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West Germany, the Global South and the Cold War

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Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf/Elke Seefried

Introduction: West Germany and the Global South in the Cold War Era

Historical Scholarship

Over the last two decades, global history has ignited enormous interest among German and international historians; indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that it has firmly established itself as an analytical approach within historical scholarship. As more of a methodological lens for historical research than a separate branch of historiography, it directs its gaze towards global contacts, processes of exchange and interaction, and interrelationships as well as entanglements.[1] Informed by Postcolonial Studies,[2] global history scholarship analyses the impact and repercussions of colonization and decolonization, seeing these processes as an intertwined and reciprocal history between the North and the South as it traces the legacies of colonial traditions reaching back to the late nineteenth century. At the same time, however, global history does not necessarily entail encapsulating "all historical periods in a comprehensive complete narrative of world events," but rather considers issues and problems that are "global in their intertwined complexity."[3]

The interest of global history is discernibly rooted in the transformation of the world and especially international politics since the end of the Cold War: bipo-

1 See Dominic Sachsenmaier, Global History, Version 1.0, in: Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, February 11, 2010, www.docupedia.de/zg/Sachsenmaier_global_history_v1_en_2010 [accessed August 1, 2017]; Michael Geyer/Charles Bright, World History in a Global Age, in: The American Historical Review 100 (1995), pp. 1034–60; Sebastian Conrad/Andreas Eckert/Ulrike Freitag (eds.), Globalgeschichte. Theorien, Ansätze, Themen, Frankfurt a. M. 2007.

2 For an overview of scholarships, see Ulrike Lindner, Neuere Kolonialgeschichte und Postcolonial Studies, Version 1.0, in: Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, April 15, 2011, www.docupedia.de/zg/Neuere_Kolonialgeschichte_und_Postcolonial_Studies [accessed August 1, 2017]; Sebastian Conrad/Shalini Randeira (eds.), Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, Frankfurt a. M. 2002.

3 Matthias Middell, Die Verwandlung der Weltgeschichtsschreibung. Eine Geschichte vom Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts, in: idem (ed.), Die Verwandlung der Weltgeschichtsschreibung, Leipzig 2011, pp. 7–19, here p. 10; see also Hubertus Büschel/Daniel Speich, Einleitung. Konjunkturen, Probleme und Perspektiven der Globalgeschichte von Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, in: idem (eds.), Entwicklungswelten. Globalgeschichte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Frankfurt a. M. 2009, pp. 7–29.

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larity has given way to multi-polarity in international relations, and the importance of China and India on the international stage has grown as a result of the rapid processes of change affecting these countries. The dynamics inherent within new information and communications technologies in the media, transport and trade sectors has also further reinforced the perception and practice of globalization, which has been accompanied by problems that can be observed worldwide such as climate change and, most recently, the challenges of global migration.[4]

The global history approach has also altered views on the Cold War. For a long time, this conflict was regarded first and foremost as an ideological and geopolitical one, and one that was also played out in the Third World. Scholarly attention focused on how both the United States and the Soviet Union intervened in Third World conflicts and gave development aid to the decolonized states in order to recruit them as satellites. According to these older studies, the Third World was thus – to a certain extent – a dependent variable in the foreign policies of the superpowers and their allies in the Cold War.[5] Recent research, in contrast, interprets the Cold War as a truly global event and a "pericentric system" in which the actors of the southern hemisphere assumed their own substantive roles.[6] This tendency has even led to the controversial thesis put forth by some global historians that the Cold War has been greatly overestimated in historiography, because, in reality, it "was a minor theme in the broader history of globalization."[7]

For this reason, scholarship has largely ceased using the term "Third World," which was originally coined within the context of the Cold War by the French journalist Alfred Sauvy as "Le Tiers Monde" in the 1950s. The concept of a "First," "Second" and "Third World" was quickly adopted in Western politics

4 See Marc Frey, Entwicklungspolitik, in: Jost Dülffer/Wilfried Loth (eds.), Dimensionen internationaler Geschichte, Munich 2012, pp. 293–312, here p. 293.

5 See Federico Romero, Cold War Historiography at the Crossroads, in: Cold War History 14 (2014), pp. 685–703.

6 See Tony Smith, New Bottles for New Wine. A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War, in: Diplomatic History 24 (2000), pp. 567–91; David C. Engerman et al. (eds.), Staging Growth. Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War, Amherst (MA)/Boston (MA) 2003; Bernd Greiner/Christian Th. Müller/Dierk Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege im Kalten Krieg, Hamburg 2006; Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times, Cambridge/MA 2007; Robert J. McMahon (ed.), The Cold War in the Third World, Oxford/New York 2013.

7 Akira Iriye, Historicizing the Cold War, in: Richard H. Immerman/Petra Goedde (eds.), Oxford Handbook of the Cold War, Oxford 2013, pp. 15–31, here p. 17.

and society in general, accompanied by the division into developed and developing countries, whereas the socialist states officially rejected the "Third World" as a Western term, at least until the 1970s (they mostly referred to "the states in Asia, Africa and Latin America"[8] when it came to their policy towards developing countries). In contrast, the Chinese Communist Party adopted this framework after the Sino-Soviet split, as did representatives of the new states emerging in the southern hemisphere as a result of the decolonization processes occurring between the 1940s and the 1960s. They used it as a self-description in their attempts to avoid entanglement in global East-West tensions. In the West, notions of the "Third World" also served as a rallying cry for the New Left and the 1960s' protest against American "imperialism."[9] With the debates over a North-South divide infiltrating international politics in the early 1970s, the term the "South" often appeared alongside notions of global solidarity.[10] As China launched and implemented its market economy reforms in the 1980s, and especially after the end of the Cold War in 1990/91, the notion of the "Third World" lost much of its explanatory power. Even if it has not yet entirely vanished from academic debates and the public domain, most scholarship now uses the term the "Global South," which not only refers to decolonized states, but also to a worldwide "economic division between rich(er) and poor(er) countries."[11]

This volume looks at the relationships between the "old" Federal Republic and the Global South. Although a number of studies on topics such as development policy have already appeared, for example, historical scholarship is just beginning to tackle much of this history, especially for the 1970s and 1980s. Up until now, scholars have mainly dealt with four overlapping topics and spheres of interaction between West Germany and the countries of the South.

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8 See Institut für Internationale Beziehungen (ed.), Geschichte der Außenpolitik der DDR. Abriß, Berlin (East) 1984, here p. 27.

9 See Jürgen Dinkel, "Dritte Welt" – Geschichte und Semantiken, Version 1.0, in: Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, October 6, 2014, www.docupedia.de/zg/Dritte_Welt [accessed August 1, 2017]; Daniel Speich Chassé, Die "Dritte Welt" als Theorieeffekt. Ökonomisches Wissen und globale Differenz, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 41 (2015), pp. 580–612, here pp. 580–81, 607.

10 See for example, Willy Brandt, A Plea for Change. Peace, Justice, Jobs, in: North–South. A Programme for Survival. Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, London/Sydney 1980, pp. 7–29, here pp. 11–12.

11 Andrea Hollington et al., Introduction: Concepts of the Global South, in: Voices from around the World 1/2015, www.gssc.uni-koeln.de/node/451 [accessed August 1, 2017]; Mark Philipp Bradley, Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War, 1919–1962, in: Melvyn P. Leffler/Odd Arne Westad (eds.), The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol. 1, Cambridge 2010, pp. 464–85; Caroline Levander/Walter Mignolo, Introduction. The Global South and World Dis/Order, in: The Global South 5 (2011), pp. 1–11.

Firstly, there is the Cold War, and most notably the German-German rivalry between the competing socio-economic and political systems. Research has emphasized that the Federal Republic, largely sovereign since 1955, kept its policy towards the "Third World" in line with its stance on the "German question" until the late 1960s. The federal government followed the so-called Hallstein Doctrine, which was supposed to block international recognition of the GDR. According to this doctrine, the federal government considered any establishment of diplomatic relations with the GDR by third states to be an unfriendly act and threatened to sever relations with the latter.[12] Conversely, the chief goal of the socialist leadership in the GDR was to break Bonn's claim to be the sole legitimate representative of Germany.[13]

From the mid-1960s, the Hallstein Doctrine was undermined as countries of the Global South deftly exploited the German-German rivalry to their own advantage. Moreover, in the wake of deescalating tensions and rapprochement between the superpowers, the United States urged the Federal Republic to take a pragmatic stance on the division of Germany. Within the framework of the new *Ostpolitik* adopted by the social-liberal coalition, the FRG relinquished its claim to sole representation, and through the accession of both Germanies to the UN in 1973, both countries gained more room to maneuver on the global level.[14] In the years that followed, however, the paradigms of the Cold War continued to guide political actors in their dealings with the South, as initial studies on the anti-communist motivated politics of parts of the CSU towards South Africa in the 1980s have shown.[15]

12 See Siegfried Baske/Gottfried Zieger (eds.), Die Dritte Welt und die beiden Staaten in Deutschland, Stuttgart 1983; Hans-Joachim Spanger/Lothar Brock, Die beiden deutschen Staaten in der Dritten Welt. Die Entwicklungspolitik der DDR – eine Herausforderung für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland?, Opladen 1987; Werner Kilian, Die Hallstein-Doktrin. Der diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR 1955–1973. Aus den Akten der beiden deutschen Außenministerien, Berlin 2001; William Glenn Gray, Germany's Cold War. The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949–1969, Chapel Hill (NC)/London 2003; Joachim Scholtyseck, Im Schatten der Hallstein-Doktrin. Die globale Konkurrenz zwischen Bundesrepublik und DDR, in: Eckart Conze (ed.), Die Herausforderung des Globalen in der Ära Adenauer, Bonn 2010, pp. 79–97.

13 See Hermann Wentker, Außenpolitik in engen Grenzen. Die DDR im internationalen System 1949–1989, Munich 2007.

14 See Helga Haftendorn, Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen Selbstbeschränkung und Selbstbehauptung 1945–2000, Munich 2001, pp. 173–218; Eckart Conze, Die Suche nach Sicherheit. Eine Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland von 1949 bis in die Gegenwart, Munich 2009, pp. 415–58; Wentker, Außenpolitik, pp. 278–83.

15 See Andreas Wirsching, Abschied vom Provisorium 1982–1990, Munich 2006, pp. 576–90.

This leads to a *second* main thematic field, namely that of development policy and development assistance.[16] Existing studies on West German development assistance are primarily concerned with how the two competing systems influenced institutions and actors at a policy level. They focus primarily on the period between the 1950s and the early 1970s – not least because later official state documents in the archives have not yet been released for use.[17] Geographically-speaking, the African continent has attracted the most attention.[18] Shaped by the understanding of progressive development formulated in the Enlightenment, the notion of a self-imposed "civilizing mission" had become firmly entrenched amongst the elites of the industrialized states since the nineteenth century; the goal was to modernize nations deemed "underdeveloped." Within the context of the Cold War, this way of dividing the world, which was mainly applied to new states emerging in the southern hemisphere, became ideologically charged. In 1949, for instance, President Harry S. Truman announced an initiative to modernize "underdeveloped areas."[19]

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16 On the terminology of development policy, development aid (which is sparsely used because it places too great an emphasis on the aid-giver side of the relationship), development cooperation and development assistance (which focuses on practices of development), see Frey, Entwicklungspolitik, in: Dülffer/Loth (eds.), Dimensionen, p. 295; Hubertus Büschel/Daniel Speich Chassé, Einführung, Entwicklungsarbeit und globale Modernisierungsexpertise, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 41 (2015), pp. 535–51, here pp. 541–42.

17 See Bastian Hein, Die Westdeutschen und die Dritte Welt. Entwicklungspolitik und Entwicklungsdienste zwischen Reform und Revolte, 1959–1974, Munich 2006; Markus Lohmann, Von der Entwicklungspolitik zur Armenhilfe. Die Entwicklungspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1961–1989 auf dem Weg in die Wirkungslosigkeit?, Berlin 2010; Michael Bohnet, Geschichte der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik. Strategien, Innenansichten, Zeitzeugen, Herausforderungen, Konstanz/Munich 2015.

18 See, for example, Ulf Engel/Hans-Georg Schleicher (eds.), Die beiden deutschen Staaten in Afrika. Zwischen Konkurrenz und Koexistenz 1949–1990, Hamburg 1998; Hans-Joachim Döring/Uta Rüchel (eds.), Freundschaftsbande und Beziehungskisten. Die Afrikapolitik der DDR und der BRD gegenüber Mosambik, Frankfurt a. M. 2005; Andreas Eckert, Westdeutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit mit Afrika. Ein Blick auf die 1950er bis 1970er Jahre, in: Alexander Gallus/Axel Schildt/Detlef Siegfried (eds.), Deutsche Zeitgeschichte – transnational, Göttingen 2015, pp. 27–44; Brigitte H. Schulz, Development Policy in the Cold War Era. The Two Germanies and Sub-Saharan Africa 1960–1985, Münster 1995.

19 Gilbert Rist, The History of Development. From Western Origins to Global Faith, 4th ed., London/New York 2014, pp. 47–79, here p. 71; on the "civilizing missions" see Jürgen Osterhammel, "The Great Work of Uplifting Mankind." Zivilisierungsmissionen und Moderne, in: Boris Barth/Jürgen Osterhammel (eds.), Zivilisierungsmissionen. Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, Konstanz 2005, pp. 363–426; as a review of the literature see Corinna Unger, Histories of Development and Modernization. Findings, Reflections, Future Research, in: H-Soz-Kult, December 9, 2010, www.hsozkult.de/literaturereview/id/forschungsberichte-1130 [accessed July 27, 2017].

Yet the first and most pressing task facing the young Federal Republic was its own reconstruction. Moreover, its limited sovereignty meant that it had little room to maneuver when it came to foreign policy. Thanks to the "economic miracle" and a growing international payments surplus, Germany had become "a primary target for burden-sharing demands backed up by a strong moral pressure" by the mid-1950s. The United States put pressure on the FRG to compensate for its delayed military contribution to the alliance by contributing more to Western development policy. The federal government abandoned its reticence because it saw in development policy not only a moral and political obligation, but also leverage for strengthening its political status in the international community.[20] The colonial past played only a subordinate role here; at most, "facets of colonial recollections" lingered on in development aid organizations, blending with the motive of Christian charity.[21] From 1961, development policy was the responsibility of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), but its authority was limited. Bonn mainly provided bilateral aid, most of which was deployed in the geostrategically significant countries of India, Pakistan, Turkey, Chile and Iran, but West Germany was also involved in international organizations such as the International Development Association; it thus advanced to become one of the largest financial contributors to development programs.[22] Some initial empirical studies have now been published that cover the perspective of the development practitioners on the ground as well as those of the developing countries themselves.[23] The same applies for works on the churches.[24]

Recent scholarship has also shown that a new interest in development issues emerged in civil society in the 1970s that went hand-in-hand with ideas of a

20 Heide-Irene Schmidt, Pushed to the Front. The Foreign Assistance Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1958–1971, in: Contemporary European History 12 (2003), pp. 473–507, here p. 474; Marc Frey, Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und der Prozess der Dekolonisierung, in: Conze (ed.), Herausforderung, pp. 179–92, here p. 181.

21 Dirk van Laak, Entwicklungspolitik, Entwicklungshilfe und Entwicklungskooperation in der Ära Adenauer. Traditionen und Neuansätze, in: Conze (ed.), Herausforderung, pp. 156–78, here p. 164.

22 See Hein, Westdeutschen, pp. 37–92; Schmidt, Pushed, pp. 494–501; Carol Lancaster, Foreign Aid. Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics, Chicago/IL 2007, pp. 171–75; Amit Das Gupta, Handel, Hilfe, Hallstein-Doktrin. Die bundesdeutsche Südasienpolitik unter Adenauer und Erhard 1949–1966, Husum 2004.

23 See Hubertus Büschel, Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe. Deutsche Entwicklungsarbeit in Afrika 1960–1975, Frankfurt a. M. 2014; Young-sun Hong, Cold War Germany, the Third World, and the Global Humanitarian Regime, Cambridge 2015.

24 See Hein, Westdeutschen.

global community that were emerging in the West.[25] This interest was ignited by new communication technologies and the visual images of poverty that could be conveyed through them, such as on television, but it was also sparked by scientifically-underpinned theories on growing global interdependence and the changing forms of mobilization in the New Left and the new social movements in Western societies. Motivated by their perceptions of the Vietnam War, many leftists in the Federal Republic in particular became engaged in the Third World movement: they protested against global social inequality and propagated the idea that the North had a moral responsibility for the consequences of colonialism.[26] The momentum of the Third World movement was further bolstered by the burgeoning environmental movement, which popularized the metaphor of "One Earth." It seemed that problems such as poverty, population explosion, and environmental destruction could only be solved together. Civil society groups and the emerging Greens were not the only ones pressing ahead with the programmatic coupling of development and environmental issues – Social Democrats were also involved, and in particular those in West Germany, as evidenced by the Independent Commission on International Development Issues (the North-South Commission) of the UN, which was headed by Willy Brandt. With this move, Brandt took the détente idea at the heart of the new *Ostpolitik* to the global level and combined it with the Social Democratic principle of (global) solidarity.[27]

25 See Marc Frey/Sönke Kunkel, Writing the History of Development. A Review of the Recent Literature, in: Contemporary European History 20 (2011), pp. 215–32, here p. 226; Lancaster, Foreign Aid; on NGOs see Akira Iriye, Global Community. The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World, Berkeley (CA)/Los Angeles (CA)/London 2002, pp. 126–56.
26 See Claudia Olejniczak, Die Dritte-Welt-Bewegung in Deutschland. Konzeptionelle und organisatorische Strukturmerkmale einer neuen sozialen Bewegung, Wiesbaden 1998; Quinn Slobodian, Foreign Front. Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany, Durham (NC)/London 2012; Dorothee Weitbrecht, Aufbruch in die Dritte Welt. Der Internationalismus der Studentenbewegung von 1968 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Göttingen 2012.
27 See North–South. A Programme for Survival; David Kuchenbuch, "Eine Welt." Globales Interdependenzbewusstsein und die Moralisierung des Alltags in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft 38 (2012), pp. 158–84; Bernd Rother, "Entwicklung ist ein anderes Wort für Frieden." Willy Brandt und der Nord-Süd-Konflikt von den 1960er bis zu den 1980er Jahren, in: Jost Dülffer/Gottfried Niedhart (eds.), Frieden durch Demokratie? Genese, Wirkung und Kritik eines Deutungsmusters, Essen 2011, pp. 257–69; Elke Seefried, Globale Sicherheit. Die Wurzeln des politischen Nachhaltigkeitsdiskurses und die Wahrnehmung globaler Interdependenz der 1970er und 1980er Jahre, in: Christoph Kampmann/Wencke Meteling/Angela Marciniak (eds.), "Security turns its eye exclusively to the future." Zum Verhältnis von Sicherheit und Zukunft in der Geschichte (forthcoming).

This segues into the *third* broad topic – economics. In the 1960s, the Federal Republic became a major international economic player as its rapid economic and financial reconsolidation coincided with a new dynamism in global economic networks. Thanks to liberalized trade regulations, the volume of world trade grew by 6.6 per cent between 1958 and 1970,[28] a situation from which the export-strong Federal Republic profited. The countries of the Global South increasingly developed into attractive trade partners for the FRG, both as suppliers of raw materials and markets for exporting goods.[29] However, economic globalization also meant that the states of the South came under growing economic pressure. Experts from this part of the world, such as the Argentinian economist Raúl Prebisch, argued that it was not the lack or absence of aid that hindered development but rather the unregulated global market. This claim was underscored by dependency theory arguments, which diagnosed a growing global economic asymmetry between the industrialized center and the agrarian periphery. A North-South polarization became tangible with the founding of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. For the countries of the South, who formed the Group of 77, this body was to formulate rules for global trade that would ensure Third World countries improved terms of trade, for example through preferential access to the markets of the industrial states and the stabilization of prices for raw materials. At the beginning of the 1970s, this then generated a demand for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). During the oil crisis of 1973, OPEC had massively increased the price of crude oil and curbed production, which temporarily lent weight to those voices advocating a NIEO.[30]

The collapse of the Bretton Woods global monetary system, the decline of the US dollar, and a global economic slump led, at the beginning of the 1970s, to an economization of international politics. Initial studies have shown that this crisis-ridden development allowed the Federal Republic with its stable currency to take up a key position in world politics. The social-liberal coalition looked to stabilize the international economic and monetary system while actively supporting

28 See Jürgen Osterhammel/Niels P. Petersson, Geschichte der Globalisierung. Dimensionen, Prozesse, Epochen, 4th ed., Munich 2007, pp. 93–98.

29 See Frey, Bundesrepublik, in: Conze (ed.), Herausforderung, pp. 187–88; Stefan Rinke, "Der noch unerschlossene Erdteil." Die Bundesrepublik und Lateinamerika im globalen Kontext, in: ibid., pp. 61–78, here p. 66.

30 See Sönke Kunkel, Zwischen Globalisierung, internationalen Organisationen und "global governance." Eine kurze Geschichte des Nord-Süd-Konflikts in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 60 (2012), pp. 555–77; John Toye/Richard Toye, The UN and Global Political Economy. Trade, Finance, and Development, Bloomington/IN 2004, pp. 184–229; Rist, History, pp. 109–70.

the easing of trade restrictions that had grown during the crisis, for instance by playing a leading role at – Western – economic summits.[31] At the same time, with its emerging countries program (*Schwellenländerprogramm*) launched in 1978, it shifted its focus to the export interests of German companies and demanded greater effort on the part of developing countries; but, it also supported replenishing the funds of the World Bank and the IDA for the countries of the South.[32] First studies indicate that the Christian-liberal coalition that took office in 1982 pressed for greater private sector involvement, particularly for middle-sized companies, in development assistance programs.[33] The federal government was moving – albeit more reservedly than other Western governments – in step with the major trend of global liberalization: world trade activity was intensifying considerably and global financial flows expanding dramatically. This grew out of improved transport and communications networks and a politics of liberalization: the economic policy pursued by Western states and the IMF shifted towards privatization, deregulating financial markets, and activating entrepreneurial freedom.[34]

Simultaneously, however, economic aspects and interests became locked into a relationship of structural tension with the *fourth* topic, the issue of human rights. Scholarship, which has literally rediscovered this topic in the last few years, has underlined that human rights did not evolve naturally as it were, but rather that they have to be understood "as a historically contingent object of politics that gained salience internationally since the 1940s – and globally since the 1970s – as a means of staking political claims and counterclaims."[35] With the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN General Assembly in 1948, they received formal validation – and came into conflict with the principle of sovereignty.

31 See Niall Ferguson et al. (eds.), The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective, Cambridge/MA 2010; Conze, Suche, pp. 516–17; Enrico Böhm, Die Sicherheit des Westens. Entstehung und Funktion der G7-Gipfel (1975–1981), Munich 2014.

32 See Haftendorn, Außenpolitik, pp. 239–45; Lohmann, Entwicklungspolitik, pp. 149–88; Schmidt, Pushed, pp. 490–502.

33 See Wirsching, Abschied, pp. 575–80.

34 See Daniel T. Rodgers, Age of Fracture, Cambridge (MA)/London 2012, pp. 41–76; David Held et al., Global Transformations. Politics, Economics and Culture, Cambridge 1999.

35 Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, Introduction. Genealogies of Human Rights, in: idem (ed.), Human Rights in the Twentieth Century, New York 2011, pp. 1–26, here p. 4; Samuel Moyn, The Last Utopia. Human Rights in History, Cambridge (MA)/London 2010; Jan Eckel, Die Ambivalenz des Guten. Menschenrechte in der internationalen Politik seit den 1940ern, Göttingen 2014, on historical scholarship pp. 18–27.

In the 1970s, the international human rights discourse gained momentum. Firstly, the 1975 Helsinki Accords of the CSCE declared human rights to be a central principle in East-West relations. This stimulated the formation of civil society and dissident groups in the Eastern bloc states who pressed for the observance of human rights, such as the freedom to travel. Secondly, the new US President Jimmy Carter declared human rights to be a main pillar of American foreign policy, an emphasis also designed to legitimate a withdrawal from the disastrous Vietnam War. Thirdly, as already mentioned, in many places a new sense of a global community was emerging in the 1970s, facilitated by a worldwide media audience and drawing on the programmatic reorientation of many leftists post-1968. The number of NGOs – such as Amnesty International – grew which defined themselves as part of a global civil society and protested against human rights violations.[36] Fourthly, instances of human rights violations were spiraling again in the Global South. Primarily interested in political and economic stabilization, governments in postcolonial states often denied opposition groups the very same rights they had demanded in their struggles against former colonial powers. At the same time, they came under enormous pressure because of the severe economic dislocations of the 1970s. This contributed to a situation in which authoritarian regimes – and above all right-wing military dictatorships – could establish themselves in Latin America, Africa and Asia. In a way, this turned human rights violations into an "emblem of the 'Third World'."[37] NGOs not only denounced these violations, but also confronted Western governments with the question of how trade relations and indeed arms exports to authoritarian regimes were reconcilable with a foreign policy based on values that expounded inviolable rights. In doing so, they directed attention to the problems associated with awarding large project contracts that were key to development policy in crisis regions, many of which often served to stabilize autocratic regimes rather than benefiting the civilian population.[38] Under the banner of "humanitarianism," this topic has recently begun to attract the attention of historians.[39]

The human rights discourse also took hold in the Federal Republic, where it was also fostered by different groups. Initial studies have shown that the CDU/

36 Hoffmann, Introduction; Eckel, Ambivalenz, pp. 343–767; idem/Samuel Moyn (eds.), The Breakthrough. Human Rights in the 1970s, Philadelphia/PA 2013.

37 Eckel, Ambivalenz, p. 770.

38 See Marc Lindenberg/Coralie Bryant, Going Global. Transforming Relief and Development NGOs, Bloomfield/CT 2001; Eckel, Ambivalenz.

39 See Michael Barnett, Empire of Humanity. A History of Humanitarianism, Ithaca (NY)/London 2011; Johannes Paulmann, Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century, in: Humanity 4 (2013), pp. 215–38.

CSU in particular – first while in opposition, then from 1982 in the government – focused on human rights in the socialist states, a pattern of thought that was quite characteristic of the Cold War.[40] Until recently, human rights policy towards the countries of the South had not attracted much scholarly attention.[41] A few studies have since appeared that look at German NGOs[42] as well as relations with Libya[43], the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile[44] and the Argentinian military dictatorship; the latter eventually caught the attention of the public because of the criticism leveled at the Foreign Office for its lack of effort in trying to secure the release of the student and activist Elisabeth Käsemann, a German national tortured and then murdered by the junta in 1977.[45]

This Volume: Aims and Findings

The publication of the *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* (GYCH) is intended to serve a number of purposes. With each edition organized around a single theme, the GYCH aims to make articles originally published in German by the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (VfZ) available to a broad academic audience by offering their important findings in English translation. At the same time, the translated VfZ articles are accompanied by new, original essays.

Volume 2 of the GYCH is devoted to the relations between West Germany and the Global South during the Cold War. It not only looks at the diplomatic level, but also takes into account transnational processes of exchange comprised of

40 See Eckel, Ambivalenz, pp. 567–82.

41 See Ulf Engel, Die Afrikapolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949–1999. Rollen und Identitäten, Hamburg 2000, pp. 185–200; Silke Voß, Parlamentarische Menschenrechtspolitik. Die Behandlung internationaler Menschenrechtsfragen im Deutschen Bundestag unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Unterausschusses für Menschenrechte und humanitäre Hilfe (1972–1998), Düsseldorf 2000; Philipp Rock, Macht, Märkte und Moral. Zur Rolle der Menschenrechte in der Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren, Frankfurt a. M. 2010; Eckel, Ambivalenz.

42 See Lora Wildenthal, The Language of Human Rights in West Germany, Philadelphia/PA 2013.

43 See Tim Szatkowski, Gaddafis Libyen und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969 bis 1982, Munich 2013.

44 See Georg Dufner, Partner im Kalten Krieg. Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Chile, Frankfurt a.M. 2014; Eckel, Ambivalenz, pp. 583–710.

45 See Dorothee Weitbrecht, Profite versus Menschenleben. Argentinien und das schwierige Erbe der Diplomatie, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 58 (2013), pp. 93–104; for a political science perspective, see Tino Thun, Menschenrechte und Außenpolitik. Bundesrepublik Deutschland – Argentinien 1976–1983, Bremen 2006.

patterns of perception, interpretation and action within the political, economic, and social realms. One of its goals is to extend the scope of historical scholarship into the 1970s and early 1980s, which have hitherto only received sporadic attention, in part due to limited access to state documents. This will provide a gauge for evaluating the significance of the 1970s, recently described as a "key watershed"[46] in European and indeed global history, for the relations between the Federal Republic and the Global South. On the other hand, the volume focuses on Asian and Latin American countries because West German policies and development aid efforts in Africa have already been the subject of a number of publications. The essays therefore explore West Germany's relations with Cambodia, Chile, Brazil, Iran and Afghanistan within the framework of above all (Western) European and transatlantic alliance structures. These are complemented by an essay by *Bernd Greiner* introducing the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies, whose objective is to promote German and international research networks on the Cold War from its base in a city that was one of the major flashpoints of the East-West conflict.

The essays in this volume elaborate – with varying emphasis – how, *firstly*, the Cold War still shaped the politics of the West German government towards the states of the South in the 1970s and early 1980s. Detailing West German relations to Cambodia through the 1960s and 1970s, *Tim Szatkowski* plots the race between the FRG and the GDR for a higher-ranking diplomatic representation in Phnom Penh and shows how the "Grand Coalition" invented the *kambodschieren* solution. Despite considering other options in the run-up to the UN General Assembly of 1979, West Germany recognized the murderous Khmer Rouge regime in the end. As Szatkowski shows, this was not only due to the lack of experience in UN decision-making processes, but also because geostrategic considerations and obligations in the EPC played a vital role. Commenting on this article, *Kiran Klaus Patel* argues that any understanding of West Germany's vote needs to pay greater attention to the logic of the German-German rivalry between the competing systems. The social-liberal coalition, as Patel notes, adopted the simplified perspective of the East-West conflict, hampered by its "Cold War myopia." *Georg J. Dufner* argues in a similar vein, showing that the policies of both German states towards Chile followed the logic of the Cold War. In the 1960s, West Germany

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46 See Geoff Eley, End of the Post-war? The 1970s as a Key Watershed in European History, in: Journal of Modern European History 9 (2011), pp. 12–17; Ferguson et al., Shock; Anselm Doering-Manteuffel/Lutz Raphael, Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970, 3rd ed., Göttingen 2012; Elke Seefried, Rethinking Progress. On the Origin of the Modern Sustainability Discourse, 1970–2000, in: Journal of Modern European History 13 (2015), pp. 377–400.

supported the Frei government, whereas the GDR heavily subsidized Allende's republic in the early 1970s. Seen as a promising developing country and important political partner, Chile played a leading role for both Bonn and East Berlin. Consequently, after the Pinochet coup of 1973, it became a disputed state for the ideological conflict between the two German states as well as an issue of contention fiercely discussed in West German civil society. Arguing with a somewhat different emphasis, *William Glenn Gray* uses the case of Brazil to show that while the Cold War strongly inflected West German policy towards the Global South, Bonn's most fundamental goal was to contribute to preserving stability, which, in its eyes, not only entailed economic assistance, but also support for anti-communist social forces. By way of contrast, *Frank Bösch*, who offers the first study of the West German policy response to the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran, and *Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf*, who looks at how NATO states reacted to the Afghan crisis in 1979/80, both emphasize that West German politicians were firmly trapped in the categories of Cold War thinking. One grave consequence was that they underestimated a new factor in international relations that eluded the binary structure of bloc confrontation – the rise of radical Islamism and its importance as a foundation for the long-term and independent exercise of political power. That said, however, *Bösch* and *von Bressensdorf* also underline that the West German government – in a clear effort to draw a line between its own policies and the politics of Carter and the new US President Ronald Reagan – tried to salvage the policy of détente and (like the British Foreign Office) cautioned against a punitive policy.

