrats were responsible for that?

Strauss's essay in *Die Welt* provoked a furore in the West German press. *Der Spiegel* devoted its leading article to a refutation, while *Die Zeit* published a series of articles, the theme of which was that Strauss was trying to turn the victims of Nazism into Nazi collaborators in order to gain the votes of the Right.

Naturally public attention this year will be on the battle for the American presidency – and no one would deny that much depends on the outcome. But even Ronald Reagan wishes to take America back only as far as the 1950s. Should Strauss, a blustering demagogue, succeed in toppling the present technocratic Chancellor of West Germany, his aim will be nothing less than a reversion to the nineteenth century. Do the events of 1914 and 1933 really have to be lived through all over again simply to satisfy one man's 'sense of history'?

Five

Germany 859

cc: Miss R. Spencer,
International Office,
Conservative
Central Office.

Miss Goodchild

14 February 1980

1) BF 2 29.2.80
2) BF 11.4.80

Further to your letter to Michael Alexander dated 7 February, I am writing to confirm that the International Office at Conservative Central Office are definitely inviting Herr Strauss to visit this country, and the Prime Minister has offered to give him a lunch here at 10 Downing Street on Friday 25 April.

BF ① I would be grateful if you could submit some suggestions for a guest list (12 people only), to be submitted as soon as possible please, as well as a brief, to reach this office by BF ② close of play on Friday 11 April.

CAROLINE STEPHENS

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

KRB



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

When you entertain Herr Franz Joseph Strauss to lunch on Friday 25 April would you like a lunch of twelve or a lunch of thirty-two. Both Central Office and the Foreign Office will be submitting suggestions for a guest list.

ej.

12
/

mf

13 February 1980



10 DOWNING STREET

MR THATCHER

The lunch for industrialists on 25 April has been cancelled as your wife is entertaining Herr Franz Joseph Strauss from Germany. This will probably be for a lunch of 12 people only so I will be in touch with you about it.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'C. J.' or similar.

11 February 1980

Noted

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'D.' or similar.



10 DOWNING STREET

MR ALEXANDER

The Prime Minister has agreed to give lunch to Herr Franz Joseph Strauss on Friday, 25 April. I am getting suggestions for a guest list from International Office at Conservative Central Office, would you like me to:-

- a) do the same from the FCO.
- b) request any briefing from the FCO?

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'el'.

11 February 1980

*Miss Stephens : Yes on both
counts.*

vb

Germany

8 February 1980

Possible Invitation to Herr Strauss

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 7 February on this subject. She is content that an invitation should go to Herr Strauss through Party channels. This is in hand.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Paul Lever Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

KRE

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

7 February 1980

Dear Michael,

Possible Invitation to Herr Strauss

You asked for advice on the suggestion that the Conservative Party might invite Franz Josef Strauss to visit this country.

A visit by Herr Strauss in an election year in the Federal Republic would pose some problems for the Anglo/German relationship. The Federal Chancellor would presumably prefer that his main rival was denied any gratuitous publicity on the foreign affairs front in the run-up to the elections. However, Herr Strauss will be visiting the United States in the spring and also, we understand, Paris next week, and a visit to London would therefore be quite normal. We have consulted HM Ambassador in Bonn, who advises that there would indeed be advantage in extending an invitation through party channels to Strauss, who has been taking a very statesmanlike attitude over Afghanistan, and that there is certainly no advantage in rebuffing him. He further advises that it would be courteous to inform the Chancellor in advance of any invitation, without in any way making the issue of an invitation dependent on Herr Schmidt's approval. He judges that, while a visit by Herr Strauss might cause Herr Schmidt some irritation, this consideration need not weigh too heavily. On timing, he suggests an invitation for the end of February, i.e. well before the next European Council.

Lord Carrington accepts this advice and feels that the way is thus clear for an invitation to be passed through Party channels to Herr Strauss to pay an early visit to this country. If he came, he would naturally wish to see the Prime Minister, and Lord Carrington recommends that the Prime Minister should see him.

Yours

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON

8 FEB 1980