Conversely, the essays bring to light, *secondly*, the importance attached to *economic* motives on the one hand and *moral* discourses and practices – the topic of human rights – on the other. Drawing on archival sources, the essays confirm the thesis that successive West German governments attached less importance to questions of human rights; not only Cold War politics, but also the increasing priority given to economic interests factored into this shift. *William Glenn Gray* emphasizes that Brandt's social-liberal coalition, and, even more, the government of Helmut Schmidt, sought to maintain the economic stability of trading partners in South America; it sent an important signal by approving the sale of nuclear reactors, while "extra-judicial killings failed to make much of an impression." *Bösch*'s study on Iran corroborates this thesis: he shows that West German politicians and businesses engaged with the Khomeini regime, remaining relatively unaffected by the public human rights discourse despite mass executions. West Germany thus courted political and economic exchange with Iran more than other Western countries.

Thirdly, the articles shed light on the spectrum of *actors* and their *communication strategies*, confirming the thesis that it was not the BMZ but the Foreign

Office that played the main role in formulating and implementing policies in the Global South. This applied not just to the head of the Foreign Office – Minister Genscher – but also to the personnel on the ground, namely in the embassies. In some cases, party members were also able to exert influence. Above all the CDU/CSU, the major mainstream political opposition of the 1970s, protested against human rights violations against Catholics in Brazil, successfully bringing the issue to public attention, as *Gray* shows. Likewise *Dufner* illustrates that political foundations often acted as mediators. Moreover, these studies point out that it was an increasingly important media-driven public sphere, mobilized through the new channels of communication and information fostered by technological innovations, that revitalized the topic of human rights. The strong presence of the 1973 Chilean coup in the media forced both East and West Germany to take a publicly visible stance and adopt a position, vis-à-vis both the international community and their own populations. In Brazil, too, the media coverage challenged the West German government to react. In addition – and often in cooperation with the media – civil society groups raised their voices in the 1970s. As *Dufner* shows, above all leftist human rights activists publicly opposed the Chilean military dictatorship, whereas in the case of Brazil, as *Gray* documents, the Catholic Church and associations protested against the imprisonment of priests and laypersons by the regime. *Kiran Klaus Patel* points to the heated discussion in West Germany about the Khmer Rouge regime, which was fiercely condemned by some using analogies with the Holocaust, but also defended by communist and leftist intellectuals. In general, debates were often triggered by personal interaction, namely the political engagement of German nationals in countries of the South, or the local activists living in exile in Germany, but further study is needed to clarify and evaluate the importance of communication between protest groups.

Fourthly, and finally, the articles shed light on how the Federal Republic's global aspirations and opportunities to exert influence changed after its accession to the UN. *Tim Szatkowski* argues that the FRG, as a novice on the international stage, did not really have much of a chance to exert influence in the case of Cambodia. *Kiran Klaus Patel*, however, maintains that West Germany was an international player long before the mid-1970s, albeit one with little experience or practical knowledge when it came to dealing with the pressing issues of policy towards the South. In contrast, *Bösch* and *von Bressensdorf* underline West Germany's role as a diplomatic mediator. Although a "Second Cold War," triggered at the end of the 1970s by the NATO Dual Track Decision and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, brought with it a renewed "cold front" in the confrontation between East and West, the social-liberal coalition sought to prevent tensions from escalating in both East-West and North-South relations. This strategy

was not only motivated by West Germany's perilous geographic position at the front of the Cold War, but also by efforts to defend the legacy of détente.

Perspectives

The topic of West Germany's relations to the Global South is a field of research whose potential – in particular for the period since the 1970s – has by no means been exhausted. *Firstly*, it seems necessary to explore in detail how the FRG's political stances and specific policies towards the states of the South were integrated into European and international structures and organizations, a line of inquiry that also demands consideration of the post 1989/90 years. The policy pursued by West Germany in the EPC regarding the South from the beginning of the 1970s has only been examined in piecemeal fashion so far.[47] The same applies to West Germany's aspirations to play a greater role and exert influence on a global level, including its communication strategies and decision-making patterns, not least within the UN and its sub organizations such as the UNDP.[48] More attention needs to be paid to aspects specific to West Germany in particular: what kind of impact did the division of Germany and the country's nuclear-defense dependency on the United States – as compared to France or Great Britian – have on these structures? What did its somewhat limited colonial past and the experience of National Socialism mean for questions of human rights? And what role did its position as a major exporter with strong worldwide economic ties play?

Secondly, West Germany's international relations and transnational ties to dictatorships and authoritarian regimes in the Global South merit systematic study. In particular, the importance that was attached to human rights violations on the one hand and West German export interests on the other needs to be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Likewise, the policies pursued by the Federal Republic towards regimes in Latin America as well as the Near and Middle East

47 On the Near East policy of the EPC in the 1970s, see Daniel Möckli, European Foreign Policy during the Cold War: Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity, London 2009, pp. 184–248; Andreas Bestfleisch, Eine europäisierte Außenpolitik? Die Nahostpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die Europäische Politische Zusammenarbeit in den 1970er Jahren, in: Gabriele Clemens (ed.), The Quest for Europeanization. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Multiple Process, Stuttgart 2017, pp. 51–71.

48 See Rock, Macht, pp. 244–68; for a political science perspective, see Christian Freuding, Deutschland in der Weltpolitik. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland als nichtständiges Mitglied im Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen in den Jahren 1977/78, 1987/88 und 1995/96, Baden-Baden 2000.

(aside from the Palestine conflict) have yet to receive much attention from historians. Edited source documents from the 1970s show that the Foreign Office recommended that West Germany continue to provide development assistance to Latin American dictatorships because decreasing economic growth might encourage communism, and it opted for quiet diplomacy to address concerns about human rights violations.[49] Moreover, more detailed consideration needs to be given to how the West German government dealt with one of the key questions of its foreign policy, namely the export of arms to areas of tension, which is prohibited by the *Grundgesetz*, the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany.[50]

Thirdly, it is important to broaden the perspective in terms of the actors involved. Scholarship has only looked at the role of actors in the countries of the Global South and non-government protagonists to a limited extent. We know little about which states in the southern hemisphere actively sought to establish political and economic ties to West Germany, and which perceptions and interpretations guided their endeavors. This also applies to interactions between individual and collective actors in the countries of the South and West German civil society groups. It is also essential to explore the role of multinational corporations within this context: what opportunities to exert influence, both economically and socially, did German companies with subsidiaries in the South have? What kind of political significance did they acquire after the liberalization of global trade in the 1970s? And how much room to maneuver was given to employees working on-site in these countries?[51] The same applies to experts in different fields: while there are studies on development experts,[52] little is known about the social scientists, economists, and environmental experts who advised West Germany's politicians on the situation in the states of the South or those who advised politicians in these countries on foreign policy and trade with the West.

49 Note by Staatsminister Moersch, July 15, 1976, in: Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1976, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2007, doc. 234, pp. 1087–91.

50 See, for example, William Glenn Gray, Waffen aus Deutschland? Bundestag, Rüstungshilfe und Waffenexport 1961 bis 1975, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 64 (2016), pp. 327–64; on the discussion surrounding arms exports to Iran, see the article by Frank Bösch in this volume, pp. 137–71.

51 See, for example, the case of Volkswagen in Brazil currently under discussion, Stefanie Dodt/Boris Herrmann, Ohne Bedauern, in: Süddeutsche Zeitung, July 24, 2017, p. 3; Antoine Acker, Volkswagen in the Amazon. The Tragedy of Global Development in Modern Brazil, Cambridge 2017 (forthcoming).

52 See, for example, Büschel, Hilfe, pp. 185–369.

Fourthly, the discursive connection between global environmental and development questions needs to be analyzed in a more systematic way. As mentioned, since the early 1970s – i.e. since the discussion on the study *The Limits to Growth* and the UN Conference on the Human Environment of 1972 – development policy has been closely entwined in international politics and scholarship with environmental issues. While actors in the North pressed for observing environmental standards, poverty was seen as a cause of environmental pollution in the South. The notion of "One World" coupled environmental and development questions as interdependent, welding the future of the North and the South together. The various notions of "sustainable development" stem from this constellation, but the significance of this concept for West Germany's environmental and development policy still needs to be studied.[53]

Fifthly, the subject of refugees, migration, and asylum is an obviously pressing and major field of research in terms of the relationship between West Germany and the Global South. The civil wars fought along national, ethnic and religious lines, the forced migration deliberately orchestrated by governments, and a lack of economic prospects have generated sizeable domestic and transnational flows of refugees. These have not only destabilized neighboring states, but also affected the countries of the Global North, who found themselves faced with a growing number of refugee situations, triggered by both political crisis and war, from the mid-1970s onwards. While some scholarship has been published on case studies that were widely discussed at the time, for instance the "boat people"[54] from Vietnam or Chilean refugees in West and East Germany,[55] violent conflict and labor migration[56] are a highly promising field for future research.

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We would like to thank many colleagues who helped bring the second volume of the GYCH to fruition. In particular, we would like to express our thanks to our co-

53 See Seefried, Rethinking Progress.

54 See, for example, Frank Bösch, Engagement für Flüchtlinge. Die Aufnahme vietnamesischer "Boat People" in der Bundesrepublik, in: Zeithistorische Forschungen 14 (2017), pp. 13–40; Julia Kleinschmidt, Die Aufnahme der ersten "boat people" in die Bundesrepublik, in: Deutschland Archiv Online, November 26, 2013, www.bpb.de/170611 [accessed July 15, 2017].

55 See Jost Maurin, Die DDR als Asylland. Flüchtlinge aus Chile 1973–1989, in: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 51 (2003), pp. 814–31; Georg Dufner, Praxis, Symbol und Politik. Das chilenische Exil in der Bundesrepublik nach 1973, in: Santiago-Berlin. Forschung & Meinung, December 20, 2013, www.santiago-berlin.net/?p=92 [accessed July 15, 2017].

56 See Hong, Cold War Germany, pp. 250–86.

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Tim Szatkowski

From Sihanouk to Pol Pot

Diplomacy, Human Rights, and Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Cambodia, 1967–1979

Introduction

The conviction of the former director of the prison "S-21"[1] in Phnom Penh, Kaing Guek Eav, on July 26, 2010 was a milestone in Cambodian history. This day marked the end of the first trial of a leading representative of the Khmer Rouge,[2] who had been responsible for the torturing and killing of 15,000 to 20,000 people. During the trial, however, he professed to have been nothing more than a small cog in a big machine, who was only following orders.

Prior to these events, a tug of war over the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) in Phnom Penh,[3] supported by the UN, had dragged on for many years. In particular, controversy had plagued the matter of the composition of the tribunal because Cambodia insisted upon the right to appoint the majority of its judges. It was no coincidence that the government of this Southeast Asian state tried to stall the implementation of the extraordinary courts, especially because Prime Minister Hun Sen, who has been in power since 1985, had been a member of the Khmer Rouge himself – just like several cabinet members and numerous followers of the Cambodian People's Party (CPP). In the last half of the 1970s, however, Hun Sen had managed to flee to Vietnam, "just in time" before he could fall victim to the internal purges within the Khmer Rouge.[4] Moreover, he feared – or rather purported to anticipate – that the establishment of a tribunal would destabilize the country. In many cases, it

1 "Sontebal 21," the state's central security center, was also known by the name "Tuol Sleng" after the district in Phnom Penh where it was located.

2 The name Khmer Rouge was coined by Norodom Sihanouk and referred to "leftist political forces." It was then applied to representatives of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) and finally to the Pol Pot group within the CPK, which had emerged as the most influential faction. See Patrick Raszelenberg, Die Roten Khmer und der Dritte Indochina-Krieg, Hamburg 1995, p. 42.

3 The homepage of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC): www.eccc.gov.kh [accessed February 3, 2017].

4 See Erhard Haubold, Die ausstehende Sühne für zwei Millionen Morde. Kommen die überlebenden Führer des Pol-Pot-Regimes vor ein internationales Tribunal?, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), December 10, 1998, p. 16.

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had only been possible to put a stop to the Khmer Rouge guerrilla activities that had lasted until the end of the 1990s by promising impunity. Any judicial action taken against these crimes thus had the potential to nullify this amnesty.[5]

In addition, international support for the tribunal waned at times. Neither the People's Republic of China nor the United States had any interest in the establishment of an extraordinary court. As a traditional ally of Cambodia, China had supported the Khmer Rouge after the invasion of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia on December 25, 1978, primarily by supplying weapons. It had resisted the seizure of power by a pro-Vietnamese government (or rather the establishment of a "People's Revolutionary Council") under Heng Samrin on January 8, 1979. On February 17, 1979, China launched a military offensive against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which sought to establish itself as the new hegemonic power in Southeast Asia. The U.S. was accused of having created fertile ground for the seeds of communism to take hold among much of the civilian population with its devastating carpet-bombing of Cambodia over the course of the Vietnam War from 1969 onwards and particularly in the first half of 1973. Moreover, the U.S. provided major support to the Khmer Rouge after 1979.[6] For many years, a "proxy war" was waged in Cambodia in which the People's Republic of China and the U.S. had one thing in common, namely an anti-Vietnamese and therefore anti-Soviet stance.[7]

The controversy over the establishment of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia left a bitter aftertaste. Likewise, the first verdict against Kaing Guek Eav issued on July 26, 2010 – 35 years' imprisonment (shortly afterwards, the prison term was reduced to 30 years by taking a previous detention into consideration) for, among other things, war crimes and crimes against humanity[8] – was not met with unanimous approval. By including all of his former prison terms, the defendant would have been in prison for less than 20 years and possibly been released during his lifetime. Relatives of the victims were outraged.

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5 See Hans-Christian Rößler, Die Schatten der Schreckensherrschaft Pol Pots fallen auf Kambodscha. Die Vorbereitungen für das UN-Tribunal zur Verurteilung führender Mitglieder der Roten Khmer kommen nur schleppend voran, in: FAZ, December 5, 2000, p. 8.

6 See Erhard Haubold, Die ausstehende Sühne für zwei Millionen Morde. Kommen die überlebenden Führer des Pol-Pot-Regimes vor ein internationales Tribunal?, in: FAZ, December 10, 1998, p. 16.

7 Sebastian von Münchow, Administration souveräner Staaten durch die Vereinten Nationen. Post Conflict Peace-building in Kambodscha, PhD thesis, Vienna 1999, pp. 59–60, 63–64, quote p. 64.

8 See Peter Sturm, Der erste Verurteilte könnte der einzige bleiben. Kambodscha und das Erbe Pol Pots, in: FAZ, July 27, 2010, p. 7.

And yet, it should be born in mind that this trial, conducted in accordance with the rule of law, was a significant watershed in the process of coming to terms with Cambodian history under the rule of the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1979. The sentence against Kaing Guek Eav has since been amended on appeal; according to the new verdict of February 2012, the defendant will be in prison for life. Khieu Samphan[9] and Nuon Chea[10] were also sentenced to life in August 2014, and their appeals were denied in 2016. Ieng Sary[11] died on March 14, 2013 before a sentence could be handed down, while Ieng Thirith[12] was declared unfit to stand trial due to health concerns and subsequently died on August 22, 2015. The key protagonist of the crimes,[13] the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Pol Pot, died in 1998 without having been brought to justice.[14]

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) supported the ECCC with a total of roughly five million Euros up to the end of 2011, and further payments have been promised. It is, therefore, the fourth largest donor country.[15] But how did the social liberal coalition government under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher respond to these severe violations of

9 Khieu Samphan was prime minister in April/May 1976 and head of state of "Democratic Kampuchea" from April 1976 to January 1979.

10 Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, is known as its chief ideologist and was president of the Kampuchean People's Representative Assembly from 1976 to 1979 and temporarily, as the deputy of Pol Pot, acting prime minister of "Democratic Kampuchea."

11 Ieng Sary was deputy Kampuchean prime minister and foreign minister from 1975 to 1979.

12 Ieng Thirith, Ieng Sary's wife, was minister of social affairs from 1975 to 1979.

13 The question of whether the Pol Pot regime committed genocide is quite controversial. The answer depends on which group of victims is taken into account. Regarding the Cambodian people, the term genocide certainly does not apply to the whole population, since the regime eliminated people according to certain social groups (for instance civil servants or military officers of the old regime), but not because they were Cambodians. The persecution of the Vietnamese minority in Cambodia on racial grounds, however, is a different matter. See Raszelenberg, Rote Khmer, pp. 119–22.

14 Pol Pot was head of government from May 1976 to January 1979. In September 1976, he resigned for health and/or strategic reasons. He was temporarily replaced by Nuon Chea before resuming his office once again. See David P. Chandler, Brother Number One. A Political Biography of Pol Pot, Boulder (CO)/Oxford 1999, pp. 122–23; Philip Short, Pol Pot. The History of a Nightmare, London 2004, pp. 361–62.

15 See the Bericht der Bundesregierung zur Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und den Vereinten Nationen und einzelnen, global agierenden, internationalen Organisationen und Institutionen im Rahmen des VN-Systems in den Jahren 2010 und 2011, August 17, 2012, in: Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, printed matter 17/10502, pp. 107–08, www.bundestag.de/dokumente/drucksachen/index.html [accessed February 3, 2017].

human rights from the mid to late 1970s? The U.S. government took a decisive stance, not least due to President Jimmy Carter's[16] active human rights policy. On the occasion of the International Cambodia Hearing in Oslo from April 21 to 23, 1978[17], the Carter administration published a "Presidential Statement on Cambodia" condemning the violation of human rights – as explicitly instructed by Carter – "in the strongest manner:" thousands of Cambodian refugees had blamed their government for killing hundreds of thousands of people through their policy of genocide."[18] In the U.S., the human rights situation in Cambodia was also addressed at the congressional level early on. A hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, took place with leading experts such as John Barron[19] and David P. Chandler[20] as speakers on May 3, 1977.[21] The third edition of the "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" from early 1980 – the first edition was published in 1978 – left nothing to be desired in terms of explicitness: "Nowhere in the world are human rights more beleaguered than in Kampuchea."[22]

Meanwhile in the FRG, the opposition parties accused the Schmidt/Genscher government of withholding knowledge of "the murder of millions of people in Cambodia by communists" from "the public."[23] This accusation came in the context of a motion issued by the CDU/CSU (*Christlich Demokratische Union*

16 See President Carter, address on the basic ideas of the new American foreign policy at the University of Notre Dame (Indiana) on May 22, 1977. Carter emphasized the obligation of the U.S. "towards human rights as a fundamental principle of our foreign policy," see Europa-Archiv 32 (1977), documents, pp. 405–10, here p. 407.

17 Telegram no. 166 and no. 167 by Ambassador Otto Heipertz, Oslo, to Auswärtiges Amt (Federal Foreign Office; henceforth: AA), April 21 and 24, 1978, in: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (henceforth: PA/AA), B 37, dept. 340, vol. 107619, and B 30, dept. 231, vol. 121124.

18 Telegram no. 1672 by Envoy Niels Hansen, Washington, to AA, May 3, 1978, in: ibid.

19 See John Daniel Barron/Anthony Paul, Murder of a Gentle Land. The Untold Story of Communist Genocide in Cambodia, New York 1977. John Daniel Barron (1930–2005) was a journalist with Reader's Digest in Washington.

20 See David P. Chandler, A History of Cambodia, 4th ed., Boulder/CO 2008, and idem, Brother Number One. The American historian Chandler was a diplomat in Phnom Penh in the early 1960s.

21 See Human Rights in Cambodia. Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations. House of Representatives. Ninety-fifth Congress. First Session, May 3, 1977, Washington, D.C. 1977, pp. 5–19.

22 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1979. Report submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs – U.S. House of Representatives – and Committee on Foreign Relations – U.S. Senate – by the Department of State, February 4, 1980, Washington, D.C. 1980, p. 463.

23 Remarks of Member of the Bundestag Hans Graf Huyn (CSU), in: Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, Stenographische Berichte, vol. 101, 20th session on March 23, 1977, p. 1214.

Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union) parliamentary group of the Bundestag on the subject of the “preparation of a documentation of the human rights situation in Germany and German nationals in the communist states of Eastern Europe.” The government denied these allegations and argued that it had indeed “expressed concerns about the reported events,” but pointed out that its scope of action was extremely limited.[24] A prominent diplomat was among the contemporary critics of the government, namely the West German Ambassador to Bangladesh, Walther Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein, who also headed the so-called remaining staff (*Reststab*) in Phnom Penh from 1969 to 1975. In December 1979, he noted that “the reports of the unspeakable atrocities of the Pol Pot regime are not exaggerated.” When comparing the different regimes in terms of their respect for human rights, he claimed, “the observer must clearly give preference to Heng Samrin, the Vietnamese dominated puppet-government, rather than the Pol Pot regime.” The Vietnamese “aggression of 1979,” the Ambassador explained, reflected “certain aspects of a humanitarian intervention.” Thus, by voting in favor of the Pol Pot regime in the UN on September 21, 1979 – on the matter of who was to represent Cambodia at the United Nations – the Federal Republic had “compromised”[25] its human rights policy in Marschall von Bieberstein’s eyes. These were unusually plain and strong words from a serving diplomat.

There were also different opinions on Cambodia within the West German government. In particular, the Federal Justice Minister Hans-Jochen Vogel expressed his view on the matter. In a letter to Genscher from early 1977, he emphasized: “As far as I recall, there have been other cases [...] with very similar news reports in which the government took a very decisive stance.”[26] Genscher had indeed “little doubt that [...] violent excesses had been committed.” But, in his opinion, there was “hardly a sufficient basis to publicly accuse the government in Phnom Penh,” because “absolutely reliable first-hand information” was lacking. Accounts given by Cambodian refugees, particularly by those in Thailand, he noted, were “not always without contradictions.” Finally, Genscher referred to the “perspective of the vast majority of Third World states in which the events in Cambodia are seen as a ‘victory of the revolutionary forces of a small country against imperialism’.”[27]

24 Reply of State Minister in the Federal Foreign Office, Klaus von Dohnanyi, to a written inquiry of the Member of the Bundestag Karl-Heinz Narjes (CDU), in: ibid., vol. 103, 56th session on November 11, 1977, pp. 4352–53.

25 Report no. 784 by Ambassador Marschall von Bieberstein, Dacca, to AA, December 17, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 110609.

26 Letter by Vogel to Genscher, January 25, 1977, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 302, vol. 105097.

27 Letter by Genscher to Vogel, February 4, 1977, in: ibid.

However, Vogel was not deterred by Genscher's remarks. He kept pressing for a discussion in cabinet and inquired in February 1978 "whether the German federal government might possibly consider making a statement in response to these events."[28] But nothing happened for several months. In the fall of 1978, Vogel addressed Genscher once again.[29] The foreign minister finally responded on December 14, 1978, shortly before the rule of the Khmer Rouge came to an end. Referring to his earlier arguments, he pointed out that knowledge of the human rights violations was "based exclusively on the accounts of refugees" that were "not always free of contradictions." However, Genscher also stated that it was "probably beyond doubt" that a great number of people had been killed.[30] This correspondence gives the impression that the Federal Foreign Office, and Genscher himself in particular, blocked Vogel deliberately. Bearing in mind Marschall von Biebersteins remarks and Vogel's inquiries, this article will explore and evaluate the response of the West German government to the developments in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. In doing so, it will also take into account the history leading up to these events as well as the development of bilateral relations between the two countries from the late 1960s on.

From the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations to the Seizure of Power by the Khmer Rouge, 1967–1975

On December 3, 1967, a day of "bright sunshine," Ambassador Gerd Berendonck presented his credentials letter to Cambodia's head of state, Norodom Sihanouk, in the throne hall of the Royal Palace in Phnom Penh. At this point, the bilateral relations between the two countries seemed to be as unclouded as the Cambodian sky. Berendonck reported that German development aid was highly regarded in Phnom Penh. Sihanouk also acknowledged the statement of the West German government regarding the borders of Cambodia.[31] In a letter to the Cambodian

28 Letter by the Dept. for Cabinet and Parliamentary Affairs in the Federal Justice Ministry to the Dept. for Cabinet and Parliamentary Affairs in the AA, February 27, 1978, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 107619.
29 Letter by Vogel to Genscher, October 5, 1978, in: ibid.
30 Letter by Genscher to Vogel, December 14, 1978, in: ibid.
31 Report no. 519 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, December 6, 1967, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 406.

head of state of September 29, 1967, Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger had emphasized that the FRG would respect and recognize the inviolability of the country's borders.[32] Kiesinger's promise met a key objective of the head of state and the country, which had gained full independence from France on November 9, 1953, and whose unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and independence had been confirmed at the Geneva Conference on Indochina in July 1954.[33] The FRG's recognition of Cambodia's borders was important in two respects: historically, because the territorial expansion of the neighboring states of Thailand in the west and Vietnam in the east (or rather their respective predecessor states) had traditionally jeopardized the existence of Cambodia (or rather the Angkor empire and later the kingdom around the capital Phnom Penh); and currently, because of the looming danger of being drawn into the Vietnam War or rather the Second Indochina War.[34] By the time official diplomatic relations were established at the end of 1967, Cambodia had already received 20 million DM (*Deutsche Mark*) in capital assistance from West Germany. In 1968, another four million were granted. This was also augmented by additional technical assistance amounting to almost ten million DM.[35]

In December 1967, a more than ten-year development came to an end that had initially begun with the international recognition of Cambodia by the FRG in November 1956. Official diplomatic relations were not yet established at this point, because Cambodia was determined to maintain its political neutrality. The country's stance rested on several factors, and "the historical development, the political situation, and the mentality of the people and their head of state" proved to be particularly decisive.[36] In addition to the potential threat posed by Thailand and Vietnam as well as the Vietnam War and the resulting efforts to maintain territorial integrity, the "Buddhist attitude" of the Cambodians also played a role, "according to which one is allowed to receive from everyone without obligations."[37] Moreover, it was also not in Sihanouk's nature "to commit himself to anything."[38]

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32 Note by AA, Dept. I B 5, July 9, 1968, in: ibid.

33 See points eleven and twelve of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indochina, July 21, 1954, in: Europa-Archiv 9 (1954), p. 6823.

34 On the development of the country, see Chandler, History; Karl-Heinz Golzio, Geschichte Kambodschas. Das Land der Khmer von Angkor bis zur Gegenwart, Munich 2003.

35 Memo by AA, Dept. I B 5, undated (probably July 1968), Aufzeichnung über das Königreich Kambodscha, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 407.

36 Report no. 27 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, January 10, 1969, in: ibid., vol. 467.

37 Ibid.

38 Report no. 172 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, April 25, 1968, in: ibid., vol. 406.

Sihanouk's term in office – as king from 1941 to 1955 and as prime minister after that until 1960 as well as at various times before 1955, and, finally as "head of state" from 1960 – was marked by "corruption, nepotism, economic decline, and social disparities along with the simultaneous suppression of any opposition."[39] It was a "semi totalitarian feudal regime."[40] Nevertheless, Sihanouk,[41] who died in Beijing on October 15, 2012, remained a towering father figure symbolizing unity – and, of course, the clearly dominant political force in the country – for many Cambodians, especially among the peasant population. In terms of foreign policy, his "maneuvering between Washington, Beijing, and Hanoi"[42] – and we might add Moscow – was successful for a long time. Cambodian policy, as Ambassador Berendonck put it diplomatically, could be termed "extremely flexible."[43] The FRG soon felt the effects of this policy given that its Achilles heel, namely the division of Germany and its political rivalry with the German Democratic Republic (GDR), became apparent in the countries of the "Third World."[44] At least for a time, West Germany was able to score points against its rival in the East thanks to its "economic power" and the hopes that the Cambodians attached to it.[45]

In 1962, the GDR managed to set up a consulate general in Phnom Penh, whereas the FRG established a diplomatic mission ("representation") two years later on February 19, 1964 in the Cambodian capital. When the GDR recognized Cambodia's borders in a statement in 1967, its consulate general was upgraded to a diplomatic "representation," making its diplomatic status the same as the FRG. This brought the GDR a step closer to its objective of being internationally recognized by another non-communist state. However, in late 1967, the FRG again took the lead, when its "representation" was transformed into an embassy.[46]

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39 Peter Hazdra, Die UNO-Friedensoperation in Kambodscha. Vorgeschichte, Konzept, Verlauf und kritische Evaluierung des internationalen Engagements, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1997, p. 38.

40 Report no. 64 by Marschall von Bieberstein, Vortragender Legationsrat, Phnom Penh, to AA, February 23, 1973, Landesaufzeichnung für die Republik Khmer, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 312, vol. 100232.

41 For a brief portrayal, see Erich Follath, Zum Tod von Norodom Sihanouk. Der traurige Champagner-König, www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/kambodschas-frueherer-koenig-sihanouk-gestorben-a-861399.html [accessed February 3, 2012].

42 Peter J. Opitz, Konfliktformationen in Indochina in historischer Perspektive, in: idem (ed.), Frieden für Kambodscha? Entwicklungen im Indochina-Konflikt seit 1975, Frankfurt a. M. et al. 1991, p. 22.

43 Report no. 362 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, September 4, 1968, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 406.

44 For easier readability the term "Third World" will not be put in quotation marks henceforth.

45 Report no. 27 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, January 10, 1969, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 467.

46 Note by AA, undated, Ablauf der deutsch-kambodschanischen Beziehungen, in: ibid.

At the beginning of 1968, Berendonck had to report that the Consul General – or rather diplomatic "representative" – of the GDR in Phnom Penh, Max Kleineberg, had already presented a letter from Prime Minister Willi Stoph to the head of government, Son Sann, on December 12, 1967 in which the GDR requested that its "representation" should be upgraded to an embassy.[47] Initially, the Cambodian government did not comply with this request. However, Berendonck believed that it should not be assumed "that the present status will not change in the long run."[48] As part of its response to these developments and the visit of GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer to Cambodia from March 2 to 10, 1968, the West German government issued an extended statement on Cambodia's borders, as the GDR had already done and Sihanouk had wished for: "In accordance with the principles of its policy of peace and the rejection of violence, the Federal Republic of Germany recognizes and respects the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its current borders."[49] Whereas the previous statement had only referred to the "inviolability" of Cambodia's borders, this declaration explicitly recognized them.[50]

A few months later, Berendonck reported on a "campaign initiated by the communist side" against the FRG. It was orchestrated by the Embassies of the Warsaw Pact states and, in particular, by the new diplomatic "representative" of the GDR, Heinz-Dieter Winter. According to Berendonck, Winter had been able to present a document that was designed just like a credentials letter for an Ambassador – in return for a "payment of several millions" to the influential "radical left-wing" former minister and confidant of Sihanouk, Chau Seng.[51] In an official statement of May 8, 1969, the diplomatic mission of the GDR was in fact raised to the status of an embassy.

What were the underlying motives behind Sihanouk's decision? The massive infiltration of the country by North Vietnamese troops and Vietcong units over the course of the Vietnam War certainly got the ball rolling. Sihanouk himself had actually contributed to this development considerably. Although he "vigorously" denied that his government was tolerating the use of its territory by these troops or even actively supporting the Viet Cong, he had in truth concluded a secret

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47 Report no. 2 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, January 3, 1968, in: ibid., vol. 406.
48 Report no. 172 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, April 25, 1968, in: ibid.
49 Telegram by State Secretary Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz to Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, July 16, 1968, in: ibid., vol. 407.
50 Note by AA, Dept. I B 5, undated (probably July 1968), Aufzeichnung über das Königreich Kambodscha, in: ibid.
51 Report no. 362 by Ambassador Berendonck, Phnom Penh, to AA, September 4, 1968, in: ibid., vol. 406.

agreement with North Vietnam in 1966.[52] This pact allowed for the stationing of North Vietnamese troops in the eastern provinces of Cambodia and the delivery of weapons via the harbor of Sihanoukville.[53] In return for setting up the "Sihanouk path" (in reference to the "Ho Chi Minh path" in Laos, which connected North and South Vietnam), Sihanouk demanded the formal recognition of Cambodia's borders and that the country would not be drawn into the military conflict. This plan failed completely. In the end, Sihanouk could no longer control the game while juggling with four players – the U.S., the Soviet Union, China, and North Vietnam – and left the field in defeat.

From then on, North Vietnam and the Viet Cong troops in the eastern regions of Cambodia operated with fewer and fewer scruples. In response, Sihanouk initially announced the forthcoming resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.S. in April 1969, which had been broken off in May 1965. However, since he was not sure exactly what kind of support he could expect from the U.S. and he realized that rapprochement with the Americans would undermine his policy of neutrality, he also made overtures to the Soviet Union at the same time. He courted Moscow in the hope that the Soviets would use their influence over North Vietnam, especially since relations with China had already cooled down by this time. As part of these machinations, Sihanouk granted permission for the GDR to establish an embassy in Phnom Penh.[54] But he went one step further: on June 11, 1969, he announced the resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.S., but also the simultaneous dismissal of those with the FRG. These two events were closely connected, insofar as "relations with West Germany were sacrificed to enable the return of the Americans to Phnom Penh while ensuring the commitment of the Soviet Union at the same time."[55] In the end, this proved to be a "success for the Soviets" in their efforts to contain American and Chinese influence in Southeast Asia.[56]

The reaction of the West German government to Cambodia's full recognition of the GDR on May 8, 1969 has been outlined repeatedly and in detail.[57] Thus,

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52 Memo by AA, Dept. I B 5, undated (probably July 1968), Aufzeichnung über das Königreich Kambodscha, in: ibid., vol. 407.
53 See Chandler, History, pp. 236–37; Golzio, Geschichte, p. 139; Hazdra, UNO-Friedensoperation, p. 39.
54 Telegram no. 1190 by Ambassador Rolf Friedemann Pauls, Washington, to AA, May 21, 1969, with assessment of the State Department, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 467.
55 Note by Ministerialdirektor Paul Frank, June 12, 1969, in: ibid., vol. 468.
56 Telegram no. 1190 by Ambassador Pauls, Washington, to AA, May 21, 1969, in: ibid., vol. 467.
57 See Joachim Samuel Eichhorn, Durch alle Klippen hindurch zum Erfolg. Die Regierungspraxis der ersten Großen Koalition (1966–1969), Munich 2009, pp. 272–82; Philipp Gassert, Kurt

some fundamental remarks on that matter will suffice here. The grand coalition government (CDU/CSU and Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD) faced the question whether it should maintain, flexibilize, or even abandon the "claim to sole representation" (*Alleinvertretungsanspruch*) against the GDR, which was underpinned by the Hallstein Doctrine.[58] Strictly speaking, Bonn had already done the latter by resuming diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia in January 1968. The so-called "congenital defect theory" (*Geburtsfehlertheorie*)[59] that had been applied to the resumption of diplomatic relations with Romania in January 1967 was not viable for Yugoslavia. This theory could only be applied to countries like Romania that had been forced to recognize the GDR because they were part of the Warsaw Pact, but it did not hold for countries like Yugoslavia which did not belong to the alliance.

The de facto abandonment of the Hallstein Doctrine, paramount for the new *Ostpolitik* of the FRG, was by no means uncontested within the CDU and CSU. After the Czechoslovakia crisis in August 1968 had put the policy of détente to an acid test and with the campaign for the Bundestag elections on September 28, 1969 in full swing since the summer of that year, several CDU/CSU representatives called for a tougher line. Chancellor Kiesinger could not ignore these demands, especially since he saw the chance to put the SPD in its place and to present himself as a head of government capable of action. On May 23, 1969 – while Foreign Minister Willy Brandt was on a visit to Turkey – Kiesinger announced that he was determined to break off diplomatic relations with Cambodia immediately.[60] This was a "deliberate affront to the foreign minister coming from the chancellor."[61]

Brandt was keen to "handle any future instances in which countries recognized East Berlin in the interest of the German people." Visibly annoyed, he asked Kiesinger to "refrain from such a spontaneous response and to let the cabinet

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Georg Kiesinger 1904–1988. Kanzler zwischen den Zeiten, Munich 2006, pp. 706–09; Klaus Hildebrand, Von Erhard zur Großen Koalition 1963–1969. Mit einem einleitenden Essay von Karl Dietrich Bracher, Stuttgart/Wiesbaden 1984, pp. 330–31; Klaus Schönhoven, Wendejahre. Die Sozialdemokratie in der Zeit der Großen Koalition 1966–1969, Bonn 2004, pp. 482–86.

58 Named after Walter Hallstein, according to which it was considered an unfriendly act for a third state to recognize the GDR.

59 Lit. "congenital defect theory," developed by Federal Foreign Office experts on the East conceding that the satellite states of the Soviet Union had been forced to recognize the GDR. Accordingly, the Hallstein Doctrine was not applicable to countries which had resumed diplomatic relations with the GDR immediately after 1949.

60 See telegram no. 302 by State Secretary Duckwitz to Federal Minister Brandt, currently in Ankara, May 23, 1969, in: Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (AAPD) 1969, ed. by Hans-Peter Schwarz et al., Munich 2000, doc. 169, pp. 622–23.

61 Schönhoven, Wendejahre, p. 483.

decide."[62] It was obvious that Brandt wanted to prevent the break-off of diplomatic relations with Cambodia and continue the policy of détente that he championed. The Social Democrats faced the question of whether, in the game of power politics, they could be forced "by the authority of the chancellor in terms of policy to slap themselves in the face." Yet Cambodia was really only a pretext at the time. *Ministerialdirektor* Egon Bahr (SPD), who was the head of planning staff in the Federal Foreign Office, was convinced that complying with Kiesinger's intentions would be akin to a "domestic castration," even though "it would be politely described as sterilization." At the same time, Bahr emphasized that the SPD was in fact in a good starting position. In his opinion, the chancellor could not risk breaking up the coalition just before the elections; he noted that "the SPD can play hard ball. It can prevail and even maintain the coalition."[63] Bahr overlooked the fact that the break-up of the coalition, even if provoked by the SPD, could have caused serious problems for the Social Democrats as well.

Given these circumstances, it was only logical that the CDU/CSU and SPD should come to an agreement, facilitated by difficult consultations within the "Kreßbronner Kreis," which functioned as the "instrument of integration"[64] for the grand coalition. Yet, the compromise satisfied no one. The members of the cabinet shared the opinion on June 4, 1969 "that diplomatic relations with Cambodia should not to be broken off, but that a diplomatic representation would no longer be maintained."[65] The diplomatic staff and the majority of the auxiliary personnel were to be withdrawn from Phnom Penh without further explanation, but the Ambassador was not to submit a letter of recall. Representatives of the Federal Foreign Office referred to this state as "a freezing or standstill of diplomatic relations."[66] The decision of the West German government on June 4, 1969 has gone down in history as "kambodschieren" (literally "to cambode"), a term with a clearly negative connotation. Nonetheless, this compromise enabled the coalition to survive the rest of the legislative period. Just a week later on June 11, however, Cambodia broke off diplomatic relations with West Germany. The French embassy took over as the representative protector of the interests of the FRG.

62 Telegram no. 465 by Federal Minister Brandt, currently in Ankara, to State Secretary Duckwitz, May 24, 1969, in: AAPD 1969, doc. 175, p. 641.
63 Note by Bahr, May 29, 1969, in: ibid., doc. 180, p. 654.
64 Hildebrand, Erhard, p. 272.
65 Note by Horst Blomeyer-Bartenstein, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, June 4, 1969, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 467.
66 Ibid.

On March 18, 1970, the Cambodian National Assembly removed Sihanouk, who was in Moscow at that time, from all his offices and unseated his mother, Sisowath Kossamak, as queen. The former Supreme Commander of the Army, Prime Minister Lon Nol, took over power. On the one hand, the coup reflected general discontent over Sihanouk's authoritarian and repressive leadership as well as the difficult social and economic situation of Cambodia. On the other, the country's entanglement with the Vietnam War – by no means intended by Sihanouk, but in the end induced by him – played a decisive role. Immediately after Sihanouk's downfall, the relatively pro-American Lon Nol delivered an ultimatum that all alien forces be immediately withdrawn from Cambodian territory, which North Vietnam consistently ignored.[67] Sihanouk went into exile in China, where he founded the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (*Gouvernement Royal d'Union Nationale du Cambodge*, GRUNC) and allied with the communists in the "Front Uni National du Kampuchea," which he had previously combated vehemently.

Strictly speaking, there were hardly any ties between West Germany and Cambodia at this point. Only the humanitarian assistance provided by the FRG still played a role. Not surprisingly, the Federal Foreign Office headquarters thought about dissolving, or at least further reducing, the so-called "remaining staff" in Phnom Penh, which consisted of its head, Walther Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein, his deputy, a consultant on economic affairs, a registrar, and a secretary. In June 1970, only 19 German nationals remained in Cambodia. Tourists had stopped coming, especially since the temple of Angkor Vat had not escaped damage during the fighting, and development aid projects had come to an end. After the intervention of American and South Vietnamese forces in Cambodia from April to June 1970, some of the North Vietnamese troops spread from the northeast of the country into its western territories. They soon controlled more and more of the Cambodian provinces. Thus, a severe threat to the capital Phnom Penh could no longer be ruled out, and the mobility of the remaining staff was very restricted.[68] At a house meeting on September 9, 1970, attended by Marschall von Bieberstein and headed by the former Ambassador, Berendonck, it was decided – "in view of the military and political situation in Cambodia and the security risk for the employees in Phnom Penh, which can no longer be ruled out" – to reduce the remaining staff to three people: namely a high-ranking civil servant (Marschall von Bieberstein), an upper level civil servant, and a typist.[69]

67 See Golzio, Geschichte, p. 143.

68 Note by Ministerialdirigent Kurt Müller, June 24, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. I B 5, vol. 539.

69 Note by Berendonck, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, September 21, 1970, in: ibid.

But, it always hung in the balance whether even this severely reduced staff could be kept in the country. Marschall von Bieberstein tried vigorously to counter these tendencies. Was it a belief in the importance of his own position that prompted him to intervene, writing an enormous number of detailed and very precise reports to the Federal Foreign Office in his years as head of this skeleton staff? Not at all – his efforts were clearly aimed at not leaving the field in Phnom Penh to the states of the Warsaw Pact. His arguments were very much heard in the headquarters of the Federal Foreign Office. Reserving the option of future review, it initially decided to keep the remaining staff as it was – as a counterweight to the numerous diplomatic missions of Eastern European countries. This decision also complied with the wishes of the United States.[70]

From the outset, the Cambodian government under Lon Nol was very keen on resuming diplomatic relations with West Germany. On March 23, 1970, five days after Sihanouk was toppled, Gerd Berendonck noted that the deputy of the Cambodian Ambassador in Prague had made contact with him. He had called him on Saturday morning, March 21, "shortly after 6 am" and asked whether the federal government could recognize the new situation in Cambodia.[71] In April 1970, the Cambodian Ambassador in Paris told the West German Ambassador to France, Sigismund Freiherr von Braun, that his government was open to resuming diplomatic relations.[72] In February 1972, Marschall von Bieberstein reported that the U.S. and Great Britain were very interested in "strengthening the Western presence in Phnom Penh."[73] Yet the federal government, demonstrating tactical skill, explained to the allies and the Cambodians that it could not establish full diplomatic relations before the Basic Treaty with the GDR had been signed. This pretext, however, had to become obsolete at some point. It thus came as no surprise that a representative of the Cambodian Foreign Office again approached Marschall von Bieberstein, expressing the desire to normalize diplomatic relations between the two countries "immediately" after the Basic Treaty had been initialed on November 8, 1972.[74]

In January 1973, the Cambodian Foreign Minister Long Boret finally paid a private visit to West Germany. On this occasion, he was received by Foreign Minister Walter Scheel and State Secretary of the Foreign Office, Paul Frank. Boret

70 Note by Ministerialdirektor Berndt von Staden, May 9, 1972, in: ibid., vol. 676.
71 Note by Berendonck, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, March 23, 1970, in: ibid., vol. 539.
72 Note by Berendonck, September 21, 1970, in: ibid.
73 Report no. 56 by Marschall von Bieberstein, Vortragender Legationsrat, Phnom Penh, to AA, February 12, 1972, in: ibid., vol. 676.
74 Report no. 395 by Marschall von Bieberstein to AA, November 25, 1972, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 312, vol. 676.

claimed that he had been instructed by Lon Nol, who had taken up office as head of state on March 13, 1972, "to explain the policy of his country with the purpose of reestablishing diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany." Scheel replied that the West German government would "review its position after a truce, as soon as the political situation in the region has become more stable."[75] The first precondition soon materialized. On January 27, 1973, the Paris Peace Accords – the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam – were signed by the U.S., the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of the Republic of South Vietnam. In article 20 of the treaty, the parties committed themselves, among other things, to put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and to withdraw all military personnel; Cambodia's neutrality was also to be respected.[76]

The second precondition mentioned by Scheel, namely a stable political situation, never came about. On the contrary, Cambodia descended into total chaos. According to a report sent by Marschall von Bieberstein, the war "was not a civil war by origin" and the Khmer Rouge were nothing more than "auxiliary troops of the Vietnamese aggressors."[77] However, in early 1973, an increasing "Khmerization" of the war had occurred, as Marschall von Bieberstein put it. The units of the Cambodian communists became more and more powerful, even if their command seemed to be "predominantly in Vietnamese hands." Marschall von Bieberstein believed that the government troops were by no means strong enough to end the war militarily. He also noted that "Cambodian civil war parties" had emerged.[78] When the U.S. stopped carpet-bombing in Cambodia on August 15, 1973, most parts of the country, apart from the capital, were under the control of the Khmer Rouge.[79] Nonetheless, Marschall von Bieberstein advocated the resumption of diplomatic relations as soon as possible. He suggested that this could be done under the pretext of a routine procedure that "only had to do with the timing and development of our policy on the German question (*Deutschlandpolitik*)." Doing

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75 Note by Berendonck, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 19, 1973 on the conversation between Scheel and Long Boret on January 18, in: ibid., vol. 100234.

76 On the wording of the Paris Treaty from January 27, 1973 and the accompanying documents, see Europa-Archiv 28 (1973), documents, pp. 112–22.

77 Report no. 64 by Marschall von Bieberstein, Vortragender Legationsrat, Phnom Penh, to AA, February 23, 1973, Landesaufzeichnung für die Republik Khmer, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 312, vol. 100232.

78 Report no. 66 by Marschall von Bieberstein to AA, February 26, 1973, Politischer Halbjahresbericht, in: ibid.

79 See Golzio, Geschichte, p. 147.

so, it seemed to this diplomat, would keep this step from becoming some kind of spectacular act.[80]

In March 1973, *Ministerialdirigent* Walter Jesser once again summed up the pros and cons of resuming diplomatic relations with Cambodia. As contras, he cited the fact that the war in Cambodia was still ongoing, that China and North Vietnam were supporting the anti-government troops, and that re-establishing diplomatic relations with Cambodia would add to the pressure to do the same for North Vietnam. Thus, it was decided to "postpone" this step "for the time being."[81] The embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany to the People's Republic of China also warned against changing the course "on the eve of the collapse of the Lon Nol government." Such a move would not be understood in Beijing, the embassy claimed, and in light of China's "notoriously close" relations with Sihanouk, it would probably be seen as an "affront."[82] Leading officials of the Federal Foreign Office stuck to their course – and rightly so, as it turned out. On March 6, 1975, it was decided to evacuate the remaining staff to Bangkok "due to the threatening developments in and around Phnom Penh."[83] The evacuation was carried out on March 17, and on April 17, 1975 the Khmer Rouge took control of the capital.

"Hardly Any Doubts" about Human Rights Violations: The Federal Republic of Germany and the Pol Pot Regime, 1975–1979

In 1975, Pol Pot and the internal structure of the Khmer Rouge organization were "largely unknown" in the Western world. According to a report sent to the Foreign Office, it was assumed that the movement consisted of a "coalition of communists with ties to North Vietnam and China on the one hand and, on the other hand, nationalists […] who predominantly supported Sihanouk." Among the communists, it noted, there was a particular "group who had been brought to Hanoi when they were young, and indoctrinated and trained there." Reports on massacres also seemed to indicate "that the Cambodians were to be held in fear

80 Telegram no. 14 by Marschall von Bieberstein to AA, February 27, 1973, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 312, vol. 100234.

81 Note by Ministerialdirigent Jesser, March 13, 1973, in: ibid.

82 Report no. 719 by Envoy Heinrich Röhreke, Beijing, to AA, August 3, 1973, in: ibid.

83 Telegram no. 850 by Ministerialdirektor Lothar Lahn to the head of the remaining staff, March 6, 1975, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 302, vol. 101635.

and discipline." The report claimed that Cambodia had the potential to become an "ideological satellite state" of North Vietnam, but that it was also entirely possible that "century old national differences would surface again."[84] The latter proved to be true.

Who was Pol Pot? Saloth Sar – his real name – was probably born on May 25, 1925 in Prek Sbauv in the Kampong Thom Province north of Phnom Penh as the son of a wealthy farmer. In the mid-1930s, he and one of his older brothers were sent to live with relatives in the capital city of the French protectorate that had been set up in 1863 and become part of French Indochina in 1887. In Phnom Penh, Sar excelled at a private Catholic school from 1936 to 1942. Afterwards, he was one of the privileged students allowed to study at the newly founded "Collège Norodom Sihanouk," a high school in Kampong Cham northeast of Phnom Penh. It was during this period of Saloth Sar's life, up to 1947, that Indochina was occupied by the Japanese before French rule was reestablished after 1945. His biographer, David Chandler, concluded: "By 1947 only a few thousand other Cambodians had progressed as far as he had in education."[85] From 1948, Sar attended a technical school in Russey Keo, a suburb of Phnom Penh, before he was awarded a scholarship in the summer of 1949 to study in France.[86]

Apart from a short interruption, Sar spent several years in Paris, until he returned home in late 1952. Although he never actually completed his degree in radio electronics in France, his stay abroad was still a turning point in his life. As Chandler notes, "his earlier life [...] revealed few hints of sustained political commitment."[87] In France, however, he came into contact with communist ideology through fellow Cambodian students, which led him to join the French Communist Party in 1952. In 1953, Sar became a member of the Communist Party of Indochina, dominated by Vietnamese communists, or rather of its branch, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP), which initially opposed French occupation and, after Cambodia gained independence, increasingly turned against Sihanouk's autocratic rule. In 1956, he started to teach French, history, and geography at a private school in Phnom Penh. He led a sort of double life in which he tried to attract young people to the communist movement without raising any suspicions surrounding his role as a teacher. In 1960, Sar was asked

84 Report no. 103 by Botschaftsrat Claus Vollers, Bangkok, to AA, April 15, 1975, in: ibid., vol. 101634. As Marschall von Bieberstein's successor, Vollers was head of the remaining staff in Phnom Penh from February 8 to March 17, 1975.

85 Chandler, Brother Number One, p. 21.

86 On these biographical detail, see ibid., pp. 7–24, and Short, Pol Pot, pp. 15–46.

87 Chandler, Brother Number One, p. 39.

to join the Central Committee of the newly founded Workers Party of Kampuchea or – and this was a controversial matter among Cambodian communists – of the restructured KPRP, which had been founded in 1951 and became the Workers Party of Kampuchea in 1960. When his mentor Tou Samouth, the Secretary General of the Workers Party, disappeared under suspicious circumstances in July 1962, Sar, who was known as a polite, reserved and even shy man, took over the highest office of the party in early 1963. The party was later renamed the Communist Party of Kampuchea in 1966.[88]

As a result of Sar's rather surprising rise to the top of the party, he became a primary target for Sihanouk's apparatus of repression for the first time. Thus, he spent the following years in Vietnamese controlled camps in the eastern border regions, before embarking on a trip to Hanoi and the People's Republic of China in June 1965 that lasted until September 1966. After that, he moved his headquarters to the province Ratanakiri in the remote northeast of Cambodia. Sar's return to North Vietnam in 1969/70 brought the long-standing smoldering differences between the Cambodians and the Vietnamese – in particular regarding the leadership of the communist resistance – to light. Nonetheless, Sar and his followers were still entirely dependent on Vietnamese financial and military support. This constellation was only altered, by 1975, as a result of the civil war. Even at this point, the alliance between the Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk, formed in 1970, had already lost its vital significance and become merely tactical as "he was at their mercy."[89]

What were the key characteristics of the Khmer Rouge regime? In March 1977, Department 302 of the West German Foreign Office portrayed the group as follows: "social structures" in Cambodia

> have been revolutionized with extraordinary brutality [...] since April 1975. The objective is to create a doctrinaire agrarian communism. Whoever stands in the way of reaching this ideal or is not immediately ready to serve is summarily executed. Members of the former upper class and intellectuals are generally under suspicion of being opponents; they have been killed in particularly high numbers.

Economic life seemed to have been "reduced to an absolute basic level. In principle, everyone is supposed to grow their own rice." This resulted in a food supply emergency.[90] And, indeed, these new measures were part of what Chandler has

88 On the biographical detail of these, see ibid., pp. 25–64, and Short, Pol Pot, pp. 47–144.
89 Chandler, Brother Number One, p. 99. On the entire section, see ibid., pp. 65–112, and Short, Pol Pot, pp. 145–265.
90 Note by Hans Alfred Steger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, March 15, 1977, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 302, vol. 105097.

described as a "program of social transformation that affected every aspect of Cambodian life."[91]

Alongside the establishment of agrarian cooperatives or agrarian communes, which could be described as the core of Khmer Rouge rule,[92] the almost complete clearance of the capital Phnom Penh and other larger cities immediately after April 17, 1975 was one of the regime's main trademarks. The country was almost hermetically sealed from the outside world; financial transactions with cash and public trade were put to an end, private property banned, educational institutions closed, and the free practice of religion prohibited. Initially, the Communist Party appeared as a mysterious "organization" ("Angkar"). Even its Secretary General, who had taken the name Pol Pot, initially operated only covertly and was almost unknown in his home country. Basic human rights and civil liberties were suspended and no longer enforceable. Families were separated without consideration – unlike under other communist regimes – in order to achieve a truly classless society; forced marriages and interference in the sexual lives of the people became commonplace. Any violations of the tight regulations that affected almost all areas of life were punished with draconian measures, such as being executed on the so-called "killing fields." In the end, the number of deaths amounted to 1.3 million out of a total population of roughly seven million people (with estimates varying), either caused by direct violence or as a result of the disastrous economic and supply situation.[93] That is to say, twenty percent of the Cambodian population did not survive.

Analyses of the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979 concentrate on two main questions: firstly, how to account for its excesses, and secondly, whether it proved to be an exception to the rule in comparison with other dictatorships, especially within the communist world. Pol Pot's biography is certainly one of the most important places to start in answering these questions. His indoctrination by North Vietnamese communists, the utopian concept of a classless society that he developed in the remoteness of the jungle of the Cambodian-Vietnamese border region, his experiences of an archaic lifestyle in Ratanakiri, and his detailed knowledge of the "great leap forward" and the Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong all played a significant role. In addition, he apparently suffered from psychopathological changes that culminated in his increasing hatred against any Vietnamese influence and his fear of being encircled by enemies of all kinds. It was therefore no surprise that Pol

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91 Chandler, Brother Number One, p. 1.
92 Raszelenberg, Rote Khmer, p. 62.
93 See ibid., pp. 123–24.

Pot more and more frequently denied any outside influences on the ideology or practices of the Khmer Rouge regime with increasing frequency and sought to paint them as purely internal achievements. It is fair to assume, however, that the Cambodian communists were in fact influenced by the Chinese in particular. But, the Khmer Rouge did not simply emulate their role model, as some elements were added that lent the regime a somewhat unique character.[94] For this reason, the revolution of the Khmer Rouge "can, with some certainty, be considered the most radical social transformation in the name of socialism."[95]

In early 1975, the West German Foreign Office assumed that "Sihanouk was interested in a swift decision regarding the reestablishment of relations with us." It believed that Sihanouk only had minimal influence over the new forces operating in Cambodia and was bound to secure his position within the GRUNC by using his network of international contacts. Thus, the Federal Foreign Office saw the chance "to make a supportive contribution to the moderate elements of the new regime."[96] In reality, Sihanouk, who had become head of state again in April 1975 – albeit in name only – was nothing more than a puppet,[97] who was temporarily useful in lending the new regime a semblance of international respectability. Nonetheless, the State Minister in the Foreign Office, Karl Moersch, expressed the willingness of the Federal Republic to normalize relations with Cambodia in a talk with the Thai Foreign Minister, Chatichai Choonhavan, on the occasion of a visit to Southeast Asia in November 1975.[98] However, a directive sent to the embassy in Bangkok stated that "the initiative to re-establish diplomatic relations has to come from the Cambodian side"; it noted that such an initiative would then be "taken up positively."[99]

This position was revised shortly afterwards. On April 27, 1976 – Sihanouk had already been replaced as head of state by Khieu Samphan – all diplomatic and non-honorary consulates of the FRG were instructed not to attend official events held by "Democratic Kampuchea" (the official name of the country since January 1976) until further notice and not to invite its representatives to official German events.[100] As Marschall von Bieberstein pointed out, reports on the situation in

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94 See ibid., pp. 77–118.
95 Ibid., p. 110.
96 Note by Ministerialdirigent Gerhard Fischer, April 14, 1975, in: AAPD 1975, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2006, doc. 77, p. 370.
97 See Norodom Sihanouk, Prisonnier des Khmers Rouges, Paris 1986.
98 Note by Attaché Rolf Dieter Schnelle, June 11, 1976, Diplomatische Beziehungen zu Kambodscha: Sachstand, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 302, vol. 103325.
99 Directive to the embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bangkok, December 4, 1975, in: ibid.
100 Directive, April 27, 1976, in: ibid.

Cambodia described it as "horrific beyond imagination," and "only comparable with the witness testimonies of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trials in 1964/65." For him, it was inconceivable that the West German government could "reconcile its unconditional and impartial human rights policy with the international recognition of the current regime in Cambodia, which the general resumption of diplomatic relations would imply."[101] Thus, the FRG held a perfectly impeccable political and moral position – unlike many other countries, who had resumed diplomatic relations with "Democratic Kampuchea," such as Denmark (as the first NATO member state), Italy, Japan, and Great Britain in May, June, and August 1976.[102] The Danish government, for instance, declared "that diplomatic relations with the government of another country neither reflect political sympathy nor antipathy."[103] As consistent as the policy of the FRG was when it came to this point, it was equally poorly promoted. The social liberal coalition government was rarely able to present its policies with a convincing argument. When Dionys Jobst, a CSU member of the Bundestag, inquired whether the federal government had used the mass killings as an opportunity to "express the disgust of the German people towards such communist practices – for instance in the relevant bodies of the United Nations," State Minister Moersch replied on July 20, 1976 in a rather unsatisfying manner that the federal government had no "reliable information as yet." However, it would "make its position perfectly clear as the circumstances required."[104]

In April 1977, Department 302 of the Federal Foreign Office summarized the situation in Cambodia by stating that estimated death tolls varied between 50,000–100,000 and one million, which slightly revised the assessment from the month before.[105] The Department pointed out that all estimates were based on "older information from refugee camps in Thailand"; however, the number

101 Note by Marschall von Bieberstein, Vortragender Legationsrat, September 9, 1976, in: ibid., January 5, 1976, Marschall headed Dept. 500 "General international law" in the Federal Foreign Office. On December 7, 1979 he became Ambassador in Dacca.

102 Note, undated, Diplomatische Beziehungen Kambodschas zu Drittländern, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 302, vol. 103325. Great Britain instructed its Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, who was also to become Ambassador to Cambodia, to refrain from handing over his credentials letter for the time being, due to the human rights situation; Note by Ministerialdirektor Andreas Meyer-Landrut, June 8, 1978, in: ibid., dept. 340, vol. 107622.

103 Telegram no. 167 by Ambassador Werner Ahrens, Copenhagen, to AA, May 21, 1976, in: ibid., dept. 302, vol. 103325.

104 Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, Anlagen zu den stenographischen Berichten, vol. 225, printed matter 5681, pp. 3–4.

105 Note by Steger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, March 15, 1977, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 302, vol. 105097.

of refugees had "dropped considerably" and the supply situation had "improved substantially." It also commented that economic production was "oriented towards a purely agrarian society." Also, the report pointed out that Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands had resumed diplomatic relations with Cambodia after Denmark, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain had done so, but that none of them had been given permission to establish diplomatic missions in Phnom Penh. "Democratic Kampuchea" had expressed its "wish to stress its independence and autonomy towards Vietnam."[106]

Thus, the Federal Foreign Office still held the view in 1977 that reports of thousands, even tens of thousands of refugees were not to be trusted because they were sometimes inconsistent. A public debate on this matter started in Sweden. Ambassador Heinz Voigt reported from Stockholm in early 1978 that the Swedish Ambassador in Beijing, Kaj Björk, together with the Danish and the Finnish Ambassadors in Beijing, had been able to travel to Phnom Penh in order to hand over his credentials letter on January 7. Shortly before, the Swedish Ambassador in Bangkok, Jean-Christophe Öberg, had privately traveled to Angkor Vat. Afterwards, Voigt explained, Öberg had stated that he had not noticed that the Cambodian people were being watched and policed. The Swedish Ambassador had claimed that there was no evidence of forced labor, according to Voigt, who continued: "The ambassador dismissed the reports of the refugees by indicating that refugees usually describe the situation very much from their point of view." This "touched a sensitive nerve of Swedish foreign policy," since its humanitarian interventions mostly rested on the statements of refugees. Voigt also reported that the Swedish Foreign Minister, Karin Söder, immediately distanced herself publicly from Öberg's remarks.[107] Not to mention, as another diplomat in Beijing noted, that the visit of the Scandinavian Ambassadors to Phnom Penh also indicated the Cambodian government's interest in increasing its international acceptance – not least due to the intensifying border war against Vietnam.[108]

In early 1978 – almost three years after the Khmer Rouge had seized power – the CDU/CSU again raised the question in the Bundestag of whether the federal government intended to "remain passive" and to refrain from "active measures within the scope of the United Nations." The State Minister in the Foreign Office, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, replied by referring to the familiar argument that the concrete options to put pressure on the regime in Phnom Penh were extremely

106 Note by AA, Dept. 302, April 1977, in: ibid.

107 Report no. 39 by Voigt to AA, January 9, 1978, in: ibid., dept. 340, vol. 107622.

108 Telegram no. 80 by Franz Keil, Botschaftsrat I. Klasse, Beijing, to AA, January 25, 1978, in: ibid.

limited. She also pointed to the upcoming 34th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, which would presumably address this matter. Yet the Federal Republic's scope of action here was limited as well because it had left the commission in late 1977 according to the rotating membership schedule and therefore only maintained its role as an observer.[109]

Gradually, and at least to some extent, the Federal Foreign Office realized that such a restrained position could no longer be maintained, even verbally. Even before State Minister Hamm-Brücher's response, the head of Department 340 (formerly 302), Steger, pointed out that "there is no reason" to continue to exercise restraint regarding the issue of human rights violations in Cambodia. Even the conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam, Steger wrote, was no longer such a reason, and the reports of the refugees had proved to be "entirely correct."[110] Indeed, according to Steger's notes, it would have been irresponsible to keep doubting them. Moreover, reliable press coverage on the events in Cambodia could no longer been ignored. The French priest François Ponchaud, who had lived in Cambodia from 1965 to 1975 and was a renowned expert on the country, had already authentically described the horrific situation in his book *Cambodge année zéro* from early 1977. Ponchaud analyzed radio programs broadcast by "Radio Phnom Penh" in English translation provided by the BBC and reports of refugees in order to "break down the wall of silence that the rulers of Cambodia have built around themselves."[111] Shortly afterwards, the news magazine *Der Spiegel* drew on this book in an article on the regime of the Khmer Rouge.[112] At this point, the contrast between the German public, which had already gained a clear picture and formed an opinion on the situation in Cambodia, and the embarrassing maneuverings of the federal government could not have been any greater. The Federal Foreign Office detected "not only a general, but a specific and current domestic political interest" in this issue.[113] Numerous voices demanded that "the

109 Reply of State Minister Hamm-Brücher to a written request of Member of the Bundestag Narjes, in: Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, Stenographische Berichte, vol. 105, 73rd session, February 17, 1978, pp. 5803–04.
110 Note by Steger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 26, 1978, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 231, vol. 121124.
111 François Ponchaud, Cambodge année zéro, Paris 1977, p. 11: "[. . .] de percer un peu le mur de silence dont s'entourent les dirigeants du Kampuchéa." On Ponchaud's approach, see pp. 10–11, 98, footnote 1.
112 See Sofort hinaus, in: Der Spiegel, March 7, 1977, pp. 120–23.
113 Note by Dieter Schaad, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, February 27, 1978, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 231, vol. 121124.

federal government should do something about the matter."[114] Thus, it is fair to say that the government was also keen to prove to the public that it was indeed taking action.

The West German observer delegation to the meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva from February 6 to March 10, 1978 was instructed to make the following statement: "The government of the Federal Republic of Germany is dedicated to protecting and respecting human rights in all parts of the world." As reports on violations of human rights such as in "Democratic Kampuchea" were deeply disturbing, the statement continued, "it would be met with incomprehension in our country if the Commission on Human Rights ignored these reports."[115] Among other things, the commission did in fact address the situation in Cambodia. "After a tenacious struggle behind the curtains," the British delegation headed by Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Evan Luard, initiated an official resolution draft on this matter on March 3, 1978: "Luard dramatically condemned Cambodia in a statement of twelve pages of barely restrained indignation for the greatest violations of human rights. Systematic killings [...] were proven not just by 'hearsay' but by authentic eye witness reports." Luard pressed the commission "not only to discuss Chile and South Africa, but also Cambodia." It would be discounted as a "talking shop" if it ignored this issue.[116] In the end, the commission consensually agreed on a resolution requesting the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, to invite Cambodia to comment on the allegations and to transfer all relevant information to the commission for its next meeting. A telegram to the Foreign Office noted that the Soviet Union declared itself to be opposed to the resolution in general, but that it did not want to disrupt the efforts to reach a compromise. In the West the resolution was celebrated as a "profound success"; the resistance from not only communist states had been "strong."[117]

In mid-1978, the head of Political Department 3 of the Federal Foreign Office, Andreas Meyer-Landrut, pointed out that given the situation in Indochina, there was reason to revise the present policy position. "A foreign policy directed at strengthening Cambodia against Vietnam," he claimed, would help maintain the balance in the region and should therefore be considered. Also, Meyer-Landrut

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114 Note by Christian Hübener, Vortragender Legationsrat, February 21, 1978, in: ibid.

115 Telegram no. 93 by Ministerialdirigent Helmut Redies to the Permanent Mission to the Office of the United Nations and to the other International Organizations in Geneva, February 27, 1978, in: ibid.

116 Telegram no. 296 by Leopold Bill von Bredow, Vortragender Legationsrat, currently in Geneva, to AA, March 4, 1978, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 107619.

117 Telegram no. 318 by von Bredow to AA, March 8, 1978, in: ibid.

recommended "considering the establishment of some sort of contact to Cambodia via its foreign delegations (currently only in Beijing, Vientiane, and New York/UNO), not least in order to collect information." He also suggested that reservations against members of West German diplomatic missions attending official Cambodian events or events in honor of Cambodian visitors should be waived; however, Cambodian representatives were still not supposed to be invited to official German events.[118] The West German Embassies in Beijing and Vientiane as well as the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York received a relevant statement to this end.[119] Clearly, Meyer-Landrut had raised some profound issues. In particular, the point about gaining information should not be underestimated given the fact that Cambodia was hermetically sealed off from other countries. Also, West Germany, just like its NATO allies and EC partners, was not keen on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam – and with it the Soviet Union – becoming the hegemonic power in Southeast Asia. Human rights played a minor role in this geostrategic reasoning.

Meanwhile, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN Commission on Human Rights was still dealing with the situation in Cambodia. On September 15, 1978, it passed a resolution with 15 votes in favor, three against, and two abstentions, requesting the UN Commission on Human Rights to give highest priority to this matter at its 35th session (on February 12, 1979). The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and Romania expressed their disapproval and referred to the "phenomenon of the post-revolutionary civil war." Representatives of the Third World, on the other hand, were wary of being suspected of having little regard for severe human rights violations.[120] A report by the British government from July 14, 1978 summarized the allegations and concluded "that many hundreds of thousands of Cambodians have perished as a direct or indirect result of the policy of the regime in Phnom Penh."[121]

Finally, even the Federal Foreign Office "no longer had doubts" that severe human rights violations had occurred. Thus, in the fall of 1978, three and a half years after the Khmer Rouge had occupied Phnom Penh, it adopted the objective of "raising even more global awareness for the horrendous conditions in this country."[122] And yet the issue was not discussed at the 35th session of the UN Com-

118 Note by Meyer-Landrut, June 8, 1978, in: ibid., vol. 107622.
119 Telegram no. 2985 by Meyer-Landrut, June 16, 1978, in: ibid.
120 Telegram no. 1475 by Ambassador Per Fischer, Permanent Mission to the Office of the United Nations and to the other International Organizations, Geneva, to AA, September 16, 1978, in: ibid., vol. 107619.
121 Note by Steger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, October 16, 1978, in: ibid.
122 Ibid.

mission on Human Rights in Geneva held between February 12 and March 16, 1979 – the FRG was once again one of the regular members – but postponed to the next term in session. Apparently, the communist propaganda had been quite effective. A “majority of socialist and non-aligned states” created a “dangerous precedent” for the future when a relevant motion was put to the vote on March 12, 1979, demonstrating the unfortunate fact that it was “apparently less about the degree of the human rights violations and more about the solidarity of the group trying to prevent a discussion.” The Permanent Representative of West Germany in Geneva, Ambassador Per Fischer, however, came to the conclusion that the desire to “keep an eye on the matter was essentially met.”[123] The FRG dismissed allegations raised by the Soviet Union that the Western states had done nothing to interfere with the atrocities of the Pol Pot regime for years by pointing out that it voted against the motions put forward by socialist states in Geneva to postpone debates on this matter in 1979.[124] This is certainly correct. But it is also true that it took the West German government a long time to formulate a clear standpoint and to present and defend it at the United Nations. Not surprisingly, the Soviet Union, which itself committed severe violations of human rights, tried to take advantage of this situation.

The Question of Cambodia’s Representation at the United Nations, 1979

As of early 1979, the international community faced increasing difficulties in assessing the precise extent of human rights violations in Cambodia because two rival groups now had to be taken into account. On the one hand, there was the pro-Vietnamese regime under Heng Samrin, which had assumed power in Cambodia following military intervention in January. On the other hand, the units of the Khmer Rouge, although no longer in government, were nevertheless an effective and powerful resistance group. The latter demonstrated their self-confidence in an attempt to instrumentalize the United Nations for their own purposes. On March 22, 1979, their representative, Thiounn Prasith, formerly head of depart-

123 Telegram no. 520 by Ambassador Fischer, Permanent Mission to the Office of the United Nations and to the other International Organizations, Geneva, to AA, March 12, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 110615.
124 Telegram no. 4487 by Eberhard Franz Baumann, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, to the German embassy in Moscow, September 7, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 231, vol. 121124.

ment in the Cambodian Foreign Office under Ieng Sary, presented his credentials letter to Secretary General Waldheim. Up to that point, "Democratic Kampuchea" had not maintained a permanent diplomatic mission in New York.[125] Thiounn Prasith started to "bombard" the UN with requests "on an almost daily basis"; among other things, he called for publication of lengthy statements and acted as the "mouthpiece" of Pol Pot.[126] The Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany in New York was instructed to pursue a "policy of absolute restraint" and to abstain from voting. The Federal Foreign Office expected that the nine EC member states would adopt a joint resolution on this matter.[127]

Yet, this proved to be wishful thinking. The debate at the session of the Political Committee of the EPC (European Political Cooperation) on January 24, 1979 already revealed that the members of the committee assessed the situation "rather differently." In fact, they could not at all agree "on a joint position."[128] A report of the task force "Asia" of the EPC from August 1979 stated that the question of Cambodia's representation "might constitute a problem for the Nine." It suggested that "empty chair" diplomacy – that is abstaining from voting – might "facilitate an agreement on a joint position" among the EC member states.[129] At the time, the Federal Foreign Office firmly advocated that the Europeans should stand "preferably unanimously" at the next UN General Assembly and declare that "neither Pol Pot nor Heng Samrin" could be acknowledged as legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people.[130] For a short while, this strategy seemed to work: the meeting of the foreign ministers of the EC member states within the framework of the EPC in Dublin on September 11, 1979 resulted in the agreement that "under the circumstances the Nine would support neither side."[131]

And yet only two days later, on September 13, 1979, just five days before the start of the XXXIVth General Assembly, the Permanent Mission of the Federal

125 Telegram no. 608 by Envoy Alois Jelonek, New York (United Nations), to AA, March 28, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 113154.

126 Telegram no. 944 by Ambassador Rüdiger Freiherr von Wechmar, New York (United Nations), to AA, May 15, 1979, in: ibid.

127 Telegram no. 2427 by Schaad, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, to the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, May 17, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 21, dept. 200, vol. 112936.

128 Letter by Envoy Hannspeter Hellbeck, Paris, to Steger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 29, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 110410.

129 Report of the EC Council Presidency on the meeting of the EPC task force "Asia" in Dublin on August 30/31, 1979, in: ibid., vol. 110411.

130 Note by the Commissioner for Asia Policy in the AA, Ministerialdirigent Jens Petersen, September 3, 1979, in: ibid.

131 Directive no. 101 of Erwin Boll, Vortragender Legationsrat, September 13, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 230, vol. 121058.

Republic of Germany to the United Nations had to report that a meeting of the Ambassadors of the nine EC member states in New York had revealed that "it will be presumably difficult" to come to a joint opinion. According to the Permanent Mission, all participants were fully aware that it was impossible "to cast the right vote." Abstaining from the vote, was thus a "reasonable approach," but leaving the matter unsettled would also work in favor of the Soviet Union. It would make it easier for the Soviets to install a representative of Heng Samrin at the XXXVth UN General Assembly in the following year, especially since it was expected that the Vietnamese would have acquired complete control over Cambodia by then.[132]

Additionally, the President of the XXXIIIrd General Assembly[133], the Permanent Representative of Columbia in New York, Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, was "clearly looking for" delegations that would speak in favor of Pol Pot or rather his envoys as representatives of Cambodia in order to suggest them as Members of the Credentials Committee. *Ministerialdirektor* Meyer-Landrut added an annotation on the corresponding report of the Permanent Mission of the FRG on the matter that read: "I do not like this procedure. We have to think about how to bring about the 'empty chair' without too many difficulties."[134] The West German Envoy to the United Nations, Alois Jelonek, further reported that the representatives of the EC member states were increasingly coming to the realization that it might be difficult to abstain from voting if the Credentials Committee suggested recognizing the delegation of Pol Pot. The moderate members of the non-aligned states, he noted, would take offense, including Yugoslavia because it was particularly opposed to foreign invasions such as those carried out by the Vietnamese, as it feared suffering the same fate at the hands of the Soviet Union. Thus, recognizing the Pol Pot delegation rather than the representatives of Heng Samrin, but also establishing a clear distance from the Pol Pot regime with a strong statement was proposed as an option internally. In stark contrast to Meyer-Landrut, *Ministerialdirigent* Jens Petersen remarked in a handwritten note: "I think this is an acceptable solution."[135]

Initially, Meyer-Landrut's strategy prevailed within the Federal Foreign Office. The Permanent Mission of the FRG to the United Nations was instructed accordingly:

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132 Telegram no. 1772 by Envoy Jelonek, New York (United Nations), to the AA, September 13, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 113154.

133 The XXXIIIrd General Assembly of the United Nations was held in New York from September 19 to December 21, 1978 and continued from January 15 to 29, 1979 and from May 23 to 31, 1979.

134 Telegram no. 1790 by Envoy Jelonek, New York (United Nations), to AA, September 14, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 113154.

135 Ibid.

> We cannot speak in favor of either of the two regimes, which are both equally unwelcome. In the event of a vote, abstaining is our only option. […] We believe it is very important for the position of the Nine to be as unanimous as possible […]. Supporting the Pol Pot delegation by voting in favor will likely be met with considerable incomprehension among the public in the nine EC member states. It is neither politically nor legally mandatory for any of the nine EC member states.[136]

At the opening session on September 18, 1979, the President of the XXXIVth General Assembly, the Permanent Representative of Tanzania, Salim Ahmed Salim, assigned the issue of Cambodia's diplomatic representation to the Credentials Committee, which was to report to the plenum on September 21. At a meeting of the representations of the EC member states held afterward, the FRG, France, and the Netherlands advocated abstaining from the vote, whereas Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, and Great Britain were in favor of the Pol Pot delegation.[137] On September 19, 1979, the nine-member Credentials Committee decided by a vote of six in favor (Belgium as the only EC member state, Ecuador, Pakistan, Senegal, the U.S. and the People's Republic of China Republic of China) to recommend the Pol Pot regime as the representative of Cambodia. The People's Republic of Congo, Panama, and the Soviet Union were against this decision.[138]

Shortly before the plenary debate on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee started on September 21, the Mission of the FRG suddenly received new instructions: "The mission is asked a) to duly recognize the credentials of the Pol Pot delegation when a vote on the recommendation is taken […] and to cast an affirmative vote, b) when a vote is taken on a potential Soviet-Vietnamese motion to leave the seat of Cambodia in the General Assembly empty to cast a vote against." Should the government installed by military intervention in some parts of Cambodia question the accreditation of the current Cambodian delegation, this directive noted, these attempts should be "firmly rejected."[139] What was the reason for this U-turn within just two days? Between September 19 and 21, 1979, the diplomatic representations of the five ASEAN states (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) apparently made considerable efforts to influence the decision.

136 Telegram no. 4663 by Schaad, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, to the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, September 18, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 230, vol. 121058.
137 Telegram no. 1819 by Ambassador Freiherr von Wechmar, New York (United Nations), to AA, September 18, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 113154.
138 Telegram no. 1830 by Ambassador Freiherr von Wechmar to AA, September 19, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 230, vol. 121058.
139 Telegram no. 4739 by State Secretary Günther van Well to the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, September 21, 1979, in: ibid.

Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, heavily affected by the enormous and consistent flow of refugees in Indochina, were "deeply concerned" about the Vietnamese military advance.[140] Above all, they feared the fighting could spread to Thailand. It is fair to assume that the West German government also took its political alliances into account, because the majority of EC member states and the U.S. maintained that the current Cambodian delegation should continue to be recognized.

At the plenary session of the General Assembly on September 21, 1979, the FRG justified its policy shift primarily by citing the need to support the ASEAN states. In a formalistic way, it also pointed out that, technically-speaking, the Pol Pot delegation had already been recognized "in accordance with the regulations of the General Assembly." Furthermore it "firmly" condemned the severe human rights violations in Cambodia committed since the mid-1970s.[141] The result of the vote was 71 in favor of the Pol Pot delegation and 35 against with 34 abstentions. Twelve countries did not take part in the vote. France, Ireland and the Netherlands abstained. The representative of Singapore, Tommy Thong-Bee Koh, emphasized the "irony that ASEAN now has to defend Pol Pot in order to prevent further acts of aggression in the region."[142] The West German Ambassador to the United Nations, Rüdiger Freiherr von Wechmar, celebrated the 71 votes in favor as a "defeat" of the Soviet Union[143] – which was completely inappropriate. Even though the East-West conflict could certainly not be ignored in this matter, it was first and foremost about the assessment of the political, military, and human rights situation in Cambodia and the Southeast Asian region in general. It goes without saying that the Soviet Union took advantage of the vote's result for its own propaganda apparatus. The newspaper *Pravda* of September 23, 1979 hypocritically stated: "against all reason and logic, a number of countries have let themselves be patronized by the farce orchestrated by Beijing and Washington. Thus, the seats of Cambodia have been occupied by usurpers, who should rather have been put on trial themselves."[144] But was it not true that they should in fact have been put on trial?

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140 Note by AA, Dept. 340, June 13, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 110767.

141 Telegram no. 1877 by Ambassador Freiherr von Wechmar to AA, September 21, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 230, vol. 121058.

142 Telegram no. 1881 by Ambassador Freiherr von Wechmar to AA, September 24, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 113154. On the result of the vote also fax no. 427 from New York, September 24, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 30, dept. 230, vol. 121058.

143 Telegram no. 1881, in: ibid.

144 Telegram no. 3647 by Ambassador Hans-Georg Wieck, Moscow, to AA, September 25, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 113154.

On December 6, 1979, the British government publicly announced its decision to "no longer recognize the Pol Pot regime as the Cambodian government." This step was justified mainly according to legal criteria.[145] In a "speaking note" the Britons had informed the FRG beforehand as follows:

> Pol Pot's government no longer controls more than a small part of the territory of Cambodia or commands the obedience of more than a fraction of the Cambodian people. Clearly, therefore his government cannot be regarded as an effective government in Cambodia and does not fulfill British criteria for recognition.

Yet, the pro-Vietnamese government under Heng Samrin also failed to live up to the mark in this regard.[146] Great Britain – which unlike the FRG explicitly pursued a policy of recognizing governments – was also driven by other reasons. The "speaking note," for example, also mentioned "parliamentary and public pressure."[147] For the British government, this "de-recognition" was therefore part of – or all about – making a public gesture. Also, it should be borne in mind that this decision "did not affect the position of Great Britain regarding the issue of the seat in the United Nations."[148] As striking as this step seemed to be, the British government was only able to do this because it had already, at least in theory, established diplomatic relations with "Democratic Kampuchea," unlike its main allies, West Germany, France and the U.S.

The ASEAN member states responded with great dismay. The Singaporean Foreign Minister Sinnathamby Rajaratnam was "noticeably very concerned" and called it "an utter defeat of the ASEAN." He rejected the British arguments, not without good reason, as "inacceptable," since Pol Pot's atrocities had been known for more than four years. He openly threatened that the ASEAN states might "have no other choice than to turn towards Moscow" under certain circumstances. The countries of the Third World, the West German Ambassador in Singapore noted, might possibly "change their course" and turn to the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China in the long run.[149] The ASEAN coun-

145 Report no. 4677 by German embassy in London to AA, December 13, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 110616.

146 "Speaking note," December 3, 1979, Cambodia: De-recognition of Pol Pot, in: ibid.

147 Ibid.

148 Telegram no. 6189 by Ministerialdirigent Petersen to the German Embassies to the ASEAN member states, the Embassies in Beijing, Tokyo, and Washington as well as the Permanent Mission to the United Nations, December 6, 1979, in: ibid.

149 Telegram no. 301 by Ambassador Hildegunde Feilner, Singapore, to AA, December 5, 1979, in: ibid.

tries were certainly wise not to play this card in the end. However, they remained adamant on the question of the Cambodian seat in the United Nations, all the more given the heightening of tensions between Thailand and Vietnam.[150] Thus, Department 340 of the Federal Foreign Office noted before the start of the XXXVth General Assembly: “Our intended close cooperation with the ASEAN states and furthermore with the core group of moderate non-aligned countries rules out [...] a change of our voting strategy at the moment. A continued split in the vote of the Nine must be accepted in return.”[151]

The ASEAN group was successful overall. Until 1982, the Cambodian UN seat was occupied by “Democratic Kampuchea”; after that, it was granted to the fragile resistance group “Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea,”[152] consisting of royalist supporters of Sihanouk, the Khmer Rouge, and followers of the former Prime Minister Son Sann (1967/68).[153] Thiounn Prasit remained the Permanent Representative in New York until the early 1990s.[154]

Did the West German Government Compromise its Human Rights Policy?

In early 1980, Ottfried Hennig (CDU), speaking on behalf of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in the Bundestag, once again raised the question: “What concrete action has the government already taken this year against the genocide in Cambodia?” This rather vague inquiry that used the term “genocide” without further

150 Dept. 340 of AA remarked on June 26, 1980: “On June 23, 1980 Vietnamese troops, re-enforced by armored vehicles and artillery, attacked refugee camps in the Thai-Cambodian border region; in some cases they crossed the border to Thailand and occupied several Thai villages. [...] Most of the casualties are civilians and refugees,” in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 127373.

151 Note by AA, Dept. 340, August 22, 1980, in: ibid., vol. 113047.

152 See Hazdra, UNO-Friedensoperation, p. 50; see also Yearbook of the United Nations 1982, vol. 36, ed. by the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, New York 1986, pp. 341–42, 584–85.

153 See Chandler, History, pp. 283–84; Hazdra, UNO-Friedensoperation, pp. 54–57.

154 In the lists of the Permanent Mission to the United Nations, Thiounn Prasith is mentioned in the fall of 1992 for the last time, see Permanent Missions to the United Nations, ed. by the Protocol and Liaison Service of the United Nations, no. 271, September 1992, New York 1992, p. 43. Following the appointment of Prince Norodom Sihamoni, a son of Sihanouk and today king of Cambodia, Thiounn Prasith initially acted as his deputy, see Permanent Missions to the United Nations, ed. by the Protocol and Liaison Service of the United Nations, no. 272, April 1993, New York 1993, p. 43.

qualification probably referred to all acts of violence committed in Cambodia, regardless of origin. State Minister Hamm-Brücher replied to the effect that the FRG had promised to provide 15 million DM for the international aid program for Cambodia during the current year. She also pointed out that although humanitarian assistance took priority, only political means could solve the Cambodian question in the long run. Tellingly, she also mentioned the Cambodia resolution of the UN General Assembly of November 14, 1979 in this context.[155] Among other things, this resolution condemned Vietnam's intervention, called on all parties involved to peacefully settle the conflict, and strove for a political solution that would uphold Cambodia's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence.[156] Ten years later, in 1989, the General Assembly approved a similar resolution, just as it had done in the years before.[157] Additionally, the West German government saw only one alternative in terms of personnel: Sihanouk.[158] But was it really in keeping with its human rights policy to denounce the Vietnamese invasion, support the Khmer Rouge at the United Nations, and hope for Sihanouk's return to power? Or were there in fact humanitarian aspects to Vietnam's military intervention in late 1978/early 1979, as Marschall von Bieberstein had suggested?

The – verbal – position of the West German government under Helmut Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher on human rights policy was:

> The federal government considers the policy of protecting and promoting human rights to be a global policy; it is the core of international cooperation based on the UN Charter[159], the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948[160] and the UN International Covenants

155 Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, Stenographische Berichte, vol. 114, 212th session on April 18, 1980, pp. 17019–20.
156 For the text of the resolution no. 34/22 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, November 14, 1979, see United Nations Resolutions, compiled and ed. by Dusan J. Djonovich, Series I: Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly, vol. XVIII: 1979–1980, New York 1985, pp. 204–05. On the result of the vote, see ibid., p. 64.
157 For the text of the resolution no. 44/22 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, November 16, 1989, see Key Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly 1946–1996, ed. by Dietrich Rauschning/Katja Wiesbrock/Martin Lailach, Institute of International Law at the University of Göttingen, Cambridge 1997, pp. 41–42.
158 Note by Steger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, July 25, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 110411.
159 For the text of the Charter of the United Nations, June 26, 1945, see Bundesgesetzblatt 1973, part II, pp. 431–503.
160 For the text of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" of the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 10, 1948 (resolution 217 (III), part A), see Key Resolutions, pp. 321–22.

> from 1966.[161] It also applies to the countries of the Third World that humane living conditions can only be guaranteed when each individual can develop in freedom and peace.[162]

Did the West German government in fact apply these principles towards Cambodia under Pol Pot's rule, in its voting at the United Nations in 1979 and in its support – albeit not in material terms – of the Khmer Rouge in this intergovernmental organization? "All in all, the international community's response to the situation in Cambodia [...] remained extremely weak."[163] This also holds true for the FRG. Its pronounced reservations, which faded away only under public pressure, rested on a number of factors:

1. The Federal Republic had only recently entered the political stage as an international actor at the time. The new *Deutschlandpolitik* and *Ostpolitik* of the Brandt/Scheel government had "the important side effect of expanding the global scope of action [...], namely through full membership in the United Nations."[164] Being a UN member from 1973 (together with the GDR) gradually resulted – within certain limits caused by the continued division of Germany – in a global role with global responsibilities for the Federal Republic. The race between the FRG and the GDR for a higher-ranking diplomatic representation in Phnom Penh – a bitter reality during the 1960s – seems grotesque from today's point of view. Development aid served more or less as an incentive for a desired political attitude. The reason for breaking off diplomatic relations in 1969 was Cambodia's, or rather Sihanouk's, new positioning within the East-West conflict and increasing, self-inflicted entanglement in the Vietnam War. The decision of the social liberal government not to resume diplomatic relations with Cambodia under Lon Nol was driven by political considerations related to the German question, at least until the ratification of the Basic Treaty, even though it was primarily influenced by the assessment of the security policy situation and the clear instability of the Cambodian government.

2. After it became a member of the United Nations, human rights issues ranked higher on the political agenda of the Federal Republic than ever before.

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161 For the text of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, December 19, 1966, see Bundesgesetzblatt 1973, part II, pp. 1534–55; for the text of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, December 19, 1966, see ibid., pp. 1570–82.

162 Note by Günter Joetze, Vortragender Legationsrat, April 28, 1977, in: PA/AA, B 28, dept. 212, vol. 115110.

163 Hazdra, UNO-Friedensoperation, p. 43.

164 Werner Link, Außen- und Deutschlandpolitik in der Ära Schmidt 1974–1982, in: Wolfgang Jäger/Werner Link, Republik im Wandel 1974–1982. Die Ära Schmidt. Mit einem abschließenden Essay von Joachim C. Fest, Stuttgart 1987, p. 383.

The 1979 annual report of the government reads: "The growing political importance of human rights on the international stage is reflected by the fact that the federal government increasingly addresses human rights issues from different angles."[165] However, the principles of its human rights policy took time to develop. For quite a while, the FRG remained on a learning curve. It focused on cases in the international limelight such as South Africa and Chile, whereas Southeast Asia attracted less attention. The Helsinki Accords signed in the Finnish capital on August 1, 1975[166] played an important role as the federal government developed its own position on human rights. This treaty became the "springboard for détente."[167]

3. The dynamic triggered by the Helsinki Accords had little impact on the Cambodian question, because the focus of the West German government lay elsewhere. When King Khalid of Saudi Arabia visited the FRG from June 16 to 19, 1980, Helmut Schmidt pointed out:

> The Federal Republic with more than 60 million Germans faces the GDR with 16 million citizens, a communist state with 300,000 to 400,000 Soviet soldiers, missiles, and tanks; in addition, West-Berlin is a political island right in the middle of the Soviet occupied territory. Also, several hundred thousand Germans still live in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A few hundred thousand were able to move back, but hundreds of thousands are still held back by the communist governments. That means that the Soviet Union holds 16 million, 2 million and several hundred thousand Germans hostage.[168]

It was the government's highest priority to offer "humanitarian relief" for these people, for instance by expanding avenues of contact between the people in West and East Germany and enabling people of German origin living in Eastern Europe to emigrate. Thus, it was no surprise that the federal government remained skeptical towards the human rights policy of President Carter. The assessment of this policy by the Ambassador of the Federal Republic in Washington, Berndt von Staden, is quite revealing in that it he spoke of its "few tangible results" in early 1979. As he noted, it had caused "considerable disapproval on the part of the

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165 Jahresbericht der Bundesregierung 1979, ed. by the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, Bonn 1980, p. 157.

166 For the text of the Helsinki Accords, August 1, 1975, see Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE). Analyse und Dokumentation 1973–1978, ed. by Hans-Adolf Jacobsen/Wolfgang Mallmann/Christian Meier, Cologne 1978, pp. 913–66, here especially the chapter on "Zusammenarbeit in humanitären und anderen Bereichen" (Korb III), pp. 946–64.

167 Richard von Weizsäcker, Der Weg zur Einheit, Munich 2009, p. 68.

168 Record of the conversation between Schmidt and Khalid on June 17, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2011, doc. 176, p. 916.

Western European allies" and was "regarded as an obstacle for the process of détente," for instance, at the CSCE follow-up meeting in Belgrade from October 4, 1977 to March 9, 1978. According to von Staden, it had also contributed to worsening American-Soviet relations, which reached a low point in the summer of 1978.[169]

4. As the federal government kept pointing out, there was in fact hardly any way to influence the regime in Phnom Penh from 1975 to 1979. Initially, Bonn had expressed interest in assuming diplomatic relations with Cambodia, but it changed its mind quickly thereafter. It is a speculative question whether or not diplomatic relations would have been maintained if they had still existed in the mid-1970s. However, bilateral relations as they were between the two countries were thus free of political and economic interests. It is all the more surprising that the federal government still exercised verbal restraint, because it did not really need to demonstrate such consideration. And yet for a long time, it persistently refused to believe the reports of countless refugees. It is even more remarkable that the government conceded precisely when an actual opportunity to act arose in the context of the question of Cambodia's representation at the UN by abandoning the plan to abstain from the vote. Vietnam's military intervention in Cambodia in late 1978 was certainly not of a humanitarian nature, and geostrategic considerations as well as obligations towards the alliance partners doubtlessly played a vital role. Thus, it is fair to say that although the federal government did not necessarily compromise its human rights policy by adhering to its *Realpolitik*, it surely did not advocate its standpoint convincingly. Ultimately, it seems quite revealing that Genscher wrote a letter to the Thai Foreign Minister Upadit Pachariyangkun in February 1980 in which he outlined that the military intervention in Cambodia in late 1978 "was an expression of reactionary power politics in which the goal was to acquire new spheres of influence for the Soviet Union and its Vietnamese allies."[170] For the FRG, the crucial watershed was December 25, 1978 – and not April 17, 1975 – because a new element was added to the East-West conflict on that day. Genscher described his main concern in a conversation with the Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua in Bonn on October 23, 1979:

> We had hoped that the Vietnamese government would have concentrated its efforts on rebuilding the country after the end of the Vietnam War, and we would have been happy to help Vietnam to a great extent. Unfortunately, we realized that something happened here – as so often happens in history – namely, that military strength develops a momentum of

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169 Report no. 109 by Ambassador Berndt von Staden, Washington, to AA, January 11, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 32, dept. 204, vol. 115950.

170 Letter by Genscher to Upadit Pachariyangkun, February 1, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 37, dept. 340, vol. 127321.

its own and is used for further purposes. The result was regional hegemony, at least with the approval of the Soviet Union if not on behalf of it. We have observed this development with concern. [...] Vietnamese expansionism has to be addressed by the international community. For a long time, Vietnam has been the 'pet dog' of international press coverage and politics. Today, Vietnamese politics has revealed a different face, although its government is very sensitive. We should not be too oversensitive in dealing with it.[171]

171 Record of the conversation between Genscher and Huang Hua on October 23, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2010, doc. 304, pp. 1521–22.

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Kiran Klaus Patel

Cold War Myopia

Germany’s World in the 1970s and its Relations with Cambodia

Introduction

“We’re doing something that’s never been done before.” This was the title used by the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* in May 1977 for an interview with Ieng Sary, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Cambodia. Ieng Sary was also known as “Brother Number Three,” a reference to his position as the third most powerful figure in the Khmer Rouge regime under Pol Pot. In prefacing the interview, *Der Spiegel* briefly described how the Communists had been ruling the country since April 1975 “while keeping the global public mostly in the dark.” Refugees had told of a “barbaric stone age socialism with hundreds of thousands of victims.” This was, as *Der Spiegel* claimed, the first time a representative of the Cambodian leadership had given an interview to a Western press organ.[1] The magazine was obviously proud of its major scoop. Hence, the article’s title took on a second level of meaning because it not only referred to what the regime was implementing, but also underlined the significance of the article itself.

The West German magazine did not shy away from posing critical questions. It confronted the Cambodian leader with the findings of the French priest François Ponchaud and the American journalists Anthony Paul and John Barron, who estimated the number of the regime’s victims to be at least one million.[2] Yet Ieng Sary showed nothing but contempt for such criticism: “These people are mad.” He maintained that only dangerous criminals were sentenced to death in his country, while repentant members of the former regime were treated with leniency. At the same time, however, the article offered him plenty of space to present the regime’s alleged achievements.[3]

The essay by Tim Szatkowski in this volume takes us back to the years covered by this article in *Der Spiegel* as he examines how the government of the Federal

1 “Was wir machen, gab es noch nie,” in: Der Spiegel, May 9, 1977.

2 See François Ponchaud, Cambodge année zero. Document, Paris 1977. Penguin published an English translation in 1978; there was never a German version of Ponchaud’s book. See also John Barron/Anthony Paul, Murder of a Gentle Land. The Untold Story of Communist Genocide in Cambodia, New York 1977.

3 “Was wir machen, gab es noch nie,” in: Der Spiegel, May 9, 1977.

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Republic of Germany reacted to the Khmer Rouge terror regime and the situation in Cambodia in general. His analysis revolves around the question of the position accorded to human rights in West Germany's relations with the Southeast Asian country. The essay correctly points out the confusing and unclear political situation in Cambodia, which made it hard for Western states to find reasonable answers. Drawing mainly on archival holdings of the Federal Foreign Office, Szatkowski identifies and elaborates on the multi-layered and occasionally contradictory West German reactions to developments in the country. He concentrates on the years from 1975 to 1979, when Cambodia descended into the bloody terror of the Khmer Rouge dictatorship. Szatkowski emphasizes, however, that these years can only be properly assessed by placing them within a longer historical perspective. He therefore devotes – at least in light of this research question and claim – a striking amount of attention to the preceding historical phase from the mid-1960s onwards and sketches, for readers less familiar with this period, the general contemporary historical context for the Southeast Asian country.

Overall, Szatkowski convincingly shows that the West German government distanced itself from the Pol Pot regime for a long time. In 1976, for example, the government decided not to resume diplomatic relations, not least because of the terror of the Khmer Rouge. At the critical juncture, however, Bonn backpedaled from its focus on human rights. In 1979, a decision loomed on the global level, namely whether the Khmer Rouge or the new regime under Heng Samrin was to be recognized as the legitimate representative of Cambodia at the United Nations. At the time, the power of the Khmer Rouge was already fading and another group headed by Heng Samrin had taken over many parts of the country with the help of Vietnamese troops. Neither group stood for Western values. While Pol Pot enjoyed the support of China, Heng Samrin was aided by Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The crimes committed by the Khmer Rouge spoke clearly against endorsing them. Yet the alternative contradicted the principles of international law, which mandated that a foreign invasion should not affect the status and legitimate representation of a government – and Heng Samrin's power mainly rested on Vietnamese bayonets. In effect, the West German government found itself caught between a rock and a hard place, eventually deciding to support the claim of the Khmer Rouge, and so "adhering to its *Realpolitik*,"[4] as Szatkowski puts it.

While the Foreign Office initially advocated abstaining from the UN vote, which Szatkowski clearly shows, the federal government changed its view shortly beforehand; although it ultimately endorsed the Pol Pot delegation, it also stri-

4 Tim Szatkowski, From Sihanouk to Pol Pot. Diplomacy, Human Rights, and Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Cambodia, 1967–1979, in this Yearbook p. 25.

dently condemned the human rights violations committed by the Khmer Rouge. The Federal Republic had thus maneuvered itself into a peculiar situation in that it was prepared to acknowledge the claim of the Maoist-nationalist Khmer camp to a seat at the UN despite vehemently criticizing the state of human rights. At the time, a West German expert, the law professor Eckart Klein from the University of Mainz, correctly called this stance “very precarious, because it could be understood as siding with the Pol Pot regime, a regime that is obviously guilty of a genocide.”[5]

The fact that Bonn assigned human rights a lower priority in this decision is not all that surprising for those familiar with studies on West German human rights policy in the 1970s, in particular the works of Philipp Rock and Jan Eckel dealing with the non-European context. Whether South Africa, Iran or Chile – the federal government was by no means consistent when it came to supporting human rights,[6] despite the fact that Germany bore a special responsibility in this respect given the horrendous crimes of the Nazi dictatorship, and not to mention the fact that human rights were becoming increasingly significant for global politics at this time.[7]

That said, however, the case of Cambodia is special – and for this reason, Szatkowski’s conclusions are, at a second glance, also of interest to scholars who are not necessarily experts on the history of West German-Cambodian relations. The most important reasons normally cited as standing in the way of politics guided by the principles of human rights were not very relevant here: there were scarcely any economic interests demanding a course of *Realpolitik*, and, naturally, there was no reason to defer to the Pol Pot regime for ideological reasons. Consequently, Cambodia cannot be simply added to a list of similar political decisions. The Southeast Asian country is also quite special given the similarities between the crimes of the Khmer Rouge and the Holocaust, which were already being noted

5 Eckart Klein, Tätigkeit der Vereinten Nationen in völkerrechtlichen Fragen. Berichtszeitraum: 1.1.1979–31.12.1979, in: Archiv des Völkerrechts 19 (1981), pp. 287–335, here p. 293. Klein took up his professorship at the University of Mainz in 1981.

6 See Philipp Rock, Macht, Märkte und Moral. Zur Rolle der Menschenrechte in der Außenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren, Frankfurt a. M. 2010; Jan Eckel, Die Ambivalenz des Guten. Menschenrechte in der internationalen Politik seit den 1940ern, 2nd ed., Göttingen 2015.

7 See, for instance, Lora Wildenthal, The Language of Human Rights in West Germany, Philadelphia/PA 2013; Jan Eckel/Samuel Moyn (eds.), The Breakthrough. Human Rights in the 1970s, Philadelphia/PA 2013; Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (ed.), Human Rights in the Twentieth Century, New York 2011; Samuel Moyn, The Last Utopia. Human Rights in History, Cambridge (MA)/London 2010; Johannes Paulmann (ed.), Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century, Oxford 2016.

back then as well. Considering the burden of its past and the political dimensions of this legacy, the Federal Republic had to weigh its stance carefully, and it could be quite certain that its actions would be carefully watched across the globe.[8]

Why then did human rights fail to play a greater role? In order to really answer this question, more archival materials, and especially those from other ministries and institutions, would have to be taken into consideration. Although Szatkowski primarily bases his account on documents from the Foreign Office, he nonetheless offers several possible explanations as to why the federal government acted as it did. Germany, he notes, was in the initial stages of learning how to add human rights in its foreign policy agenda, and it had placed greater emphasis on cases that were more in the international spotlight, such as South Africa and Chile. This is undoubtedly true. Likewise, his claim that the focus remained firmly on deescalating Cold War tensions and the situation in Europe itself makes a lot of sense – although this was by no means a compelling reason for not pursuing a more stringent human rights policy elsewhere. Furthermore, Szatkowski points out the lack of West Germany's ability to exert influence on the Southeast Asian country. Finally, he underlines that the Federal Republic "had only recently entered the political stage as an international actor."[9] Yet the Federal Republic had been active on the international stage long before the mid-1970s. Szatkowski is correct in his assertion in as far as the relationship at issue here was with a state outside of Europe, and indeed one that, up to this point in time, had not played any substantial role in West German foreign policy. What was also new here was that the Federal Republic had to position itself in the United Nations and its system, having first gained accession in 1973. West German diplomats and politicians had comparatively little experience to draw on when faced with the concrete issue at hand as well as the stage on which it was all supposed to be negotiated. Just how much the world had changed is underlined by Szatkowski's claim about the influence of the ASEAN states on West Germany's stance in the days leading up to the vote – anything similar would have been inconceivable just fifteen years earlier. However much we agree that more research is needed to understand the reasons behind the Federal Republic's voting at the UN, we can concur with Szatkowski's observation that the West German actors were venturing onto unfamiliar terrain and thus faced a number of specific challenges. We shall return to this later.

8 See, for example, Ariane Barth/Tiziano Terzani, Holocaust in Kambodscha. Dokumentation, Reinbek 1980. The book by Barth and Terziani was published as a "Spiegel-Buch" and built on articles in that magazine.

9 Szatkowski, From Sihanouk to Pol Pot, p. 58.

Beyond Hallstein: German-German Relations and the Global South during the 1970s

First and foremost, it is important to understand the perspective from which the diplomats in the Foreign Office had approached this topic since the 1960s. Szatkowski shows that German-German politics within the context of the Cold War defined Bonn's conceptual framework for dealing with Cambodia. While Szatkowski outlines this analytical thread that may help explain the stance of the Federal Republic, he does not consistently explore this aspect for the late 1970s. It would be interesting to discuss how the rivalry between the two German states influenced the Federal Republic's approach to Cambodia for this period as well. In terms of chronology, Szatkowski's analysis begins in 1967 with the commencement of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic and Cambodia, and he reconstructs the race between the Federal Republic and the GDR (German Democratic Republic) to establish and maintain closer diplomatic ties with the Southeast Asian state. For the West German side, the claim to be the sole representative of the German people (*Alleinvertretungsanspruch*), which had been formulated since the 1950s as part of the Hallstein Doctrine, played a key role. Under the authoritarian leadership of Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia proved to be reluctant to side definitively with either one of the two German states – a nightmare for Bonn's diplomats. Given the complicated situation in his country, which was being dragged further into the Vietnam War, Sihanouk opted for a course of ad hoc political maneuvering. This strategy was not limited to Cambodia's relations with the two German states, but rather pursued vis-à-vis powers that were far more important for the country, such as the Soviet Union, the United States, China and North Vietnam. Sihanouk chose to take unusual steps: as a sacrificial pawn in this game with plenty of variable factors, he severed relations with the Federal Republic in 1969, only to paradoxically intensify those with the United States. After Sihanouk was overthrown in a military coup the following year, his successor Lon Nol (Sihanouk's former prime minister), more pro-American in his views, sought to revise his government's policy towards West Germany. But now it was Bonn's turn to step on the brakes. Taking into consideration the extremely unstable situation in Cambodia, which only worsened after the Khmer Rouge seized power in 1975, the federal government ultimately decided not to resume diplomatic relations.

In the main section of Szatkowski's account on the years from 1975 to 1979, however, the German-German dimension unfortunately no longer plays much of a role in explaining the West German stance on the Pol Pot regime. However, a number of recent studies have shown just how closely the Federal Republic and

the GDR were attuned to one another in the 1970s. This was not just the case for diplomatic history. A host of other problems – such as consumption, health and economic policy – reveals that the history of relations between the two states was one of deep entanglement.[10]

It is therefore very likely that the federal government continued to define its policy and actions vis-à-vis Cambodia with an eye to what East Berlin was doing well into the second half of the 1970s as well. This is particularly relevant for the aforementioned UN debate in 1979. Of course, this begs the question as to the stance of the GDR at the time. At first, the GDR maintained diplomatic relations with the Pol Pot regime, which adopted the name "Democratic Kampuchea" as of January 1976. The embassy of the country in East Berlin even attempted to promulgate its own – strongly ideologically-tinged – point of view in the GDR and published stories idealizing "Cambodian resistance" in German, such as "Khèm, die junge Kämpferin und andere Erzählungen des kambodschanischen Widerstands."[11]

Like the Soviet Union, the GDR then switched sides in a series of steps, beginning at the level of diplomatic contacts in the first half of 1979. As early as January, just fourteen days after Pol Pot had fled Phnom Penh and the city was captured by Vietnamese troops supporting the new regime under Heng Samrin, journalists from the Soviet Union, the GDR, Hungary, and other Eastern bloc states were invited to Cambodia. A month later, an official delegation of the new rulers traveled not only to Moscow but also to East Berlin; on April 7, the ambassador of the GDR officially presented his credentials to the Heng Samrin regime.[12]

10 See Christoph Kleßmann, Spannung und Verflechtung. Ein Konzept zur integrierten Nachkriegsgeschichte 1945 bis 1990, in: idem/Peter Lautzas (eds.), Teilung und Integration. Die doppelte deutsche Nachkriegsgeschichte als wissenschaftliches und didaktisches Problem, Bonn 2015, pp. 20–37; Konrad H. Jarausch, "Die Teile als Ganzes erkennen." Zur Integration der beiden deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichten, in: Zeithistorische Forschungen 1 (2004), pp. 10–30; Udo Wengst/Hermann Wentker (eds.), Das doppelte Deutschland. 40 Jahre Systemkonkurrenz, Berlin 2008; as recent contributions to the debate see, for example, Frank Bösch (ed.), Geteilte Geschichte. Ost- und Westdeutschland 1970–2000, Göttingen 2015; Sonja Levsen/Cornelius Torp (eds.), Wo liegt die Bundesrepublik? Vergleichende Perspektiven auf die westdeutsche Geschichte, Göttingen 2016.

11 See Botschaft des Demokratischen Kampuchea (ed.), Khèm, die junge Kämpferin und andere Erzählungen des kambodschanischen Widerstands, Berlin (East) 1976; see also, for example, ibid. (ed.), Ein Jahr Demokratisches Kampuchea. Text der Verfassung des Demokratischen Kampuchea. Dokumente und Bilder, Berlin (East) 1976; and as an earlier publication of this kind: Königliche Botschaft Kambodschas in der DDR (ed.), Das befreite Gebiet von Kambodscha. Alles für die Front! Alles für die endgültige Befreiung des Landes!, Berlin (East) 1975.

12 See Roger Kershaw, Multipolarity and Cambodia's Crisis of Survival. A Preliminary Perspective on 1979, in: Southeast Asian Affairs 7 (1980), pp. 161–88, here p. 170; on the developments in

At the decisive UN vote, not only the Soviet Union but also the GDR opted for Heng Samrin (a fact not mentioned by Szatkowski). Interestingly, the states of the Eastern bloc, amongst them the Soviet Union and Poland,[13] justified the Vietnamese invasion that brought Heng Samrin to power by citing the genocide of the Cambodian civilian population – a line of thinking in international law that, as is well known, the West occasionally makes use of, too. Back then, however, it was far more controversial than it is today and, in the case of the Soviets, had an undeniably instrumental character. While the West noted it closely, the Soviet argument was regarded as untenable, not least because the Soviet Union had refused to support an initiative put forward by the United Kingdom to condemn acts of the Khmer Rouge just a year earlier.[14] More important for our concerns here, however, is that the GDR completed its turnabout on Cambodia a few months before the UN vote (keeping in tune with the Soviet Union), and it would be undoubtedly revealing to find out what Bonn thought about this shift. Ultimately, this situation resulted in a classic Cold War constellation: both German states stood on the same side as their respective superpowers, and each side supported the diametrically different positions up for debate in the UN. There was room to maneuver, however, as the move by France, the Netherlands, Austria, Spain and Sweden to abstain from the vote showed. These countries did in fact decide to take the path that Bonn had also originally considered.[15]

Working Class Solidarity vs. "Concentration Camp Cambodia": The Role of Civil Society and the Media

Another line of argumentation that merits further study examines the social context of the debate over Cambodia. Existing literature has shown how important citizen engagement in civil society and public debates were for boosting the significance of human rights advocacy in the Federal Republic in the post-

Cambodia at the time see, for example, Daniel Bultmann, Kambodscha unter den Roten Khmer. Die Erschaffung des perfekten Sozialisten, Paderborn 2017. Bultmann's important book was published after Szatkowski's article. See also Gilbert Béréziat, Cambodge 1945–2005. Soixante années d'hypocrisie des grands, Paris 2009, pp. 146–52; Bernd Stöver, Geschichte Kambodschas. Von Angkor bis zur Gegenwart, Munich 2015, pp. 153–81.

13 See Jamie Frederic Metzl, Western Responses to Human Rights Abuses in Cambodia, 1975–80, Houndmills/NY 1996, p. 150; on the representation debate more generally, see pp. 150–55.

14 See Klein, Tätigkeit der Vereinten Nationen, pp. 318–19.

15 Metzl, Western Responses, pp. 154–55.

war decades.[16] Not surprisingly, this was particularly true for domestic political controversies related to the Nazi past, but also with respect to the dictatorships in southern Europe and the situation on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Over the course of the 1970s, this became increasingly relevant in terms of the Global South: the federal government was forced to realize that it could no longer pursue its existing policies in places such as South Africa, for example, because it had to respond in some way to the changing winds of public opinion and civic activism. The churches, trade unions and organizations such as Amnesty International kept pointing out human rights violations and became increasingly vocal in demanding accountability from Bonn.[17] At the same time, globally active West German companies were coming under increasing pressure whenever it emerged that they were violating appropriate norms or flouting standards.[18] The media was reporting more frequently and more critically as well – in 1973, for example, *Der Spiegel* picked up a story from the British press, going so far as to claim that German firms were treating their employees in South Africa inhumanely.[19]

Szatkowski concentrates his primarily source-based analysis on the official government stance, mentioning civil society and its actors only in passing. Cambodia was, however, a topic that inflamed passions in the 1970s. As already noted, in its 1977 interview with Ieng Sary, *Der Spiegel* confronted him with the revelations of Ponchaud, Paul, Barron and others. It was precisely during this phase in which the German public was first beginning to come to terms with the full scope and enormity of the Holocaust that the situation in Cambodia was being framed in Nazi analogies: in their efforts to convey the sheer brutality of the Pol Pot regime, moderate leftists and conservatives spoke of "concentration camp Cambodia" or even of the "Holocaust in Cambodia."[20] It should be noted, though, that similar analogies and comparisons were in circulation in other

16 See the references in footnotes 4 and 5, respectively.
17 See Rock, Macht, pp. 156–61. On the wider context, see Johannes Paulmann, Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century, in: Humanity 4 (2013), pp. 215–38; Dorothee Weitbrecht, Aufbruch in die Dritte Welt. Der Internationalismus der Studentenbewegung von 1968 in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Göttingen 2012; Maria Magdalena Verburg, Ostdeutsche Dritte-Welt-Gruppen vor und nach 1989/90, Göttingen 2012; Helga Uckermann, Gewerkschaften und Dritte Welt. Konzeption, Strategien und Standort im System der Nichtregierungsorganisationen, Sinzheim 1996; Claudia Lepp, Zwischen Konfrontation und Kooperation. Kirchen und soziale Bewegung in der Bundesrepublik (1950–1983), in: Zeithistorische Forschungen 7 (2010), pp. 364–85.
18 See, for example, Antoine Acker, Volkswagen in the Amazon. The Tragedy of Global Development in Modern Brazil, Cambridge 2017 (forthcoming).
19 See, for instance, Südafrika, Wesen mit Seele, in: Der Spiegel, March 26, 1973.
20 Sofort hinaus, in: Der Spiegel, March 7, 1977; see also Barth/Terziani (eds.), Holocaust.

Western countries as well.[21] At the same time, the German Communist Party and the Communist League of West Germany supported the Pol Pot regime.[22] Joscha Schmierer, a leading figure of the Communist League who would ironically go on to work for the Foreign Office a few decades later, travelled to Cambodia at the end of 1978; in 1980 he even sent a message of solidarity to Pol Pot, emphasizing "the Kampuchean people's great contributions to the cause of the international working class."[23] Other leftist intellectuals, such as Noam Chomsky and the Swedish writers Per Olof Enquist and Jan Myrdal (the latter the son of the famous social reformers Gunnar and Alva Myrdal), expressed similar opinions.[24]

Szatkowski emphasizes that there was little reliable information coming out of Cambodia in the second half of the 1970s. But this was not deterring anybody in Germany and the West from discussing the situation in the country – even if what was happening in terms of human rights in Chile and South Africa was presumably raising more hackles. Debates over the conditions in Cambodia were nonetheless taking place, and there were contacts between the West and Cambodia, as is evidenced by a press conference on the medical and humanitarian situation in the country held in June 1979 in Paris. In its wake, and just a few days before the UN vote, a long list of international aid agencies organized a transport of relief supplies to Phnom Penh that then arrived on August 26.[25] There were definitely contacts on the level of civil society and, above all, there was a lively public debate on the matter; it therefore seems reasonable to assume that these factors were already influencing state policy and action in 1979 to a greater degree than Szatkowski's text seems to suggest.

And, even if this was not the case, it would still be of great interest to explore this worthwhile dimension further. Does it really make a difference that people were mostly discussing and writing *about* Cambodia in West Germany, but only very rarely actually speaking directly *with* Cambodia(ns)? With other examples of violations of human rights in the 1960s and 1970s, human rights advocates frequently based their criticism on direct exchanges with victim groups – not only in Algeria and Greece, but also in Chile, Brazil, South Africa and Iran. It would

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21 See Metzl, Western Responses, pp. 107–25.

22 See Claudia Olejniczak, Die Dritte-Welt-Bewegung in Deutschland: Konzeptionelle und organisatorische Strukturmerkmale einer neuen sozialen Bewegung, Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 102–37.

23 Bultmann, Kambodscha, p. 217.

24 See Peter Fröberg Idling, Pol Pots Lächeln. Eine schwedische Reise durch das Kambodscha der Roten Khmer, Frankfurt a. M. 2013; on Pol Pot as the object of political hero-worship by some Western intellectuals, also see Paul Hollander, From Benito Mussolini to Hugo Chavez. Intellectuals and a Century of Political Hero Worship, Cambridge 2016, pp. 200–03.

25 See Béréziat, Cambodge, pp. 174–212.

therefore seem that these kinds of contacts with Cambodia scarcely existed in the Federal Republic at the time – unlike in France, the former colonial power, for example. Greater consideration needs to be given to how important direct contact might have been for arousing indignation and mobilizing civil society groups. Except for the hardliners from the Communist Party and Communist League, who backed Pol Pot, German activists probably lacked a group or individual that they could identify with positively. Apart from expressing sympathy with the victims of the regime, it was thus difficult for them to support any potential opposition group. The conflict neither fitted smoothly into the Cold War schema that usually differentiated between "good" and "evil," nor into any other Manichean model of order – an aspect that I shall return to later.

The West in the Global South

Yet another aspect that merits further consideration is the efforts at coordination undertaken within the Western camp.[26] Whereas Szatkowski points to the stance of the United States and the dissent amongst the states of the European Community, he depicts the foreign policy pursued by the Federal Republic as relatively autonomous in this regard. In doing so, he adopts an interpretative thread that had already been important for contemporaries: the aforementioned Eckart Klein, who spent several years working as a research assistant for Ernst Benda, the president of the Federal Constitutional Court, before becoming a professor at the University of Mainz, noted that for the 121 votes held by roll call at the UN General Assembly over the course of 1979, the Federal Republic "mostly adhered to the European Community line," but deviated from the stance taken by the United States for every fourth resolution" – whereas the GDR was "100% in agreement with the Soviet Union."[27] There was obviously every intention to demonstrate that the Federal Republic was not a "satellite" state like the other Germany.[28]

For our UN vote, in which Bonn took sides with Washington, the question arises as to why the nine European Community states could not agree on a joint position. Szatkowski points out that the member states did indeed seek to develop a coordinated approach to relevant issues within the appropriate forum, namely

26 On this dimension, see particularly Metzl, Western Responses, which is not referred to in Szatkowski's text.

27 Klein, Tätigkeit, p. 290.

28 On the role of such comparisons in German-German relations, see Kiran Klaus Patel, Ex comparatione lux. Fazit, in: Torp/Levsen (eds.), Wo liegt die Bundesrepublik, pp. 295–313.

the Political Committee of the European Political Cooperation (EPC). He fails to explain, however, why no agreement could be found, although all involved were aware of how unfavorable a split vote would look to the world public. Recent research has identified that a consensus was virtually impossible to achieve with respect to other global political issues within the EPC – and if the European Community states succeeded in speaking with one voice within the framework of the Helsinki Accords and the follow-up conferences, then this was rather the exception that confirms the rule.[29] Nonetheless, talks were held in this context, and the Federal Republic must have been called on to explain its sudden change of course in this committee. Whether talks with the United States or other Western European powers were ultimately more decisive than the role of the ASEAN states cannot be determined with certainty at present, but it would seem to stand to reason.

Conclusion: Cold War Myopia

Overall, with his fascinating, source-based analysis of West Germany's policy towards Cambodia, Szatkowski ushers us into an important topic of international politics in the 1970s. The situation in Cambodia was incredibly complicated and defied a simplified Cold War logic. Yet the sources Szatkowski quotes testify to the repeated efforts of German actors to see developments in Cambodia through precisely this simplified lens of the bipolar East-West conflict – which, given the role of China and Vietnam as well as the confusing mélange of groups within Cambodia itself, does as little justice to the situation as the stance taken by the two superpowers.[30] As abhorrent as the crimes of the Pol Pot regime were, a Manichean interpretation along the fault lines of the Cold War simply could not function here. This Cold War myopia was particularly evident in the late 1960s, as the German-German question overshadowed any other possible approaches for the

29 See Daniel Möckli, European Foreign Policy during the Cold War. Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity, London 2009; Angela Romano, From Détente in Europe to European Détente. How the West Shaped the Helsinki CSCE, Brussels 2009; Aurélie Élisa Gfeller, Building a European Identity. France, the United States, and the Oil Shock, 1973–1974, New York 2012; Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf, Frieden durch Kommunikation. Das System Genscher und die Entspannungspolitik im Zweiten Kalten Krieg 1979–1982/83, Berlin 2015; Gabriele Clemens (ed.), The Quest for Europeanization. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Multiple Process, Stuttgart 2017.

30 On the American side, see Michael Haas, Cambodia, Pol Pot, and the United States. The Faustian Pact, New York 1991.

government in Bonn – Szatkowski correctly characterizes this as a “bitter reality” that “seems grotesque from today’s point of view.”[31] The attempts by the West German ambassador to the UN, Rüdiger Freiherr von Wechmar, to sell the result of the September 1979 vote as a defeat for the Soviet Union, also point in this direction. The same applies to the remark made by Foreign Minister Genscher to his Thai counterpart Upadit Pachariyangkun in February 1980. In contrast, those diplomats able to view events from “closer quarters” had a better grasp of the complex situation – in particular Walther Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein, for many years the “man on the ground,” but also Andreas Meyer-Landrut. However, in what proved to be the decisive situation in terms of Szatkowski’s essay, namely the autumn of 1979, the latter could not prevail.

The Cold War, *détente*, the rise of human rights, the growing role of the Global South in the Cold War and outside its boundaries, and the role of China as a regional power made it difficult for the Federal Republic of the late 1970s to determine its place in the world. This was exacerbated by the unfamiliar role of having to position itself in the forum of the United Nations and the still young European mechanisms for coordinating responses to foreign policy issues. The years examined in Szatkowski’s text mark a brief window of opportunity that closed as the Cold War re-intensified and its inherent logic regained a firm hold in many parts of the world with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and then the declaration of martial law in Poland. In terms of its complexity, the period this article studies thus bears a striking resemblance to our world today.

A few years ago, the American historian Matthew Connelly called for research to “take off the Cold War lens,” because it fails to adequately capture important processes with contemporary history.[32] Taking a similar line, Akira Iriye recently remarked that the Cold War is merely a footnote in the history of human rights and that international organizations and transnational actors could represent a superior avenue through which to explore the history of the world since 1945.[33] While Iriye’s thesis may seem exaggerated, it does possess a clear heuristic value. Szatkowski’s article points out that a Cold War myopia at times shaped West Germany’s policy towards Cambodia: whereas many of the processes in and

31 Szatkowski, From Sihanouk to Pol Pot, p. 58.

32 Matthew Connelly, Taking Off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence, in: The American Historical Review 105 (2000), pp. 739–69, here p. 767.

33 See Akira Iriye, Historicizing the Cold War, in: Richard H. Immerman/Petra Goedde (eds.), Oxford Handbook of the Cold War, Oxford 2013, pp. 15–31; see, as an excellent overview of Cold War history today, Federico Romero, Cold War historiography at the crossroads, in: Cold War History 14 (2014), pp. 685–703.

around the Southeast Asian country eluded a simple, state-centered Cold War logic, Bonn's politics consistently reveal an attempt to domesticate these dynamics as such and interpret them with the cognitive instrument of the Cold War. In one of his other studies, Szatkowski has shown that the perspective of the Cold War and the question of intra-German policy shaped Bonn's approach and strategy towards Libya for a long time. He notes that a move away from German-centered policies that hardly reflected what could realistically be achieved in relation to the North African country to an approach more responsive to the actual situation in the country did not take place until the 1970s.[34] At the same time, Szatkowski is right to emphasize in his essay on Cambodia in this volume that the attention of West German diplomacy was still firmly focused on Europe and the northern hemisphere in the second half of the 1970s – even if many international conflicts, including the Cold War, had de facto long shifted to the southern hemisphere of the planet.[35] Precisely because of this tension between the international conflicts of the times and West German perceptions of the world, between cognitive predispositions and the demands of concrete situations, and between the various decision-making levels in place within the Federal Republic, West Germany's policy on Cambodia offers fascinating insights into the fundamental problems of German and global history in the post-war period.

34 See Tim Szatkowski, Gaddafis Libyen und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969 bis 1982, Munich 2013.

35 See Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times, Cambridge 2007.

Georg J. Dufner

Chile as a Litmus Test

East and West German Foreign Policy and Cold War Rivalry in Latin America

Introduction

More than any other Latin American putsch, the military coup in Chile on September 11, 1973 left its mark on the collective memory of the global public with some of the most emotional visual impressions. The 1973 World Press Photo, for example, depicts Salvador Allende in his presidential palace wearing a steel helmet, his sorrowful face turned to the sky. Pictures of circling jet fighters dropping bombs and the destroyed presidential palace, la Moneda, behind dense clouds of dust from the detonations also hit the news all over the world. Photos of the prison camp that had once been the national stadium soon followed on their heels. In the wake of the violent overthrow of the Unidad Popular government, the public in both German states discussed not only these events, but also each country's general foreign affairs in Chile for the first time. An image of Chile thus emerged that continued to reverberate for years to come in the two Germanies. Although widely unbeknownst to most, both the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) had maintained close relations with this Latin American country long before the putsch.

As foreign relations outside of the European context have received little attention in German historiography thus far, many of the assumptions that were made in the 1970s have hardly been questioned. All too often, the year 1973 is portrayed as the only conceivable place to begin analyzing German-Chilean relations. Assuming that this teleological approach has already oversimplified narratives of Chilean history,[1] the same must certainly hold true for scholarship on relations between the Federal Republic, the GDR and Chile. This article therefore shifts attention towards the development of political ties between both German states and the Republic of Chile in the 1960s and 1970s, thereby offering a more

1 For criticism of this view, see Mark Falcoff, Modern Chile, 1970–1989. A Critical History, New Brunswick (NJ)/London 1991, here p. IX. Brands and Harmer question established narratives about Chile's, or rather Latin America's, allegedly passive role in the Cold War, see Hal Brands, Latin America's Cold War, Cambridge (MA)/London 2010; Tanya Harmer, Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War, Chapel Hill/NC 2011.

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balanced and insightful temporal perspective.[2] Based on an initial analysis of the short and long-term effects of these relationships, this article will then assess their significance within the context of each state's national political objectives.

German historiography, on the other hand, has also only just begun to explore the importance of foreign relations outside of Europe for both German states during the Cold War. In the past, it was often assumed that such foreign policy issues were negligible because neither (post)colonial nor strong geopolitical interests had prompted German leaders – whose political clout was limited to varying degrees anyway – to shift the focus overseas. As accurate as this assessment may be, the developing "Third World"[3] nonetheless became increasingly relevant in the eyes of the governments in Bonn and East Berlin, not least due to the Cold War rivalry between the two political systems. Although Latin America was widely considered part of the U.S. sphere of influence until the end of the Cuban revolution in 1959, pressing social problems and the desire for autonomy in matters of foreign policy and economics soon turned the entire region into one of the most dangerous sources of conflict in the Cold War.[4] Furthermore, the much longer tradition of German relations with Chile continued to influence both East and West German foreign policy approaches in Latin America.[5] At the same time, substantial economic as well as development interests existed on all sides. As a result, not only did Bonn and East Berlin make efforts to intensify their relations with

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2 Shortly before publication of the original German version of this article Inga Emmerling published her book, see Die DDR und Chile (1960–1989). Außenpolitik, Außenhandel und Solidarität, Berlin 2013. It confirms important hypotheses of my book: Georg Dufner, Chile als Bestandteil des revolutionären Weltprozesses. Die Chilepolitik der DDR im Spannungsfeld von außenpolitischen, ökonomischen und ideologischen Interessen 1952–1973, Saarbrücken 2008. I will address some diverging interpretations later in this article.

3 For easier readability, the term "Third World" will not be put in quotation marks henceforth.

4 Recent scholarship has shown that the Cold War in Latin America, as in many other parts of the Third World, should be seen as a "hot" conflict, see Gilbert M. Joseph, What we know and should know. Bringing Latin America more meaningfully into Cold War Studies, in: idem/Daniela Spenser (eds.), In From the Cold. Latin America's new Encounters with the Cold War, Durham (NC)/London 2008, pp. 3–46.

5 Together with Argentina and Brazil, Chile was one of the main partner countries in Latin America after 1945 (the so-called ABC countries). From the mid-nineteenth century, German immigration to Chile created a strong cultural tie between both countries, which had a pivotal impact on Chile's society and economy. In the era of Imperial Germany, trade relations flourished; Prussian educators and military instructors were important for the Chilean state, until this ended under the Weimar Republic. Intensive cultural relations – naturally with varying objectives over time – were another constant in German-Chilean relations during the twentieth century, see Georg Dufner/Joaquín Fermandois/Stefan Rinke (eds.), Deutschland und Chile, 1850 bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch, Stuttgart 2016.

Chile, but also Chilean politicians successfully courted German support and ideological guidance on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Consequently, neither Bonn nor East Berlin could shy away from interfering in the political and social development of Chile, whatever they may have wanted in the first place. After tracing the fundamental basis of German-Chilean relations after the Second World War, the three following sections of this article will analyze how these ties continued to develop in the 1960s, during Salvador Allende's term in office (1970–73), and under the military regime from 1973 to 1980, respectively.

The "German catastrophe," as Friedrich Meinecke termed the experience of war, National Socialism and the Holocaust, had as little a lasting political impact on Chile as on most countries in Latin America. Although the majority of the population and the political elites, including the moderate left-leaning governments, sided unambiguously with the Western allies during World War II, the Chileans only went along with some of the measures desired by Washington due to widespread Germanophilia as well as resentment against U.S. influence.[6] Based on the experiences of World War I, the Chilean government in Santiago at the time thought that isolationist neutrality was the best way to keep the country from becoming embroiled in what was regarded as a "foreign" conflict.[7] After the end of the Third Reich, only some isolated criticism addressed West Germany's political and economic continuities with the Nazi regime. Hardly any political reservations were voiced against Bonn, apart from within the small milieu of German oppositionists who had gone into exile in Chile during World War II. But these critical voices were drowned out by the influential group of so-called German Chileans.[8] In contrast, aside from a few isolated condemnations, East Germany played only a slight role at best in the Chilean government's anti-communist policy, and it basically fell under the public radar in the 1950s. Under these circumstances, the

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6 Chile did not issue a declaration of war. Diplomatic relations were declared "suspended" on January 20, 1943; see Mario Barros Van Buren, La diplomacia chilena en la Segunda Guerra Mundial, Santiago de Chile 1998, pp. 74, 261. The Foreign Organization of the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) contributed to making National Socialism socially acceptable in Chile, see Jürgen Müller, Nationalsozialismus in Lateinamerika. Die Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP in Argentinien, Brasilien, Chile und Mexiko, 1931–1945, Stuttgart 1997, here pp. 104–05, 155–56.

7 See Joaquín Fermandois, Mundo y fin del mundo. Chile en la política mundial 1900–2004, Santiago de Chile 2005, pp. 150–51.

8 Among other sources, the papers of the exiled Center Party politician Pablo Hesslein in the archives of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich provide insight into these matters. For many years, Hesslein was in conflict with the German-Chilean Chamber of Commerce and the German Lutheran Church in Chile. Ethnic Germans in Chile, the product of German immigration to Chile since the mid-nineteenth century who preserved their German cultural identity as an organized social group are collectively referred to as "German Chileans."

young Federal Republic did not run into any difficulties in re-establishing diplomatic and political relations. The West German government informed the Chilean Consulate General that it appreciated the "friendly attitude towards our country at all times." Thus, Bonn wished to "give as much weight to official relations as to the existing spiritual ties between the two peoples."[9] The Chilean Consulate General in Bonn was upgraded to an embassy, and an embassy of the Federal Republic was established in Santiago in the spring of 1952. As bilateral economic issues were the main focus during the 1950s, little occurred on the political front.[10] In contrast, the GDR's scope of action in Chile was rather limited throughout this decade due to external circumstances and a general lack of resources. The only initiative that came from East Berlin was the establishment of a trade mission in Santiago under the auspices of the Ministry for Foreign and Inner-German Trade (MAI, *Ministerium für Außenhandel und innerdeutschen Handel*). Especially as this was only successful for a couple of years, it had a negligible impact on bilateral trade relations. In fact, the East German Communist Party (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, SED) and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (*Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten*, MfAA) did not seem to have much interest in the region at all until the early 1960s.

Latin America and Chile did not evoke much interest at the top ministerial level in West Germany during the 1950s either, except for in the Ministry of Economic Affairs under Ludwig Erhard (*Christliche Demokratische Union Deutschlands*, CDU).[11] Some people around Konrad Adenauer tried to convince the chancellor of the benefits of intensifying political contacts with Latin America, but Adenauer did not share their opinion.[12] In a letter to Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano in January 1956, he remarked sardonically:

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9 Consul General Riccio to Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE), July 24, 1951, Representación en Alemania, in: Archive of the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (henceforth: ARREE), Antecedentes Desbloqueo Bienes, 1949–1953, sign. 2916, n. pag.

10 The regulation of German assets confiscated during the war played a particularly important role when it came to economic issues. The first Ambassador Carl von Campe succeeded in calming down the conflict between pro-Nazi and democratic groups within the "German colony" on one of the few genuinely political issues. The fact that even the otherwise rather critical Pablo Hesslein spoke positively of the "understanding and support he found at the embassy in Santiago" attests to von Campe's mediation skills; letter by Ministerialdirektor Pfeiffer, Auswärtiges Amt (Federal Foreign Office; henceforth: AA), to von Campe, September 13, 1952, in: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (henceforth: PA/AA), personnel file of von Campe, NA 46674, fol. 92.

11 Ludwig Erhard described the economic "opportunities in Latin America" and visited the subcontinent several times; see Deutschlands Rückkehr zum Weltmarkt, Düsseldorf 1953.

12 See Dieter Marc Schneider, Johannes Schauff (1902–1990). Migration und "Stabilitas" im Zeitalter der Totalitarismen, Munich 2001, pp. 137–44.

> I've been reading in the newspapers that the Ministry of Economic Affairs has been putting an emphasis on ties to South America. I already told the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Foreign Office back in 1954 that the Middle East has to be our first priority in terms of economic activity because it is only in the Middle East [...] that Germany can achieve political results simultaneously.[13]

Adenauer kept the focus on the Middle East throughout the 1950s, despite overtures made by advocates of Latin America. Little did these proponents know, however, that more than what they had ever wished for was about to come true in the decade that followed.

Crisis, Reform, and Development Aid Policy in Chile

With the victory of the Cuban revolutionaries under Fidel Castro on January 1, 1959, the either stable or static status – depending on one's point of view – of relations between Chile and both Germanies changed radically almost overnight. In Chile, the successful revolution in Cuba was a wake-up call for the Marxist Left, whose ranks had grown out of dissatisfaction with longstanding social stagnation. In East Berlin, Castro's victory raised hopes for new foreign policy opportunities in the hitherto closed "backyard of the USA." In Bonn, on the other hand, the revolution was heeded as a warning against the threat of Marxist rebellions and a loss of Western influence on the subcontinent.[14] Not surprisingly, the respective political approaches towards Chile adopted by East and West Germany also differed accordingly. On the one hand, the Federal Republic pursued a defensive strategy that aimed to secure its strong position in terms of political, economic and cultural relations. While it could still rely on the anti-communism of the Chilean Right, it had to invest more energy as well as political and financial resources when it tried to court the center of the political spectrum. On the other

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13 Adenauer to von Brentano, January 16, 1956, in: Adenauer. Briefe 1955–1957, ed. by Rudolf Morsey/Hans-Peter Schwarz, Berlin 1998, doc. 94, pp. 133–34. Alongside Erhard, the President of the Bundestag, Eugen Gerstenmaier (CDU), also opposed Adenauer on this issue, and advocated greater involvement in Latin America.

14 A year earlier, the narrow victory of the conservative Jorge Alessandri (31.2 percent) over the socialist Salvador Allende (28.5 percent) in the Chilean presidential elections had already raised concerns; see Ricardo Cruz-Coke, Historia electoral de Chile 1925–1973, Santiago de Chile 1984, p. 108.

hand, the SED leadership, the responsible Department for International Relations (*Abteilung Internationale Verbindungen*, AIV) of the Central Committee, and the MfAA called more and more adamantly for Chile's formal recognition of East Germany. In this respect, they could rely on the support of the Chilean Communist Party (*Partido Comunista*, PC) and older leftist politicians as well as left-wing Christian Democrats.

Although Chile was neither the poorest nor the most unstable country of the region, it was seen as vulnerable and at risk of revolution, which made it representative of the entire subcontinent in the 1960s. This assessment of the country was tied to the social and economic stagnation that had been building for decades. Among other things, it was characterized by a heavy dependence on the export of primary commodities, extreme inflation rates and a highly inefficient agricultural sector.[15] Although these factors favored the well-organized PC, they were a greater boost for the tremendous growth of the Socialist Party of Chile (*Partido Socialista*, PS), which was even more radical in some respects, as well as the emergence of leftist extremist and terrorist groups.[16] The West paid great attention to these developments, especially given the similarities between the party systems in Chile and Western Europe as well as the strong international ties maintained by many Chilean politicians.[17] Chilean historiography describes the period between 1960 and 1973 as a time of profound social change, upheaval and political polarization that culminated in the victory of the junta in 1973. But, in the years leading up to the putsch, the democratically elected governments under the independent conservative Jorge Alessandri (1958 to 1964), the reformer and Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964 to 1970) and the Socialist Salvador Allende (1970 to 1973) tried to combat political stagnation and social tensions in fundamentally different ways.

At the same time, the early 1960s also marked a watershed in terms of foreign policy for both German states, as the building of the Berlin Wall stabilized the SED dictatorship and paved the way for East Germany's aforementioned more active foreign policy. As Christof Münger has pointed out, after the political situation had calmed down and the territorial post-war order became entrenched in Europe, the "Berlin question" and the "German question" took a back seat to the developments in the Third World and "finally shifted from the center of the

15 For the best-known summary of the structural problems in the Chilean economy, see Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile. Un caso de desarrollo frustrado, Santiago de Chile 1959.
16 See Paul W. Drake, Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932–1952, Urbana/IL et al. 1978, p. 275.
17 See Joaquín Fermandois, ¿Peón o actor? Chile en la Guerra Fría (1962–1973), in: Estudios Públicos 72 (1998), pp. 149–71.

Cold War to its periphery."[18] The eyes of the world turned away from Berlin as the former "most dangerous place in the world" (Kempe) to the Third World and Latin America, which became the "most dangerous region of the world" (Rabe) thanks in part to John F. Kennedy.[19]

The changing political situation forced both German states to pursue a new course in Latin America and to substantially expand their deployment of resources. Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" and Washington's realization that the United States could not be the only country responsible for the development of Latin America pushed Bonn in a specific direction. The United States and other Western states, for instance, expected West Germany, which had grown rich after World War II, to increase its commitment to the support of the economic and social development of Third World countries. Or, as Heide-Irene Schmidt wrote: "Germany's large surplus invited pressures on all fronts."[20] This not only implied duties and obligations, but also unlocked new political potential and opportunities. West Germany, though, did not immediately take advantage of this situation. Foreign Minister von Brentano had to assure the still unconvinced Adenauer that development aid was not about the realization of "romantic or sentimental ideas." Rather, von Brentano noted, it needed to be clear to the federal government that "we are fighting a tough battle in Africa, in Asia, and not least in Latin America against world communism, which is successfully trying to exploit the economic hardship and social disorder in these regions in order to trump the Western world and to establish bases for its cause; we can see the beginnings of this in Cuba, in the Congo, in Egypt, and in Indonesia."[21]

In the wake of the Chilean earthquake on May 22, 1960, the president of the Bundestag, Eugen Gerstenmaier, was one of the first German politicians to call on the federal government to initiate immediate relief programs and solicit the public for private donations for the "German Relief Organization for Chile."[22] Together

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18 Christof Münger, Kennedy, die Berliner Mauer und die Kubakrise. Die westliche Allianz in der Zerreißprobe 1961–1963, Paderborn 2003, p. 360.

19 See Frederick Kempe, Berlin 1961. Kennedy, Chruschtschow und der gefährlichste Ort der Welt, Munich 2011, and Stephen G. Rabe, The Most Dangerous Area in the World. John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America, Chapel Hill (NC)/London 1999. The term "Third World" is used here in a political sense referring to the status of non-alignment.

20 Heide-Irene Schmidt, Pushed to the Front. The Foreign Assistance Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1958–1971, in: Contemporary European History 12 (2003), pp. 473–507, here p. 479.

21 Brentano in a letter to Adenauer, March 23, 1961, footnote 8 of doc. 227, in: Adenauer. Briefe 1959–1961, ed. by Rudolf Morsey/Hans-Peter Schwarz, Paderborn 2004, p. 511.

22 Note, May 27, 1960, Hilfe für die Erdbebenkatastrophe in Chile, in: PA/AA, B 2/77, pp. 158–59.

with Hans Strack, who had been appointed acting ambassador to Chile in 1959, Gerstenmaier pressed for a swift implementation of relief measures, because “the most German-friendly country in the world” deserved this in a moral sense, and it expected no less from the Federal Republic.[23] Bonn increased its relief aid from 0.5 to ten million in the first few weeks after the disaster, but this amount climbed up even further to 100 million DM (*Deutsche Mark*) in capital assistance by 1962.[24]

Bonn was confident that President Alessandri, who presented himself as a non-partisan, technocratic statesman, would be able to reverse this stagnation. West Germany’s trust in him was also reflected in its promise of loans amounting to a total of 300 million DM.[25] With President Heinrich Lübke’s state visit to Chile in 1964 at the end of Alessandri’s presidency, diplomatic relations between the two countries reached a peak. In conversations with Lübke, the Chilean president expressed his disappointment that none of the presidential candidates was likely to continue with “current government policy.” When it came down to the choice between Allende and Frei, Alessandri indicated that he hoped for the victory of the Christian Democrat.[26] Afterwards, Lübke also met with Frei.[27] On this occasion, Frei did not fail to point out very blatantly that, given the negative example of Cuba, only the support of the West and the Federal Republic in particular would be able to ensure a “positive experience with Christian Democracy in Chile by proving that democracy and economic progress are compatible.”[28] These and further talks demonstrated that Frei was quite able to skillfully play “the sensitive strings of North America’s and Europe’s conscience,” especially thanks to his reformist program under the illustrious motto “Revolution in Liberty,” the excel-

23 “Bundestagspräsident Gerstenmaier: Aufruf zur Hilfe für Chile,” manuscript of Süddeutscher Rundfunk broadcast, May 30, 1960, in: Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik (henceforth: ACDP), Eugen Gerstenmaier papers, sign. 01–210, fol. 085/2.

24 The Federal Republic was one of the most important donor-countries after the United States and on a level with Canada; Memo by Brentano to German embassy in Santiago, June 10, 1960, in: PA/AA, B 2/77, fol. 180; see also 109th Cabinet Meeting, June 10, 1960, in: Die Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung 1960, ed. by Ralf Behrendt/Christoph Seemann, vol. 13, Munich 2003. On the increase to DM 100 million, see Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Chilenischen Industrie- und Handelskammer, September 1970, no. 240, p. 6, in: Archiv der Deutsch-Chilenischen Industrie- und Handelskammer, Santiago, and partly in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Berlin.

25 Memo of instructions for Ambassador Strack, AA, October 22, 1959, in: PA/AA, B 33/260, fol. 10.

26 Telegram Buenos Aires, no. 42, signed by Jansen/Mohr, to AA, May 4, 1964, in: PA/AA, B 33/308, n. pag.

27 Note by German embassy Santiago de Chile to AA, May 12, 1964, Besuch des Herrn Bundespräsidenten in Chile vom 29.4. bis 4.5.1964, pp. 2, 5, in: ibid., n. pag.

28 Note, May 1, 1964, Dolmetscheraufzeichnung über das Gespräch des Herrn Bundespräsidenten mit dem chilenischen Präsidentschaftskandidaten Frei, in: ibid., n. pag.

lent international connections of his party, and not least his charismatic appeal.[29] It was only later that it became apparent that the political program of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party (*Partido Demócrata Cristiano*, PDC), and in particular its "third way" between capitalism and socialism, was really too far left for important groups within West Germany's Christian Democratic parties, the CDU and CSU (*Christlich-Soziale Union*). Fully convinced of the importance of a future Christian Democratic government in Chile, Lübke responded unilaterally in his capacity as president to Alessandri's and Frei's requests. He promised, in view of Chile's poor financial situation, to convert 70 million DM in German relief aid that had been issued for specific projects into free loans to provide the PDC with a stronger basis for its campaign.[30] Although the federal cabinet was not pleased with Lübke's high-handed move, it nonetheless made good on the president's verbal promise. And indeed, with 55.6 percent of the vote, Frei won a landslide victory in the elections in September 1964.[31] His visit to Europe in 1965 proved to be a great success. He attracted more attention than other Chilean presidents had done before him.[32] The CSU politician Hermann Görgen referred to Chilean Christian Democracy as "a vital experiment of the Western world." Thanks to Frei's social welfare program, which the conservative upper classes had failed to implement, Görgen noted, Frei was an "effective rival to Fidel Castro in Latin America." Moreover, Görgen insisted that the PDC's success could mainly be put down to Frei's ability to skillfully address key issues, although this had raised great expectations too. Frei succeeded in "prying the flag of anti-communism out

29 Fermandois, Mundo y fin del mundo, p. 186.

30 Note by AA, Jansen, Besprechung des Herrn Bundespräsidenten mit Präsident Alessandri und Außenminister Philippi vom 2.5.1964, in: PA/AA, B 33/308, n. pag., handwritten annotations on the back. The Alessandri government was granted an immediate aid loan of DM 21 million out of the total project-linked funds; Memo by AA for cabinet meeting, February 18, 1965, Chile. Gewährung weitere Entwicklungshilfe, p. 2, in: PA/AA, B 33/404, n. pag. According to State Secretary in the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft, henceforth: BMWi), Neef, "no economic policy reasons" spoke "in favor of this measure," but, Erhard "did not want to object to it given the political importance," Die Kabinettsprotokolle der Bundesregierung, ed. by Bundesarchiv, 127th cabinet meeting, June 19, 1964, Kapitalhilfe für Chile, www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/0000/k/k1964k/kap1_2/kap2_26/para3_8.html [accessed March 28, 2017].

31 See Cruz-Coke, Historia electoral de Chile, p. 110.

32 The British newspaper The Guardian celebrated Frei as "the de Gaulle of Latin America." Among other reasons, the comparison with the French president was made in reference to domestic policy, the critical approach to the United States, emphasis on resolute independence in terms of international politics and the emphasis on a "third way"; see The de Gaulle of Latin America, in: The Guardian, July 12, 1965.

of the hands of the conservatives and the flag of anti-imperialism and anti-oligarchy out of the hands of the Communists with a moderate leftist political program that is by no means unproblematic."[33]

The Chilean governments of the 1960s, and in particular under Frei, benefited from a rather optimal situation when it came to receiving development aid from West Germany. The fear of a Marxist threat combined with the institutionalization of West German development aid and Bonn's well-known sensitivity to the activities of the GDR – all of which coincided with the new focus of U.S. foreign policy within the "Alliance for Progress" – created a favorable political climate that resulted in the channeling of a disproportionately greater amount of medium-term financial and technical support into Chile.[34] The Federal Republic's lack of traditional postcolonial partner states also worked in Chile's favor. Until 1968, for instance, Chile with its population of only 9.5 million citizens (in 1970), received a total of 253 million DM in aid, thereby ranking sixth in the list of all countries worldwide that received capital assistance from the Federal Republic.[35] Brazil (1970: 96 million citizens) followed with 191 million DM in twelfth place, and Peru (1970: 13.2 million citizens) took nineteenth place with 100 million DM.[36] Chile was thus the undisputed frontrunner in Latin America, not only according to absolute figures, but also even more obviously in terms of its per capita ratio. Even over the longer period from 1950 to 1982, the country ranked fourth in Latin America in the statistics on official bilateral development aid with 535 million DM

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33 Hermann C. Görgen, Chile. Ein lebenswichtiges Experiment der westlichen Welt, in: Echo der Zeit, July 18, 1965, pp. 3–4.

34 Especially in the case of Chile, the United States encouraged the Federal Republic to provide larger aid packages; Ambassador Strack to AA, January 21, 1963, Politischer Jahresbericht für Chile 1962, p. 12, in: PA/AA, AV Neues Amt/3998, n. pag. The United States provided Chile with a disproportionately large amount of support in the 1960s; see Albert L. Michaels, The Alliance for Progress and Chile's "Revolution in Liberty," 1964–1970, in: Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs 18 (1976), p. 77. Washington transferred more than USD 1 billion in aid payments, making Chile the top Latin American aid recipient; see Rabe, Most Dangerous Area, p. 112. Ambassador Strack also described Chile's favorable position as a model case; Report by German embassy Santiago de Chile, Strack, to AA, April 22, 1963, Chile und das Bündnis für den Fortschritt, p. 1, in: PA/AA, B 33/329, n. pag.

35 India, Pakistan and other densely populated Southeast Asian countries ranked ahead of Chile. For an overview of projects and payments for Chile, see Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Chilenischen Industrie- und Handelskammer, September 1970, no. 240, p. 6.

36 See Horst Dumke/Albrecht Kruse-Rodenacker, Kapitalhilfe. Untersuchungen zur bilateralen Kapitalhilfe im Rahmen öffentlicher Leistungen, Berlin 1970, p. 109; Schmidt, Pushed, p. 501. The population figures cited here are taken from Jorge A. Brea, Population Dynamics in Latin America, in: Population Bulletin 58 (2003), table 1, p. 7.

(despite cuts made during the dictatorship), closely behind much more populous states such as Brazil, Peru and Colombia.[37] As early as 1963, four engineering projects were established in Chile, followed by a fifth in June 1965, bringing a total of thirty-nine West German technicians and development workers to the country. In July 1965, additional projects were approved that added another fourteen staff members to the count.[38] Chile was also one of the first countries worldwide to apply for assistance from the German Development Service (*Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst*, DED).[39]

Apart from these quantitative aspects of official development aid, the commitment of party affiliated foundations attests to the qualitative boost in relief aid for Chile.[40] The intensive cross-border cooperation between many Western European and Latin American Christian Democratic organizations stands out in this context, and it can definitely be referred to as a transnational project.[41] Until the coup in 1973, the ties between the CDU as well as its affiliated Konrad Adenauer Foundation (*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, KAS) and the Chilean Christian Democratic Party were the closest of all the transatlantic partnerships.[42] The

37 See Entwicklungspolitik. Jahresbericht 1982. Erweiterte Textfassung mit Schaubildern und Tabellen, ed. by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, henceforth: BMZ), Bonn 1983, p. 56.

38 Memo Deutsche Entwicklungsvorhaben in Chile, in: Staatsbesuch des chilenischen Präsidenten Frei, July 1965, in: Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus, B 2/108, folder 3, fol. 42–44.

39 Internal memo by AA, Dept. III B 1 (802), to several Depts., July 16, 1963, Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst, Lernen und Helfen in Übersee e.V., in: PA/AA, B 33/329, n. pag. The DED carried out development projects in Chile between 1965 and 1974; see DED (ed.), Statusbericht 2003, Bonn 2003, p. 269.

40 The socio-political work of the political foundations complemented the social projects sponsored by the German churches that already existed in Chile. According to Henning von Vieregge, it was not clear from the outset that the political foundations would become involved in development aid policy, but the political and organizational weaknesses of the BMZ, which was founded in 1961, changed their role; see Parteistiftungen. Zur Rolle der Konrad-Adenauer-, Friedrich-Ebert-, Friedrich-Naumann- und Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Baden-Baden 1977, pp. 62–63.

41 Alongside Christian Democatic parties in France, Belgium, the Federal Republic, and Italy, several Catholic institutions supported Chilean Christian Democracy.

42 The Belgian Secretary General of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, August Vanistendael, put the Latin American Christian Democrats in contact with the predecessor institution of the KAS, the Political Academy Eichholz (Politische Akademie Eichholz); see Schneider, Schauff, p. 139. At the request of the Chilean episcopate, Belgian Jesuits also significantly contributed to the grassroots work of the PDC between 1957 and 1970, which roughly followed the “Franco-Belgian model” of socio-political Catholicism; see Andrea-Isa Moews, Eliten für Lateinamerika. Lateinamerikanische Studenten an der Katholischen Universität Löwen in

role of individual protagonists should not be underestimated in this respect: the CDU members of the Bundestag Heinrich Gewandt and Bruno Heck were not only key players in the foundation of the Institute for International Solidarity (*Institut für Internationale Solidarität*, IIS), the KAS's arm for international work, but also helped steer its focus towards Chile (and Venezuela to a lesser extent).[43] Despite obvious ideological differences between the CDU/CSU and PDC, the German Christian Democrats provided large-scale support for their Chilean counterparts.[44] Material assistance was only one part of the West German support package for the PDC. Five full-time employees of the KAS office in Santiago and its affiliated organizations also contributed non-material assistance, particularly related to party organization and social work. As a result, the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* speculated that the "Frei-crusaders trained on the Rhine," who lent a helping hand to the Chilean conservatives, had been crucial in "preventing the first legal seizure of power by a communist regime in America."[45] However, this interpretation is questionable, especially in light of the convincing landslide victory of the PDC.

The situation in Chile was less favorable for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (*Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*, FES, affiliated with the SPD – *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*). Chilean social democracy was at risk of being marginalized thanks to the rise of the Marxist Left. Moderate voices in the trade unions were also being sidelined, while personal power struggles plagued the smaller, non-Marxist trade unions. A FES staff member wrote that it was "undeniable that the situation of the Chilean trade unions is one of the most problematic and at the same time most depressing in the whole of Latin America."[46] As the ambitious PS distanced itself sharply from European social democracy, the ideological development of the Chilean Left ran contrary to that of the German SPD after it adopted a new agenda

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den 1950er und 1960er Jahren, Cologne et al. 2002, pp. 37–38, 208–10, 267–68, and Alan Angell, Politics and the Labour Movement in Chile, London 1972, p. 178.

43 Adenauer had to be persuaded that Latin America needed to be given priority and that the term "solidarity" did not have an underlying socialist tone; see Schneider, Schauff, pp. 100–01, 140–41.

44 Frei's political position, ranging somewhere between "reactionaries without a conscience" and "revolutionaries without a head" was interpreted as compatible with their own goals; Election campaign speech Frei, in: El Mercurio, September 1, 1964, quoted in: Simon Collier/William F. Sater, Historia de Chile. 1808–1994, 2nd ed., Cambridge et al. 1999, p. 267.

45 Chile: Präsidentenwahl. Hilfe aus Bonn, in: Der Spiegel, September 16, 1964, pp. 94–95.

46 Letter by Dieter Wagner, presumably addressed to FES-headquarters Bonn, September 1964, in: Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (henceforth: AdsD), Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund-Archiv (Federation of Trade Unions; henceforth: DGB), DGB-Bundesvorstand, Internationale Abteilung, 5/DGAJ000549, n. pag.

with its Godesberg program.[47] However, the situation was mitigated by substantial programmatic overlaps between the SPD and PDC that facilitated the establishment of good relations. For the most part, though, these ties developed through informal contacts instead of at an institutional party level. The commitment of German Social Democrats as well as their Italian (PSDI, Saragat) and British (Labour Party) counterparts was greatly welcomed by President Frei.[48] The KAS and FES became involved in socio-political and trade union matters in which U.S. organizations had not been able make much progress given Chile's strong anti-American stance at the time.[49] The situation was even worse for the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (*Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung*, FNS, affiliated with the German Liberal Party, the FPD). The Chilean Liberal Party moved increasingly closer to the ideological position of the Conservatives. Thus, the foundation's involvement in Chile, which had been initiated in 1964, was put to an end in the late 1960s.[50]

These political foundations benefited from West Germany's strong standing in Chile as well as the non-governmental status of their organizations. Thanks to growing political polarization and the Marxist Left's distrustful surveillance of foreign activity, however, the work of these foundations was overshadowed by allegations of interference in the country's internal affairs.[51] Since West German institutions cooperated with the United States to varying degrees and shared a strong interest in supporting Frei,[52] the fierce verbal attacks aimed at Washington also made Bonn uneasy. Thus, the West German Foreign Office started to "eva-

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47 The Godesberg program was adopted at the SPD party convention in Bad Godesberg in 1959 and represented a fundamental political turn towards a people's party and reform capitalism.

48 Note by AA, August 16, 1965, Politische Ergebnisse des Staatsbesuches des chilenischen Präsidenten Frei, pp. 6–7, in: PA/AA, B 33/402, n. pag.

49 Wolfgang Hirsch-Weber to Günter Grunwald, FES Bonn, February 4, 1964, in: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Hirsch-Weber Papers, N-0086 b 3, fol. 29. Hirsch-Weber, the first representative of the FES in Chile, quoted at this point the remarks of the "labor attaché" of the U.S. embassy in Santiago, Walsh.

50 Chile was home to one of the first offices of the FNST abroad, see Jahresbericht 1968, Bad Godesberg [1969], p. 9. The CSU-leaning Hanns-Seidel-Foundation, which was founded in 1967, did not open an office in Chile until 1978.

51 When the public learned of "Project Camelot," as it was known, it marked a milestone in terms of these developments. This research project, which was commissioned by the Pentagon and carried out by the U.S. Research and Development Corporation (RAND) in Chile in 1964 and 1965, was supposed to monitor the potential for civil war and look into military actions that could be taken to counter an attempted coup by leftist forces.

52 See Edward Korry, Los Estados Unidos en Chile y Chile en los Estados Unidos. Una retrospectiva política y económica (1963–1975), in: Estudios Públicos 72 (1998), pp. 17–74, here p. 65. Korry was the U.S. Ambassador to Chile from 1967 to 1971.

luate the possible worrisome repercussions for our foreign relations that might come from projects" in Latin America so that it could "inform relevant offices outside the Foreign Office" accordingly.[53] The PDC was well aware that transatlantic support was an extremely sensitive and explosive issue, which was reflected in Frei's thin-skinned response to questions on this matter. During his state visit to the Federal Republic, for example, he was asked whether his party had received financial support from the German Christian Democrats; he heatedly refused to answer, calling the question an "outrageous insinuation" and an "insult against Chile and the Chilean state president."[54]

Thus, the West German Foreign Office focused on the activities of the KAS in Chile and those of Heinrich Gewandt, a member of the Bundestag who seemed to be everywhere when it came to German-Chilean relations. As expected, verbal attacks against the KAS and FES by socialist and communist media were not long in coming. The publicist Eduardo Labarca summarized the ideas of the Chilean leftists in his book *Chile invadido* of 1968, noting that they believed that the country was victim to a major infiltration of Western government agencies and organizations – in which West Germany was a prominent player – which was orchestrated by the United States in order to sabotage the interests of the Chilean working class.[55] The allegations against the Federal Republic did not focus exclusively on Gewandt, but "the fat guy with the money" – as Labarca and the leftist press referred to him[56] – certainly attracted most of this publicity because he did not exactly comport himself like a low-profile political networker.[57] Gewandt's main objective was to turn the PDC into a bulwark against Marxism. He vehemently criticized statements by the Foreign Office that did not seem to be conducive to his ends, and he even tried to influence Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder behind the curtains.[58] The disgruntled Foreign Office suggested that

53 AA, Wolf, to Depts. of the AA, August 20, 1963, Lateinamerikanische Reaktionen auf ein nordamerikanisches Studienprojekt in Chile, in: PA/AA, B 33/380, n. pag.

54 Präsident Frei fühlte sich beleidigt. Zwischenfall auf Pressekonferenz – "Ungeheuerliche Unterstellung," in: General-Anzeiger, Bonn, July 22, 1965.

55 See Eduardo Labarca Goddard, Chile invadido. Reportaje a la intromisión extranjera, Santiago de Chile 1968, here p. 86.

56 See Otra visita preelectoral del alemán de las platas. Afiatan la trilogía iglesia – DC chilena – Bonn, in: El Siglo, February 6, 1965.

57 Gewandt became known to a wider Chilean public during the election campaign in 1964, when he was allowed to speak at a rally as the second to last speaker directly before Frei.

58 When a PDC delegation visited the West German Foreign Office in order to explain the government's agenda and request financial support, Gewandt basically acted on behalf of the Chilean group; note by AA, Gespräch einer Abordnung der Christlich-Demokratischen Partei Chiles mit Herrn Staatssekretär Lahr am 8.10.1964, pp. 3–4, in: PA/AA, B 33/328, n. pag. On the occasion

Gewandt should show more restraint. It complained that a controversial article in the magazine *Der Spiegel* from March 1965[59] had “found its way into the entire leftist press of Latin America and served [...] as proof of German interference in the internal affairs of Latin America. The very unfortunate article by Mr. Gewandt about his friend Frei will only further solidify this impression.”[60]

The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (*Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung*, BMZ) not only provided these political foundations with money for long-term projects (“Socio-political education in developing countries”), but also supported the PDC financially with funds from its budget that fell under the line item of “measures to support democratic ideas abroad.” In 1963 and 1964, the IIS used these funds exclusively for projects in Latin America, spending the highest individual line item amount of 144,000 DM (out of a total of 319,000 DM) on Chile in 1964.[61] However, these expenditures were far surpassed by covert funding. For instance, an IIS subsidiary called the Office for International Social Help (*Büro für Internationale Soziale Hilfe*, BISH) supported PDC projects with four million DM in 1964.[62] These funds came mostly from the budget of the BMZ, but the Foreign Office also supplied a small percentage. It is unknown whether the PDC or its affiliated organizations received further payments from the IIS or the BISH in the years that followed.[63] As *Der Spiegel* reported, even the Catholic Church purpor-

of Frei’s state visit, Gewandt tried to add the promise of further capital assistance to the final communiqué; telegram by member of the Bundestag Gewandt to Federal Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder, July 21, 1965, in: PA/AA, B 33/402, n. pag.

59 See Chile. Entwicklungshilfe. Lieber Heini, in: Der Spiegel, March 17, 1965, pp. 116–18.

60 Dr. Röhrke, Vortragender Legationsrat, memo on a conversation with a representative of the KAS, State Secretary Thediek, September 20, 1965, Tätigkeit der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Südamerika, in: PA/AA, B 33/381, n. pag. The memo refers to an editorial in the Chilean newspaper La Nación in which Gewandt referred to Eduardo Frei as “his friend.”

61 This did not include the additional measures that were not listed directly under country-specific measures, memo, August 26, 1964, Maßnahmen zur Förderung des demokratischen Gedankens im Ausland durch das Institut für Internationale Solidarität, in: PA/AA, B 33/381, n. pag.

62 German embassy Santiago de Chile, signed by von Nostitz, to AA, December 17, 1964, Volkserziehungsprogramm der Regierung Frei, here the handwritten note by Meyer-Lohse, in: PA/AA, B 33/405, n. pag.

63 Estimates as to the approximate amount of these payments can only be drawn on the basis of the budget of the IIS, which increased from roughly DM 4.3 million in 1964 to DM 30 million in 1971. For 1964: AA, Dept. IB 2, signed by Voigt, to German embassy Santiago de Chile, April 15, 1965, Tätigkeit gesellschaftspolitischer Institute in Lateinamerika, in: PA/AA, B 33 /381, n. pag.

tedly channeled “several million Marks” into projects run by Belgian Jesuits, who were instrumental in drafting and supporting the PDC’s social policy measures.[64]

Gewandt also had a hand in the granting of loans to the country in the wake of the visit of the minister of economic affairs, Kurt Schmücker (CDU), to Santiago de Chile (June 5 to 8, 1966). Gewandt provided representatives of the Chilean government with detailed information on the best way to get these loans. At the same time, he also advocated for the PDC in his dealings with Schmücker. The Chilean ambassador to the Federal Republic stressed that the visit of the minister had been “significantly encouraged by the member of the Bundestag Gewandt,” who had even “played a crucial role in determining the itinerary of the minister in South America.”[65] With this package of support measures, the German Christian Democrats sought to build up their own network to counteract the internationalism of the Left. According to IIS co-founder Peter Molt, this was supposed to “create important international cross connections, which official foreign policy, by its nature, cannot establish” to benefit German political interests. The goal was to lead the “Latin American forces that we support out of their national isolation” and enable them to fight Marxist tendencies.[66]

The GDR also favored party connections as the means of choice for establishing political relations with Chile, although this also had something to do with East Germany’s lack of diplomatic standing. The SED maintained close relations with the pro-Moscow PC and supported it. After a delegation of Chilean comrades had visited Walter Ulbricht in the GDR, leaving behind a firm impression of their loyalty to the party line, the Central Committee was further delighted by the PC’s continued commitment to a pro-Moscow course – despite the strong political attraction of the Cuban revolution – and its public renunciation of Chinese Communism.[67]

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64 See Chile. Präsidentenwahl. Hilfe aus Bonn, in: Der Spiegel, September 16, 1964, p. 96. David Mutchler describes the allegedly deep financial connections between the Catholic relief organizations Misereor and Adveniat and the social projects run by Jesuits in Chile which were closely linked to anti-communist objectives and the promotion of Eduardo Frei’s candidacy. Unfortunately, Mutchler does not cite any evidence to back up his claims, see The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America. With Particular Reference to Colombia and Chile, New York/London 1971, pp. 256, 258, 260.

65 He also said that he drafted a memo addressed to Schmücker “at Gewandt’s request” on questions related to support for the Chilean economy; letter by Ambassador Pérez de Arce, Chilean embassy, Bonn to MRE, Santiago de Chile, Confidencial no. 193/25, May 2, 1966, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1966, Oficios Reservados, n. pag.

66 Memo, August 26, 1964, Maßnahmen zur Förderung des demokratischen Gedankens im Ausland durch das Institut für Internationale Solidarität, in: PA/AA, B 33/381, n. pag.

67 See title of the issue of the party magazine El Siglo, July 9, 1963: Posiciones del PC de China están en pugna con el marxismo [Positions taken by the Communist Party of China are in battle with Marxism].

The PC became the SED's most important partner among the leftist Chilean parties. Together with the CPSU and other Eastern bloc communist parties, the East Germans provided financial support to the PC in the run-up to the presidential elections in 1970, "given the great importance of these elections for the further development of the revolutionary movement in Chile and Latin America."[68] The "International Fund for Assistance to Leftist Workers' Organizations," controlled by the Central Committee of the CPSU, also sent money to the Chilean Communists.[69] In 1966, these subsidies amounted to 300,000, in 1970 to 400,000, and in 1973 to 645,000 USD.[70] In particular, information activities and public relations were an important element of the cooperation between the two parties. The PC advised party comrades in East Berlin on the development of domestic politics in Chile as well as possible ways to increase the influence of the GDR in the country. The SED returned the favor in 1962, for example, when it began sending large shipments of printing supplies to the PC on a regular basis, at a discount, and with extended payment terms.[71] In 1965, a correspondent of the party newspaper *El Siglo* was sent to East Berlin and a staff member of the news agency *Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst* to Santiago.[72] In turn, the PC also publicly reiterated the position of the GDR on German-German issues almost word-for-word. Thanks to this smooth cooperation, party relations became the cornerstone of the activities of the GDR leadership and all its bodies operating in Chile.

East Germany's relations with the PS and its frontrunner Salvador Allende were not nearly as close. Although the Socialist Party experienced a sharp increase during the 1960s, becoming Chile's second largest party behind the PDC, it

68 The amount of USD 25,000 was paid, and a discount of Valutamark (VM) 30,000 was given on a printing machine that had already been delivered; minutes of a conversation between Politburo members Markowski and Honecker, March 3, 1970, decision of the Central Committee, June 5, 1970 as well as a memo for the Secretariat of the Central Committee, July 21, 1970, in: Bundesarchiv (henceforth: BArch), SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/712.

69 The Communist parties of most Eastern European states made contributions to this fund (Yugoslavia did not make any contributions; Romania did not make contributions from 1973 onwards). The contributions of the SED amounted to USD 200,000 each in 1966 and 1970 and USD 350,000 in 1973. The total contributions were primarily distributed to Communist parties around the world, see Olga Ulianova/Eugenia Fediakova, Chile en los archivos de la URSS, in: Estudios Públicos 72 (1998), pp. 397–402.

70 Ibid.

71 The first printing machine was delivered in 1962. In 1963, a rotary press for book printing was delivered accompanied by a GDR technician, and another printing machine followed in 1966; various documents in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/711.

72 See Karlheinz Möbus, Die DDR und Chile entdecken sich, in: Gotthold Schramm (ed.), Flucht vor der Junta. Die DDR und der 11. September, Berlin 2005, p. 36.

was rather difficult to pin down ideologically. Although many of its politicians used Marxist language and propagated revolutionary struggle, the PS was at its core a populist and personalist party pursuing an eclectic socialist agenda. It was characterized by leftist-nationalist discourses and verbal rapprochement with the systems in Cuba and the People's Republic of China. In contrast to the public heroization of Allende that set in after 1973, the SED's relationship with Allende and his party was reserved at best. In the run-up to the 1970 presidential elections, a member of the Politburo, Hermann Matern, wrote that Allende was an "ambivalent character" and the "worst candidate of the Left." But this was by no means an isolated view because it had in fact been widely held within the SED for a while.[73] In 1967, the Department for International Relations stated that Allende "makes his mark with Cuban views. Strictly speaking, Allende has a careerist attitude."[74] His party was criticized for its lack of ideological stringency and false positions. After the military suppression of the Prague Spring and the PS's strong condemnation of the Soviet invasion afterwards, devastating accusations piled up; relations between the PS and East Germany hit rock bottom.

Admittedly, important aspects of the political relations between Chile and both German states took place outside diplomatic channels, but diplomacy was still quite important, even if it seemed to be less dynamic at first. The Alessandri government clearly leaned towards the West: Chile always voted in line with the West German "claim of sole representation" (*Alleinvertretungsanspruch*) in the bodies and sub-organizations of the United Nations. It also rejected intergovernmental contacts with the GDR.[75] Under Alessandri's successor Eduardo Frei, it became clear that West Germany's privileged position could not last forever. A key aspect of Frei's agenda was Chile's emancipation "from the influence of the USA" in terms of foreign policy,[76] which he demonstrated by swiftly resuming diplomatic relations with the most important Eastern European countries, except for the GDR.[77] On the

73 Bericht über die Teilnahme einer ZK-Delegation am XIV. Parteitag der PC, 23.–30. 11. 1969, in: BArch, SAPMO, Politburo, DY 30/J IV/2 /2J/2803, n. pag.

74 Letter by the AIV, November 10, 1967, in: BArch, SAPMO, ZK (Central Committee) of the SED, DY 30/IV A 2/20/724.

75 German embassy Bonn, Higino González, to MRE, August 7, 1962, Próxima visita del Ministro señor Scheel a Chile, p. 2, in: ARREE, Alemania 1962, Ofcios confidenciales recibidos y enviados, n. pag.

76 Konzeption für die Entwicklung der Beziehungen zwischen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und Chile, Beschluss des Präsidiums des Ministerrates der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, September 8, 1964, in: BArch, DDR, DE 1/VS II/12056, fol. 65–66.

77 As early as November 24, 1964, ambassadors were exchanged with the Soviet Union. The same was done with Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania in 1965.

occasion of Walter Ulbricht's state visit to Egypt in 1965,[78] the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs remarked:

> Once again it has been shown that the Hallstein Doctrine no longer corresponds to international reality, both in letter and in spirit. It must be revised, and the government in Bonn needs to address this in the near future. It has to be emphasized that despite the sanctions demanded by the aforementioned doctrine to ensure the complete isolation of the so-called German Democratic Republic, many states – including allies of Bonn such as France and Great Britain – in fact actively trade with East Germany on the basis of treaties or have established consular relations with this country.[79]

Although Frei had been very clear that diplomatic recognition of the GDR was not to be expected under his government, the ascent of the Christian Democrats afforded East Germany more room to make contacts below the governmental level. The SED leadership tried to "get a foot in the door" in Chile through cultural initiatives, exchange visits between members of parliament, and improved economic relations. This did not go unnoticed in Bonn. In 1964, the West German consulate in Concepción reported on "propaganda material from the Soviet occupied zone flooding into the South." The consul also deplored that "the vast majority of the population has practically no idea that [West] Germany has provided substantial assistance to Chile."[80] By collating such reports, the West German Foreign Office put together a picture of a campaign orchestrated by East Berlin that threatened to marginalize Bonn's efforts. The prospect that the GDR might even be able to win over Chileans of German origin – who, as Ambassador von Nostitz noted, were still undecided about "their position towards the East, in particular towards the Soviet zone"[81] – made these matters even more explosive. Some cul-

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78 On Ulbricht's visit to Egypt, see Rainer A. Blasius, "Völkerfreundschaft" am Nil. Ägypten und die DDR im Februar 1965. Stenographische Aufzeichnungen aus dem Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten über den Ulbricht-Besuch bei Nasser, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 46 (1998), pp. 747–805.

79 Letter by MRE to Chilean embassy Bonn, May 31, 1965, Acusa recibo de informes sobre conflícto germáno-arabe, in: ARREE, Consulado de Hamburgo, Alemania, 1965, Oficios Confidenciales, n. pag.

80 Consulate Concepción, signed by T. Ramelow to German embassy Santiago de Chile, December 21, 1964, Vertretungen der SBZ in Ländern ausserhalb des kommunistischen Bereichs und Kulturpolitischer Jahresbericht 1964, in: PA/AA, AV Neues Amt/4000, n. pag.; Report by Consulate Concepción, signed by Ramelow to AA, November 10, 1964, SBZ-Propaganda in Südchile, in: PA/AA, B 33/294, n. pag.

81 Ambassador von Nostitz to AA, July 12, 1965, Einstellungen der Deutschstämmigen in Chile zur deutschen Frage. Unsere Gegenmaßnahmen gegen verstärkte Aktivität der SBZ, p. 2, in: PA/AA, B 33/400, n. pag.

tural policy initiatives caused a stir, such as the supposedly derogatory plans for an exhibition about the Federal Republic in 1962 that met with harsh objections on the side of the West German embassy.[82] Controversy also surrounded the GDR expedition to the Andes Mountains and Tierra del Fuego in the same year, the planned friendly matches with the East German national soccer team in 1965,[83] and the participation of an East German team in the World Ski Championships held in Portillo in 1966. The West German Foreign Office, for example, considered it unacceptable for the flag and anthem of the GDR to stand equally alongside West German symbols of state, and so this situation was avoided in the end.[84] However, the fact that the left wing of the PDC suggested a political and moral equivalence between both German states put Bonn on the alert.[85]

The GDR's renewed attempt to establish relations with Chile was – in terms of what could be expected – successful. Frei went through with his verbal promise, making it possible for the GDR to open its official trade mission in Santiago on May 1, 1966.[86] However, Frei was not prepared to make further political concessions. Therefore, the plan to gradually expand the activities of the trade mission failed.[87] Disillusioned, the head of the trade mission summarized the situation in 1970. When the Ministry for Foreign Trade (*Ministerium für Außenwirtschaft*, MAW) suggested sending a delegation to Santiago even prior to the presidential elections, he replied:

> The Soviet ambassador Alexejew has raised concerns whether it is wise to send such a delegation to Chile at this point in time. Our Soviet comrades have decided to refrain from any

82 Letter by German embassy, signed by Wallichs to MRE, Miguel Echeñique, September 10, 1962, in: ARREE, Alemania – Misión Residente, 1962, Notas, n. pag.

83 The newspaper Neues Deutschland accused the West German ambassador of bribery and of being responsible for the cancellation of a match with the top Chilean soccer club Colo-Colo, see Neues Deutschland, January 8, 1965, 920 000 DM für Fußballskandal. Bonns Botschafter überreichte in Chile die Schecks.

84 Memo on the issue of the GDR flag and national anthem at the Ski World Championship in Chile in 1966, German embassy to MRE, July 13, 1966, in: ARREE, Notas Verbales Alemania 1966, n. pag., and telegram by Raul Troncoso C., Ministro Secretario de Gobierno to member of the Bundestag Heinrich Gewandt, [July 5, 1966], in: ACDP, Heinrich Gewandt, sign. 01–779, fol. 002/3, n. pag.

85 Text of the report and annotations, German embassy Santiago de Chile to AA, August 26, 1965, Chile und Beziehungen zum Ostblock, in: PA/AA, B 33/405.

86 Memo, 1969 (without exact date, probably August), Prognose der Entwicklung der Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen der DDR mit Chile bis zum Jahre 1980, in: BArch, DDR, DL2/6261.

87 On this gradual approach, see Werner Kilian, Die Hallstein-Doktrin. Der diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR 1955–1973. Aus den Akten der beiden deutschen Außenministerien, Berlin 2001, pp. 34–39.

> further involvement with the current government, because nothing comes from this except rejection and idle talk.[88]

These words reflected the shift in the SED's assessment of Frei while he was still in office. Whereas the East German party had regarded Frei's political program as "relatively progressive" in 1964,[89] it gradually abandoned its restraint which had largely stemmed from foreign policy interests. In the East German Foreign Office, it was noted with some satisfaction that Frei's policy was likely to fail under the pressure of the social divide, which East Berlin blamed on "its bourgeois reformism."[90] It is fair to assume that the SED's changing opinion of the PC influenced this new assessment considerably: as political polarization seemed to be strengthening the Left, the PC was becoming more intransigent. Although the SED remained skeptical of the PS and its candidate, the comrades in East Germany decided to support the Unidad Popular (UP) under the circumstances.[91]

Meanwhile, the end of the grand coalition in Bonn in 1969 only alarmed the PDC temporarily. To their relief, the Chilean Christian Democrats soon realized that the new social-liberal coalition was as much in favor of Chile as the CDU coalition governments had been, and that the new government held development aid to be even more important for West Germany's foreign relations outside of Europe.[92] Neither Willy Brandt nor his party harbored illusions that the PDC stood left of the SPD in terms of substance or ideology.[93] However, the party's international policy, which was dominated by its leadership, conformed to the federal government's ideal of a reform-oriented Third World country. The Foreign Office was aware that Frei's move to distance himself from the United States and seek closer ties with socialist states was primarily driven by his domestic political

88 Letter by Harry Spindler to Friedel Trappen, June 24, 1970, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/712, fol. 98–9.

89 Konzeption für die Entwicklung der Beziehungen zwischen der DDR und Chile, September 8, 1964, in: PA/AA, MfAA, C 3335, fol. 53.

90 Information der 6. Außereuropäischen Abteilung des MfAA zum Ausgang der Parlamentswahlen in Chile, in: PA/AA, MfAA, A 16365, p. 61.

91 The SED distanced itself from Tomić after an interview that was heavily criticized internally in which he left the issue of relations with the GDR open, Interview des PDC-Kandidaten Radomiro Tomić mit einem Journalisten des Deutschen Fernsehfunks, June 22, 1970, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/724, fol. 183–85.

92 Frei had met Willy Brandt, at the time the Governing Mayor of Berlin, on his visit to West Berlin in 1965.

93 Letter by Ambassador Pérez de Arce to MRE, Confidencial no. 283/39, July 12, 1966, p. 2, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1966, Oficios Reservados, n. pag.

agenda.[94] Frei and his minister of foreign affairs, Pablo Valdés, expressed relief that the social-liberal coalition had scaled back its emphasis on the German question in favor of "general international problems."[95] Thus, the changes in Bonn did not bring any disadvantages for Frei; the visit of Foreign Minister Brandt to Santiago de Chile in October 1968 was very cordial.[96] Indeed, Brandt's desire to take the problems of Third World Countries seriously for what they were and to refrain from making West Germany's attitude towards them primarily dependent on their position within the bloc conflict brought a new dimension into West German policy. After his return from Chile, Brandt noted that he was "impressed by the great assets of goodwill that we Germans enjoy there. My visit has convinced me that we should do our utmost to maintain and increase this political capital."[97] And yet, Brandt was skeptical when it came to the stability of the country. His prognosis was as succinct as it was farsighted: "We have a very rocky road ahead of us. A number of great surprises lie in wait for us in Chile." With reference to his conversation with the PDC presidential candidate Senator Tomić, the notes of the Foreign Office continued, Brandt "held the view that a coalition between Christian Democrats and Communists was a real possibility."[98]

Allende's Chile and the Two German States

However, it was not so much the prospect of such an alliance that profoundly rattled relations between Bonn and Santiago, but rather Allende's electoral victory in September 1970: The UP won the presidential elections by a narrow margin ahead of the candidate of the political Right, ex-President Alessandri;

94 Lahn mentioned "Eastern states with which President Frei ostentatiously maintains good relations in order to ensure the votes of the […] communists for his reform plans"; State Secretary Lahn, AA to member of the Bundestag Gewandt, December 30, 1966, in: ACDP, Heinrich Gewandt, sign. 01–779, fol. 002/1, n. pag.

95 Report by Federal Foreign Minister Brandt in front of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, November 22, 1968, Erfahrungen und Eindrücke der Südamerikareise vom 17. bis 26.10.1968, p. 1, in: PA/AA, B 33/588, n. pag.

96 Brandt and Frei liked each other. Frei admired "Ostpolitik" and the plans for an expansion of North-South relations. As a result, Frei was nominated for the North-South Commission that was founded by Brandt in 1977.

97 Memo of a letter by Brandt to Gewandt, w. d. (October 1968), in: PA/AA, B 33/588, n. pag.

98 Memo, November 22, 1968, Lateinamerikareise des Herrn Bundesministers, in: ibid., n. pag.

Radomiro Tomić's leftist course was turned down.[99] Allende's electoral victory and its congressional confirmation instilled fear and concerns among his opponents, because – according to Allende – Chile could expect nothing less than class struggle and the "revolutionary transformation" of its "currently bourgeois state."[100] More prosaically, the KAS representative Dieter Nohlen believed that the UP, given its narrow majority, would not be able to "implement Marxist-Leninist principles unconditionally," but rather that it would certainly pursue an "extremely anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist policy."[101]

The new situation in Chile presented a chance for the GDR to gain diplomatic recognition, which would have been an important political victory since East and West Germany were in the middle of negotiations over the Basic Treaty at the time. Indeed, Allende promised to recognize the GDR if he was elected, a promise which he had first made back in 1969 and reiterated in June 1970, had not been forgotten.[102] However, this move posed an incalculable political risk for the UP because the GDR had been a rather irrelevant partner up to this point, and East Germany was not represented at the level of supranational organizations. West Germany, on the other hand, was Chile's second most important trade partner after the United States and politically one of the most important Western European states. Still, for the Chilean president, the PC and parts of the Chilean Left, the GDR was an increasingly significant reference point due to the interest in presumably more moderate models of socialism as well as Chilean Germanophilia.[103] This already complex constellation foreshadowed the following tug of war that dragged on for months between Bonn, East Berlin and Santiago over the issue of recognition. Initially, Bonn was pessimistic: on October 9, two weeks before Allende took office, Ambassador Horst Osterheld

99 Frei, who was still popular in Chile, could not be elected directly again, and bourgeois voters did not trust the left-wing candidate of the PDC, Tomić. 36.6 percent voted for the Unidad Popular, 34.9 percent for Jorge Alessandri and 27.8 percent for Tomić, see Cruz-Coke, Historia electoral de Chile, p. 112.

100 Régis Debray, Conversations with Allende. Socialism in Chile, London 1971, pp. 81–82.

101 Report by Dieter Nohlen to IIS, September 7, 1970, Volksfrontwahlsieg in Chile, pp. 8, 11, in: ACDP, CDU-Bundespartei, sign. 07–001, fol. 11007, n. pag.

102 Ambassador Pèrez de Arce, embassy Bonn to MRE, May 23, 1969, Dossier Referencias a Chile an la prensa alemana, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1969, Oficios Ordinarios, n. pag., and DFF interview with Salvador Allende on June 15, 1970, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/712, n. pag.

103 The UP was interested in the social security systems, schools, and the system of bloc parties that had been portrayed by the SED as a "multi-party system."

reported that it was highly doubtful that Allende could be persuaded to change his mind. Osterheld wrote:

> Still, our situation is not entirely hopeless. [...] It might be possible to get him [Allende] to modify his position. [...] [A success] would be important for our position in Chile because otherwise the GDR would surely try to just take over our best development projects, schools etc., push out the foundations and start a smear campaign against the embassy.[104]

Bonn made it clear to Santiago that the Hallstein Doctrine would no longer be applied in full, but that the Federal Republic hoped Chile would postpone recognition as a gesture of goodwill, or better still, only gradually upgrade its diplomatic relations with the GDR in keeping "with the progress made in the German-German dialogue." The West German government also requested that these diplomatic relations should only be established "after a final result had been achieved in this dialogue." In his conversations with the Chilean president, Osterheld – who was well aware that Allende was under pressure due to problems within his coalition – emphasized that rapprochement with the Soviet Union was the key objective of West German treaties under its *Ostpolitik*.[105] Allende, who was an experienced political realist (*Realpolitiker*) despite his populist rhetoric, responded positively to this request and asked the West Germans indirectly through the French embassy how long he was supposed to delay the matter.[106] Since the answer to this question depended on the progress of the German-German talks, which was difficult to foresee, the Office of the Chancellor tried to buy as much time as possible. Emissaries in Santiago such as Walter Leisler Kiep, a CDU member of the Bundestag, worked behind the scenes to prevent a "hasty" recognition of the GDR.[107]

On December 11, 1970, a special envoy sent by Allende, the UN-delegate Hernán Santa Cruz, met with Chancellor Brandt in Bonn. On this occasion, Cruz broadly outlined the platform of the UP while trying to put a moderate social democratic spin on it. Brandt replied that he was against Chile's recognition of the GDR before the German-German negotiations had come to an end. The German public, he noted, would regard the speedy recognition of East Germany as an

104 Telegram by Osterheld to AA, October 9, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 150/213, fol. 7057–58.
105 Telegram by Osterheld to AA, October 27, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 150/215, fol. 7653–55.
106 Telegram by German embassy Paris to German embassy Santiago, forwarded by the AA, November 2, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 150/216, fol. 7879–81.
107 Osterheld reported that Kiep's visit had generated "sympathy for West Germany's Ostpolitik in Chile," which was why official recognition was postponed until at least January 1971; telegram by Osterheld to AA, November 24, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 150/218, fol. 8809–10.

"unfriendly act," but "the world would not stop turning." The chancellor suggested that if Santiago had to go through with this because of "pressure coming from its own voters," it could do so gradually.[108] Yet, this postponement strategy could not be pursued indefinitely. Moreover, not all the members of the federal government shared the same level of commitment, which became quite apparent at the end of January in 1971, when the State Secretary of the BMZ, Karl-Heinz Sohn (SPD), visited Santiago de Chile. Allende approached Sohn, who was pro-UP,[109] rather aggressively: "only Chilean interests," the Chilean president maintained, and not the "progress of the German-German talks" were to determine when Chile would recognize the GDR, especially since no end of the negotiations was in sight.[110] As Osterheld's report to the Foreign Office noted, the conversation ended with Allende stressing that he "would have recognized the GDR immediately if the CDU had been in government in Bonn. He had refrained from taking this step only out of consideration for the federal government and Chancellor Brandt. It had not been forgotten that the CDU [...] had supported Frei's election campaign."[111]

This remark confirms the symbolic significance of international recognition for the GDR. Yet, despite self-confident statements such as this one, all the parties involved in this triangular political relationship were quite nervous. This situation led to the development of seemingly strange expectations from today's perspective that were aptly reflected in the possible dates for Chile's official recognition of the GDR preferred by each country. The West German embassy, for example, expected Allende to take this step in the second half of March, because the UP thought it would help "gain votes" in the municipal elections on April 4, 1971.[112] Naturally, the GDR also maintained this same view officially, but, in truth, East Berlin assumed that the UP feared negative consequences for the elections

108 Minuta de una conversación entre el Canciller Federal y el Embajador Especial de Chile, señor Santa Cruz, Bonn, December 11, 1970, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1970, Oficios Reservados; see Joaquín Fermandois, Del malestar al entusiasmo. La reacción de Bonn ante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular 1970–1973, in: Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia 117 (2008), pp. 33–67, here p. 46.

109 Osterheld noted that Sohn promised not only to maintain development aid, but also to expand it. During his visit to Santiago, Sohn also took part in the PS party congress that took place after the negotiations, see Horst Osterheld, Der Kampf um die Deutschlandpolitik in Chile 1970/71. Mein Rücktritt als Botschafter, in: Ulrich Schlie (ed.), Horst Osterheld und seine Zeit (1919–1998), Vienna 2006, pp. 153–74, here p. 165.

110 Telex Osterheld to AA, January 29, 1971, in: PA/AA, B 150/222, fol. 852–53.

111 Ibid.

112 Telegram by Osterheld to AA, February 15, 1971, in: PA/AA, B 150/223, fol. 1292–94.

and was therefore stalling. Within the UP, on the other hand, a tug of war started between proponents and those opposed to the Soviet bloc in the PS and the social democratic *Partido Radical*. Clearly, the coalition was uncertain what would come once it recognized the GDR.[113] In the end, the idea of waiting to announce formal recognition until shortly after the municipal elections prevailed. Allende rewarded Bonn's reassurance that it would not take any steps against Chile if it recognized East Berlin before the Basic Treaty had been signed by promising to refrain from explicitly propagating recognition of the GDR within Latin America.[114]

Thus, although Bonn's official response to Chile's announcement that it was establishing diplomatic relations with the GDR appeared to be rather frosty on the surface, it did not bear any serious consequences. In the cabinet, Foreign Minister Scheel suggested that the Federal Republic had to "respond visibly" in order to "deter other countries from recognizing the GDR in this rather difficult period for our policy at the moment" and to avoid "giving rise to the impression that their friendly position towards us is irrelevant." However, according to Scheel, these were supposed to be symbolic measures; Chile should "not be 'punished'" and the Federal Republic should "not act formally with unnecessary severity."[115] On the day after Chile recognized East Germany, Ambassador Osterheld took a flight to Bonn.[116] Back in the West German capital, he tried to persuade Scheel to take the proposed "visible measures." But, both the State Secretary in the Chancellor's Office, Egon Bahr, and the BMZ maintained that no further measures needed to be taken and that financial aid for Chile should actually be expanded in moderation.[117]

The SED politburo regarded this recognition as a victory over a "Brandt/Scheel doctrine of discrimination and non-recognition with respect to the GDR," which had become "visible for the entire world and was clearly rejected – for the first time by a country on the South American continent."[118] The GDR press celebrated the "first appearance of the black-red-golden pennant with the compass and garland of corn in front of the government palace of one the largest countries

113 Telegram by Osterheld to AA, March 26, 1971, in: PA/AA, B 150/226, fol. 2300–01.
114 See Karl Moersch, Kurs-Revision. Deutsche Politik nach Adenauer, Frankfurt a. M. 1978, p. 265.
115 Memo for cabinet meeting, signed by Gehlhoff, April 16, 1971, Anerkennung der DDR durch Chile, in: PA/AA, B 150/228, fol. 2808–10.
116 See Osterheld, Kampf, in: Schlie (ed.), Osterheld, p. 168.
117 Osterheld, who no longer had much support in the AA as he was a confidant of Kiesinger, resigned on April 21, see ibid., pp. 169–71. Similarly see Stephanie Salzmann, Horst Osterheld als Botschafter in Chile 1970/71, in: Schlie (ed.), Osterheld, pp. 147–52, here p. 151.
118 Memo for the Politburo, April 1, 1971, in: PA/AA, MfAA, C 3335, p. 18.

of the South American subcontinent."[119] The establishment of relations between the two governments launched a phase of substantial cooperation. As early as April, the Central Committee defined "close political cooperation with the Unidad Popular government" as its main objective in Chile.[120] For the most part, this cooperation was supposed to back the "Chilean Way to Socialism" by providing economic and technical assistance.

"Scientific-Technical Cooperation" (*Wissenschaftlich-Technische Zusammenarbeit*, WTZ) and financial assistance were the main tools used by the GDR to bolster the UP. The MAW sent thirty experts to Chile for the first time in the summer of 1971. These East Germans were supposed to "contribute to the consolidation of the power of the Unidad Popular government" and help "share the experiences of the GDR in creating an anti-fascist democratic order and developing socialism."[121] The Soviet Union and Hungary set up similar programs.[122] The GDR and Chile concluded a trade agreement as well as agreements on scientific-economic partnerships and cooperative programs in copper mining, agriculture, and food production.[123] In addition, in December 1971, the GDR sent two experts "in the field of national economic planning" to Chile at "Allende's personal request."[124] It is fair to assume that a maximum of thirty GDR experts in total were in Chile at any given time.[125] Unlike the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the GDR hesitated in granting state loans. In February 1971, the Politburo decided to generally refrain from "increasing government loans" to Latin American countries

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119 Max Kahane, Beseelt von freundschaftlichen Gefühlen. Verwirklichung eines Programms, in: Horizont 16 (1971), p. 14.

120 Memo by the MfAA, April 20, 1971, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/726.

121 Memo, July 12, 1971, Direktive über die Regierungsverhandlungen zum Abschluss von Abkommen über die wissenschaftlich-technische Zusammenarbeit und über den Handel mit der Republik Chile, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6261.

122 Memo, June 8, 1971, Aus einer mündlichen Information der Botschaft der Ungarischen VR in der DDR, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/729. See Isabel Turrent, La Unión Soviética en América Latina. El caso de la Unidad Popular chilena, 1970–1973, México/D.F. 1984, p. 125.

123 A joint commission monitored and reported on the progress of these programs; Memo, July 27, 1971, Mehrere Vertragswerke zwischen der DDR und Chile, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6262.

124 Report by the GDR government delegation, December 22, 1971, in: BArch, DDR, DL 2/6271.

125 On September 11, 1973, 18 experts were working in state-owned enterprises and in public administration; 27 Chilean interns were working in the GDR; Memo, October 2, 1973, Entscheidungsvorschläge auf dem Gebiet der Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen mit der Republik Chile, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6294, fol. 202–27. In 1973, 25 GDR experts in Chile were mentioned, see República de Chile (ed.), Memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, correspondiente al año 1973, Santiago de Chile 1979, p. 17.

"in order to further economic relations."[126] While the GDR exercised restraint in this respect, other Eastern bloc countries granted state loans to Chile, amounting to a total of 182 million USD by the end of 1971.[127] When the financial situation of the Latin American country became more critical in 1972, the GDR decided to issue loans, especially since it was convinced that export trade would not be possible without such assistance.[128] As of September 11, 1973, Chile had drawn down twenty-eight million USD from the forty-nine million USD originally made available by the East Germans.[129] As a result, bilateral trade increased significantly.[130]

Whereas Allende relied on the economic assistance of socialist states to pursue his political course,[131] East Berlin was concerned that the Chilean authorities and the UP would play the GDR off against the West. Thus, the MfAA asked the embassy to "explain to our Chilean partners what the GDR can and cannot do."[132] Moscow's long-term objective was to entrench Chile as a state dominated by leftist forces in order to undermine the supremacy of the United States in Latin America. But, it did not want to create a "second Cuba," which would be heavily dependent on Soviet support. This pragmatic agenda was far from what Allende and large parts of the UP expected. They harbored illusions of a profound transformation of the state aided by their Soviet "big brother," Chile's integration

126 Minutes of the meeting of the Politburo, February 9, 1971, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/J IV 2/2/134, p. 47; Memo, October 2, 1973, Entscheidungsvorschläge auf dem Gebiet der Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen mit der Republik Chile, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6294, fol. 202–27.

127 Only the GDR, Romania, and Yugoslavia had not granted any loans by then; Report by the Trade Policy Department of the embassy in Santiago, January 3, 1972, Die Entwicklung der inneren und äusseren Finanzsituation Chiles, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6271, referring to long-term loans over three to ten years, most of them linked to specific projects.

128 The original plan to refrain from granting state loans until 1975 was thereby abandoned.

129 Memo, October 2, 1973, Entscheidungsvorschläge auf dem Gebiet der Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen mit der Republik Chile, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6294, fol. 202–27.

130 In 1967, which was the most successful trading year until then, a total of VM 4.8 million had been achieved. This level was not achieved again until 1971 (VM 4.8 million were equivalent to approximately 0.01 percent of the GDR's total trade volume). In 1972, it increased to VM 25 million (0.05 percent), and it climbed to VM 101.2 million (0.19 percent) in 1973; Außenhandel der DDR nach Ländergruppen und Ländern, in: Ministerrat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik (ed.), Statistisches Jahrbuch Außenhandel, Ausgabe 1976, w. p. [East Berlin], in: BArch, DDR, DE2/21067. These figures cast doubt on Emmerling's emphasis on the importance of foreign trade for the GDR's relations with Chile, see DDR und Chile, pp. 191, 482.

131 See Joaquín Fermandois, Chile y el mundo 1970–1973. La política exterior del gobierno de la Unidad Popular y el sistema internacional, Santiago de Chile 1985, p. 356.

132 Memo by Deputy Minister Stibi to embassy Bonn, Edgar Fries, July 22, 1971, in: PA/AA, MfAA, C3323, p. 233.

into COMECON, and substantial subsidies.[133] Moscow's plans were also similarly quite far away from fears in the West that the Soviet Union was pursuing a concrete military strategy in Chile.

Relations between the SED and the PS as well as Allende improved when the UP government took over and was able to achieve a few victories in 1971. However, the GDR still had reservations about the PS, which came to light during the state visit of Chile's minister of foreign affairs, Clodomiro Almeyda:

> At no point in his statement did Minister Almeyda mention questions regarding relations with the GDR or problems of the FRG, West-Berlin, the Brandt government, the so-called *Ostpolitik* etc., for which he has repeatedly shown a special interest in other countries [...]. His remarks on the position of 'Western Europe' in general indicate that he apparently harbors certain illusions about the policies of the Brandt government.[134]

From mid-1972, crisis loomed in the wake of Allende's ultra-Keynesian policies. Domestic tensions and violent clashes increased unabatedly while deep divisions plagued the UP coalition. In a conversation with Hermann Axen in July 1972, the deputy Secretary General of the PC summed up that "the political struggle in Chile [is becoming] more complicated and acrimonious on a daily basis." He also emphasized that thanks to its "partly ultra-leftist course [...] a large portion of the middle classes and the small farmers [...] are turning away from the government."[135]

Bonn, in fact, did not really expect much of the Allende government in the first place. Especially when German land owners and companies became victims to expropriation, bilateral relations between the two countries had worsened. Although the West German government was not prepared to completely terminate financial assistance for Chile, it did discuss whether it should be kept at the current level or be adjusted in the future.[136] Moreover, the ministries in Bonn were not in agreement with each other on this issue. For instance, government export credit guarantees, the so-called *Hermesbürgschaften*, for exports to Chile were initially axed in 1971, but then partially reinstituted for transactions of up

133 Allende's use of the term "big brother" in relation to the Soviet Union confused because of its Orwellian overtones, see Fermandois, Chile y el mundo, pp. 356, 366. The brevity of Allende's term in office makes it difficult to evaluate the objectives of the Soviet Union in Chile in detail.

134 Memo by the AIV on the meeting Almeyda-Winzer, June 9, 1971, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV A 2/20/729, fol. 10–16.

135 Memo by AIV, July 31, 1972, Information Nr. 90/72 für das Politbüro, in: ibid., DY 30/J IV 2/2J/4232, n. pag.

136 Although the United States reduced its development aid, it carried through with loans that had already been promised, see Rüdiger Marco Booz, "Hallsteinzeit." Deutsche Außenpolitik 1955–1972, Bonn 1994, pp. 148–50.

to 250,000 DM in 1972 following a restructuring of debts.[137] Not only did the BMZ continue to support its existing development aid projects, but also it approved three new capital assistance projects in 1971 and 1972 that amounted to a total of almost three million DM and provided federal funds for church development initiatives.[138] Yet "new projects that had already been scheduled or promised informally" were "put on ice."[139]

But, what accounted for this really rather moderate West German reaction to the situation in Chile? Without a doubt, the Chancellor's Office and the BMZ had considered issuing tougher sanctions. Archival documents indicate that the changing face of North-South relations in the early 1970s as well as Chile's emerging symbolic role and its marginal strategic importance contributed considerably to the generally permissive position adopted by the West German government. The left wing of the SPD, for example, had a vested interest in convincing the West German public that the Marxist UP was moderate and committed to reform, in order to make it appear as if its policy towards Chile was congruent with its general foreign policy objectives. Alongside State Secretary Sohn and his superior Erhard Eppler, the minister of the reinvigorated BMZ from 1968 to 1974, representatives of the DED, and in particular Hans Matthöfer, a member of the Bundestag and Parliamentary State Secretary in the BMZ, acted as advocates of the Unidad Popular.[140] Since the new ambassador to Chile, Lothar Lahn, was at least open-minded when it came to the UP, his counterpart, Federico Klein, hoped that he would have a balancing effect on the skeptical Foreign Office.[141] Thus, despite obvious ideological differences, a neutral if not positive attitude

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137 It must be noted, though, that this measure was less a response by the BMWi to the recognition of the GDR than it was a reaction to the foreign exchange situation and poor investment conditions; letter by member of the Bundestag Harry Tallert to Hans Matthöfer, December 15, 1971, in: AdsD, Hans Matthöfer papers, no. 052, n. pag.; see also Carlos Barrenechea, Bundesrepublik und Chile. Die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur Republik Chile während der Regierungen Frei, Allende und Pinochet, Cologne 1984, pp. 141, 206, 216.
138 See ibid., pp. 141–42, and memo, undated (presumably 1975), Entwicklungswichtige Vorhaben der Kirchen, die aus Bundesmitteln gefördert werden, in: AdsD, Hans Matthöfer papers, no. 0400, n. pag.
139 Bastian Hein, Die Westdeutschen und die Dritte Welt. Entwicklungspolitik und Entwicklungsdienste zwischen Reform und Revolte 1959–1974, Munich 2006, pp. 191, 260.
140 On the increasing significance of the BMZ in February 1971, see Erhard Eppler, Wenig Zeit für die Dritte Welt, Stuttgart et al. 1971, pp. 96–98. On the DED, see Hein, Westdeutschen, pp. 268–70. On Matthöfer's enthusiasm for Allende, see Fermandois, Del malestar al entusiasmo, p. 58, and Werner Abelshauser, Nach dem Wirtschaftswunder. Der Gewerkschafter, Politiker und Unternehmer Hans Matthöfer, Bonn 2009.
141 See Fermandois, Del malestar al entusiasmo, p. 52.

towards the UP prevailed among the SPD leadership.[142] By the end of 1971, the Foreign Office had adopted a more reserved modus vivendi, in part because not all of its fears of what would happen in Chile – such as a GDR propaganda offensive on the ground or East German attempts to take over West German institutions – had come true.[143] The Foreign Office indicated to the Chilean ambassador that it could be assumed that relations between the two countries would continue to be "correct and normal, but not necessary friendly."[144] Likewise, from a Chilean perspective, it seemed as if the the ideological divide between the two governments had only been overcome provisionally because it was useful at the time.[145]

During the last months of the UP government, it was almost impossible for the two German states to pursue meaningful relations with Chile because the chaotic domestic situation was worsening by the day and Allende had his hands full trying to control it. Beginning in 1972, the UP government intensified its requests for financial assistance. The poet, Nobel Laureate in literature and communist Pablo Neruda described his home country as a "silent Vietnam"[146] that was in desperate need of help in its fight against Western imperialism. Yet the most important potential donors initially responded with caution. In November 1972, the Secretary General of the PC, Luis Corvalán, visited the GDR in order to ask Erich Honecker for further support in person. Although the latter promised to consider Corvalán's suggestions,[147] the GDR did not fulfill the wish for a major loan or introduce clearing trades to minimize hard foreign currency

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142 This support mirrored the general zeitgeist and a turn to the left within the SPD. In the SPD youth organization (Jusos) and the DGB, this culminated in a sense of solidarity that would have been unimaginable just a few years earlier.

143 See Lothar Lahn, Chile unter Allende. Persönliche Eindrücke und Erfahrungen aus meiner Botschafterzeit, in: Titus Heydenreich, Chile. Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur der Gegenwart, Frankfurt a. M. 1990, pp. 55–82, here p. 70. Lahn describes Brandt's and Scheel's attitude towards the UP as skeptical, cautious, and cool.

144 The federal government was supposed to pursue these relations in such a way that the UP would not develop into a role model as the West German Foreign Office pointed out; report by Ambassador Klein to MRE, Confidencial no. 173/22, April 29, 1971, Entrevista sostenida con secretario de Estado Paul Frank, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1971, Oficios Confidenciales, n. pag.

145 The new Ambassador in Bonn was advised to keep close contact with student organizations and the youth organization of the SPD. He was also told to keep a close eye on the alleged growth of neo-Nazism; Memo, March 17, 1971, Instrucciones para el embajador de Chile en la República Federal de Alemania, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1971, Oficios Confidenciales, n. pag.

146 From Neruda's welcoming remarks at the Xth World Festival of Youth and Students in East Berlin in July and August 1973, cited by Lateinamerika – Kontinent im Aufbruch. Horizont-Gespräch mit Erich Mückenberger, Mitglied des Politbüros des ZK der SED, in: Horizont (1973), no. 38, p. 3.

147 Note for the Politburo, November 28, 1972, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV 2/20/102, n. pag.

losses.[148] Instead, the GDR opted to provide so-called solidarity shipments.[149] The East Germans approved the first donation of supplies on October 23, 1972,[150] but most of the shipments were not sent out until 1973. In a conversation with Corvalán, Honecker noted that these donations were primarily supposed to serve a psychological purpose by helping "to strengthen the mood and affirm the appreciation for the Unidad Popular among the people of Chile."[151] On January 25, the freighter *Ferdinand Freiligrath* entered the harbor of Valparaíso; additional shipments arrived in May.[152] Three more ships carrying a total of 8,423 tons of "solidarity supplies" docked in Chilean harbors in late August and early September of 1973.[153] On August 29, Erich Mückenberger, who was a member of the Politburo, and Ambassador Harry Spindler traveled to Valparaíso for the official handover celebrations.[154] But, these measures did little to alleviate the food supply situation. Given the fact that the Soviet Union had already pretty much given up on Chile in 1973 – as judged according to the amount of its financial involvement – it is fair to assume that the East German government was also well aware of the precarious situation in the Latin American country. The supply shipments, though, were not a bad investment. This so-called solidarity movement proved to be more than just a way for the SED to support the UP coalition government; by orchestrating these

148 The disappointing results of Allende's negotiations in Moscow (the loan of USD 20 million fell short of expectations) and Almeyda's dealings with the government in Beijing (only an interest-free loan of 4.5 million rubles was granted) caused frustration and disillusionment. The GDR loan of USD 5 million, which fell short of the expected 35 million, did little to help the overall situation; Bericht über die Verhandlungen der Gemischten Kommission zum Handels- und WTZ-Abkommen DDR-Chile vom 29.1.1973–5.2.1973 in Santiago de Chile, in: BArch, DDR, DL 2/6289a.

149 It was prompted by the critical supply situation; as early as mid-1972, Chile was forced to import essential daily food products.

150 It contained canned goods worth 600,000 Mark; Office of the Council of Ministers, October 23, 1972, Beschluss über eine Solidaritätsspende der DDR für die Republik Chile, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/J IV 2/2J/4365.

151 Minutes of a conversation, January 27, 1973, in: BArch, SAPMO, Office Erich Honecker, DY 30/2432, p. 22.

152 See Jürgen Schaich, Ein großer Tag in Valparaiso, in: Horizont (1973), no. 7, p. 10.

153 These ships were mostly carrying food and medicines; Memo, September 11, 1973, Hochseehandelsschiffe der DDR in den Hoheitsgewässern der Republik Chile, in: Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former GDR (Der Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, henceforth: BStU), Zentralstelle, MfS HA XIX, Nr. 2781, fol. 12–3. The GDR delivered supplies worth a total of VM 42 million to Chile; Memo, October 2, 1973, Entscheidungsvorschläge auf dem Gebiet der Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen mit der Republik Chile, in: BArch, DDR, MAW, DL2/6294, fol. 202–27.

154 See Solidaritätssendungen der DDR an Chile übergeben, in: Neues Deutschland, August 30, 1973, p. 1.

solidarity packages, the East German state made a public gesture that was great for its propaganda machine. Regardless of the ultimate fate of the UP, this move did wonders for the GDR's public image abroad, but also at home, especially since even critical and apolitical East Germans fell under the spell of Chile's exotic revolutionary appeal. In the end, all this help from the outside was too late for the UP. On September 11, 1973, all three branches of the armed forces as well as the police staged a coup against "the Allende government, democracy and the rule of law."[155]

Pinochet's Chile as a Reality and an "Article of Faith"

Just as with the late stage of the Allende government, the beginning of the Pinochet dictatorship was an excellent opportunity for the GDR to expound upon its position and broadcast its self-image. The East German move to open its doors to some 2,000 Chilean socialists and communists was certainly not only motivated by solidarity, but also by tactical considerations.[156] By breaking off relations with Santiago in September 1973, only a few days after becoming a member of the United Nations, East Berlin was able to demonstrate its resolve as well as its newly gained sovereignty. However, the continuation of bilateral trade relations indicates that this was not a complete boycott. In October 1973, the Ministry of State Security (*Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*, MfS or Stasi) was simply told:

> After the military coup in Chile, the government of the GDR has decided that foreign trade [...] with Chile should continue. A crucial point in reaching this decision [...] was the fact that the GDR maintains trade relations with other countries in similar situations; Chile plays an important role in providing the GDR with imports of raw materials [...]. The government of the GDR has decided that eight staff members of the Ministry for Foreign Trade [...] will remain in Chile as a permanent mission.[157]

155 Alan Angell, Chile de Alessandri a Pinochet. En busca de la utopía, Santiago de Chile 1993, p. 85.

156 The GDR was the main host country for Chilean political exiles in the Eastern bloc. It seems plausible that – as the former PC member and author José Rodríguez Elizondo has claimed – the relatively well-developed GDR was chosen in order to give these exiles as positive an impression of "real existing socialism" as possible. On the selection of the refugees, see Jost Maurin, Die DDR als Asylland. Flüchtlinge aus Chile 1973–1989, in: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 51 (2003), pp. 814–31.

157 Handel der DDR mit Chile, October 25, 1973, in: BStU, Zentralarchiv, MfS HA XVIII, no. 7477, fol. 2.

Ironically enough, trade between the GDR and Chile peaked in the years 1973, 1974, and 1975.[158] Since such economic relations, whose main purpose was to avoid foreign exchange losses,[159] diametrically contradicted official claims that the GDR was firmly opposed to the Pinochet dictatorship, the government made great efforts to keep them secret. Trade with Chile did not decrease until late 1974, when international media pressure led to intermittent reductions.[160] The GDR also kept its trade mission, whose staff was also involved in carrying messages between the underground left-wing parties and the exiled party leaders living in Eastern bloc countries.[161]

In 1974, East Berlin soon accustomed itself to the idea that the exiled Chileans would be remaining in the GDR for quite some time. In turn, the government created political and administrative structures to accommodate their presence, such as the "Anti-Fascist Chile Office" (*Büro Antifaschistisches Chile*, *Chile Antifascista*), which was established to assist the immigrants in terms of "integration and support." At the same time, though, this organization facilitated the vetting of these exiles by Chileans who toed the party line and by Stasi agents.[162] Moreover, as the exile secretariat of the PS and the UP's main office abroad were based in East Berlin, leading exiled Chileans met with GDR government officials on a regular basis.[163] One topic that SED leaders discussed with these exiled Chilean politicians was obviously how to fight the junta in Chile, although the possibilities for this were rather limited due to the stability of the Pinochet regime. The two sides also talked intensively about the breaks within the PS after the collapse of the "Chilean Way to Socialism." It must be said, though, that the SED tried to use this situation to influence the future political direction of the Chilean socia-

158 Ministerrat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Staatliche Zentralverwaltung für Statistik – Statistisches Jahrbuch Außenhandel, editions 1962, 1963, 1964, 1967, 1968, 1970, 1975, 1976, 1978, in: BArch, DDR, sign. DE2/22370, 31240, 21067, 30329.

159 Handel der DDR mit Chile, October 25, 1973, in: BStU, Zentralarchiv, MfS HA XVIII, no. 7477, fol. 4.

160 According to Emmerling, the GDR's "commercial coordination" office ensured that substantial copper exports once again made their way from Chile to the GDR in the 1980s, see DDR und Chile, p. 299.

161 Documents of the BStU, which have to be analyzed in greater detail, show that – at least between 1975 and 1980 – the MfS and other intelligence services within the Eastern bloc maintained such connections.

162 BStU, Zentralstelle, MfS HA II/19, no. 14298, fol. 199, and see Maurin, DDR als Asylland, pp. 829–30.

163 Memo, April 15, 1977, Hauptgesichtspunkte für die politisch-operative Arbeit auf dem Gebiet des Schutzes, der Sicherung und der abwehrmäßigen Bearbeitung der chilenischen politischen Emigration, in: BStU, Zentralstelle, MfS HA II, no. 28986, fol. 7.

lists. It backed the Marxist-Leninist camp around the former minister of foreign affairs, Almeyda, by defending him against his rival Carlos Altamirano, supplying him with the content of secret talks between Honecker and Altamirano, and only providing financial support to the Almeyda wing as of 1977.[164]

The discussions between Honecker and the UP leadership also had repercussions for the Eastern bloc's general strategy towards the Third World: in the medium term, the events in Chile led the bloc to rethink its position on revolutionary violence, which had a substantial impact on its support of militant groups in the future.[165] In conversations with exiled leading politicians, Honecker conceded that "certain insights as well as measures for an armed fight against the counterrevolution" had come "too late."[166] He noted that Chile had been "a valuable lesson for the movements in other capitalist countries. [...] As the violence of the bourgeoisie needs to be countered, the revolutionary movement must consider both a peaceful and a non-peaceful way to socialism."[167]

In the wake of the putsch on September 11, 1973, military actions were taken into consideration as a "specific way to fighting in the current phase of the battle for national liberation."[168] Not long thereafter, exiled Chileans began asking the SED to help train fighters, although such training appears to have taken place mostly in Cuba and the Soviet Union at first.[169] Shortly after the coup, however, Chilean socialists and communists were trained in ideology and military theory

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164 Dufner, Chile, p. 93. The tensions within the PS resulted in a party split and Altamirano's expulsion in April 1979.

165 It is fair to assume that Moscow played a pivotal role in these discussions, even though this cannot be confirmed completely on the basis of GDR documents. The support within the Eastern bloc for an armed struggle culminated during the conflicts in Central America in the 1980s, see Brands, Latin, pp. 181–83.

166 Assessment of the AIV "on the situation in Chile," November 28, 1973, in: BArch, SAPMO, Office Erich Honecker, DY 30/2432, p.112.

167 Ibid.

168 Wolfgang Baatz, Zur Rolle militärischer Gewalt bei Sicherung der Erfolge der nationalen Befreiungsbewegungen in Afrika und Asien, in: Afrika, Asien, Lateinamerika 4 (1976), pp. 209–22, here p. 210.

169 Chilean Communists informed the SED in October 1973 that they hoped that some "trustworthy comrades" would receive military training "in the near future thanks to the support of the relevant authorities in the socialist countries," memo no. 64/73 for the Politburo, October 12, 1973, in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/JIV/2 /2J/4947. In November, Central Committee member Markowski and the deputy head of department in the Central Committee of the CPSU, Kuskow, agreed to create a "real mass basis for action in the country itself, which could be used as a foundation for the formation of combat units"; Report by AIV, November 21, 1973, Bericht über Konsultation mit der KPdSU zur Gegenwärtigen Lage in Chile, in: BArch SAPMO, Office Erich Honecker, DY 30/2432, fol. 62.

in the GDR.[170] Although the available source material on this topic is rather sparse,[171] one document at least mentions a training program for Chilean fighters in the GDR that took place in 1989.[172]

In West Germany, the echo of the military coup resonated in the media, within the solidarity movement, and at the highest political levels. Within almost no time at all, the broader public suddenly took a great interest in Chile, which used to be a country that was only discussed by a small circle of political, economic and development aid experts. At the same time, Chile was instrumentalized as a projection screen of other political conflicts.[173] In the first few days after the coup, the West German political parties generally expressed their regrets over Allende's death, but also relief that his incompetent if not dangerous government had been brought to an end, combined with a measure of understanding for the reasons behind the putsch.[174] Not only conservative media and CDU/CSU politicians, but also representatives of the FDP (*Freie Demokratische Partei*) and right-wing social democrats shared this line of thought.[175] But, this opinion rested on the assumption that the seemingly apolitical military dictatorship would be short-lived.

170 They took place in the "Sonderschule beim ZK der SED" (Special School of the Central Committee of the SED) in Kleinmachnow in Brandenburg.

171 According to the BStU, most of the documents of department XXII of the MfS, which was responsible for this so-called "special training," were destroyed in 1989.

172 A document from the HA XXII dated August 4, 1989 mentions a "training course for leading cadres of the SP Chile for the illegal armed struggle" with 14 participants that ran from March to June 1989; Stellvertreter des Leiters für militärisch-operative Terrorabwehr, Einschätzung […] zur Erfüllung der Plan- und Kampfaufgaben, in: BStU, MfS HA XXII, no. 5541/9, attachment 7. On September 7, 1986, Pinochet narrowly escaped an assassination attempt, which was carried out more professionally than any other previous attack on the dictator. It is not known whether any GDR trained units were involved in this incident.

173 This is also illustrated by the sectarian debates between the relevant K-Gruppen involved, see Ein Roundtable-Gespräch mit Dieter Boris, Klaus Meschkat und Urs Müller-Plantenberg, in: Peter Imbusch/Dirk Messner/Detlef Nolte (eds.), Chile heute. Politik. Wissenschaft. Kultur, Frankfurt a. M. 2004, pp. 837–57.

174 The SPD and CDU drew on the assessments made by the representatives of "their" respective foundations in Chile. The economic, social, and domestic political crisis in Chile before the coup had escalated to such an extent that it seemed as if power had just "fallen into the hands of the military," which a broad spectrum of the population appeared to welcome at first, see Carlos Huneeus, El Régimen de Pinochet, 2nd ed., Santiago de Chile 2002, pp. 79–87.

175 The party whip of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, Karl Carstens, stated that Allende's death was a "tragic symbol" of the incompatibility of socialism and democracy. Chancellor Brandt expressed his sympathy with regard to the events in Chile and said he hoped for a speedy return to democracy; report by embassy Bonn, Pablo Valdés, to MRE, September 21, 1973, El golpe de estado en Chile en los medios políticos y de comunicaciones de la RFA, in: ARREE, Embajada RFA, 1973,

The response to the visit of the CDU Secretary General and director of the KAS, Bruno Heck, to Santiago in October 1973 aptly demonstrates Chile's sudden transformation into a subject of mass media appeal as well as the subsequent moral indignation ignited by the coup in West Germany and its instrumentalization. After political talks and a trip to the national stadium, Heck described the situation of the prisoners detained there: food and drink were "monotonous" and accommodation was "extremely poor," but the inmates were being "treated properly"; comparisons with "the situation in the concentration camps of Hitler-Germany," he claimed, were thus inappropriate. Although living in the stadium was "unbearable and atrocious" in cold weather, Heck continued, it was "rather pleasant" in "sunny weather."[176] This last remark really hit home, unleashing a wave of outrage aimed at Heck. Although criticism directed at Heck for his illusory faith in the allegedly law-abiding junta and for welcoming the actions of the military was justifiable, it was hardly tenable to accuse him of expressing wholesale approval for human rights violations. On both sides of what became a highly polarized debate, no one seemed to be willing to listen to rational arguments regarding the coup, especially since Chile had become symbolic of other conflicts. Left-wing representatives of the SPD, for example, argued that the Bundeswehr harbored a similar putsch potential.[177] The chairperson of the Jusos (SPD youth organization), Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, drew parallels to West Germany, where the "deployment of Bundeswehr units against workers [...] was already being tested" in the name of preventing "socialist changes."[178] Compa-

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Oficios Ordinarios, Recibidos, n. pag. Friedrich Beermann, a SPD member of the Bundestag, was among those who criticized the positive assessment of the Allende government among sections of the SPD. He referred to the vote of the Chilean parliament against Allende in August 1973; memo by Beermann to MdB Bruno Friedrich, September 24, 1974, attachment 5, in: AdsD, Bruno Friedrich, 1/BF AA001189, n. pag. The provost of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chile and later opponent of the dictatorship, Helmut Frenz (1933–2011), initially expressed his approval for the coup; report by Helmut Frenz, September 15, in: Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, EKD, sign. EZA 2/17611. Later, Frenz regretted that his fear of a civil war had prompted his "extremely reactionary" remarks; interview by the author with Helmut Frenz, Santiago de Chile, May 27, 2009.

176 DPA report [138/133], October 17, 1973, Heck [...]: Gespräche mit Stadion-Häftlingen, in: ACDP, Bruno Heck, sign. 01–022, fol. 025/2, n. pag.

177 See Jakob Moneta/Erwin Horn/Karl-Heinz Hansen (eds.), Bundeswehr in der Demokratie. Macht ohne Kontrolle?, Frankfurt a. M./Cologne 1974; Lutz Mez, Schlußfolgerungen aus dem Putsch in Chile für westdeutsche Verbände und Parteien, in: Jahrbuch für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, vol. V: Rüstung und Militär in der Bundesrepublik, Opladen 1977, pp. 116–26.

178 Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, "... Chile steht nicht allein," in: Der Sozialdemokrat. Mitteilungen der Jungsozialisten, note of a speech in Frankfurt am Main, September 15, 1973, in: AdsD, Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski papers, sign. 600, n. pag.

red to the comments coming from the Chile solidarity movement and particularly from communist splinter groups – the so-called *K-Gruppen* – these remarks were still quite moderate in tone. The cultural attaché and later Chilean ambassador to Bonn, Lucía Gevert, assessed the situation in early 1974 from the perspective of the junta and stated with foresight:

> The negative image that the media [...] generated within public opinion in early September [1973] will be difficult to blot out. The impact of the coverage was powerful, but now the topic seems to have exhausted itself [...] Under these circumstances, it will be difficult to erase this negative image of Chile because the interest for what is happening in there has waned.[179]

It should be noted, though, that the GDR also played a certain role in these West German discussions. From the perspective of the SED, the fact that the Chile solidarity movement was state-supported in East Germany but critical of the state in West Germany worked to its advantage; consequently, it did all it could to back the movement.[180] For example, the "Nuremberg proceedings against the crimes of the military junta in Chile" in 1976 were mainly organized and funded by the SED. Starring the celebrity lawyer Friedrich Karl Kaul and other GDR experts, the proceedings were supposed to prove the "Fascist character" of the Chilean dictatorship and the Federal Republic's alleged complicity in the regime as well as its similar nature.[181] Likewise, the campaign against the junta initiated by the Eastern bloc countries in the United Nations also attacked Bonn.[182] Thus, the Federal Republic found itself facing the conundrum of whether to leave the issue of human rights in Chile to the socialist states or to allow itself to be exploited by them.

West German conservatives were also able to turn Chile into a political "article of faith,"[183] for instance when the newly elected Bavarian minister presi-

179 Report by Chilean embassy Bonn, Valdés to MRE, January 4, 1974, Respuesta resutelex 231, in: ARREE, Embajada RFA, 1974, Oficios Confidenciales, n. pag.

180 See Hans-Werner Bartsch (ed.), Chile. Ein Schwarzbuch, Cologne 1974, which was covertly funded and for which visual material was provided. The SED's manipulated image of Chile was transmitted to the West via the political magazine "Konkret," which was funded by the MfS, as well as Berlin's "Extra-Dienst" and the "Chile combatiente," which was also published in West Berlin; letter by Ambassador Irrarázaval to MRE, March 26, 1975, Envío de "Chile combatiente," in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1975, Oficios y Aerogramas Ordinarios, n. pag.

181 Central Committee document "Faktenmaterial zur Solidaritätsbewegung mit dem chilenischen Volk in der DDR," w. d. (1976), in: BArch, SAPMO, DY 30/IV B 2/20/439, vol. 4, pp. 14–17.

182 See Moses Moskowitz, The Roots and Reaches of United Nations Actions and Decisions, Alphen/Rockville (MD) 1980, pp. 74–112.

183 See Anton Sterzl, Glaubensartikel Chile, in: Bonner Rundschau, December 9, 1977.

dent, Franz Josef Strauß, visited Chile in 1977, where he met with Augusto Pinochet.[184] According to the CSU executive committee, the calculated and for the most part negative response to Strauß's visit revealed "a blind left eye that could be fatal for German politics."[185] This visit sharpened Strauß's image within the Federal Republic, setting him up more clearly as a rival to Helmut Kohl. All these examples illustrate the dichotomous and hardened character of the debates over Chile, which effectively swept the possibilities for action under the carpet and allowed this topic to be used as a projection screen for countless politicians trying to shape their images or instrumentalize this situation for other purposes.

Given these distorted views, it is very important not to lose sight of the "real" dimensions of West German-Chilean relations after 1973, including the fact that some 4,000 Chilean exiles found refuge in West Germany.[186] As former Chilean opposition politicians emphasized, for example, West German political foundations also played a pivotal role in the continued existence of their parties during the dictatorship as well as the programmatic revision of their party platforms.[187] Official bilateral relations, however, atrophied: the public image of Pinochet's dictatorship as the pariah of the global community became firmly entrenched, just as Gevert had predicted. As a result, the federal government had to justify all contact with Chile. Since the social-liberal coalition had already dismissed the initially-proposed plan to break off diplomatic relations entirely, its focus shifted to issues of debt rescheduling, the granting of loans, and development aid. Eppler and Matthöfer advocated stopping all financial relations, but the Foreign Office refused.[188] On the initiative of the BMZ, a credit tranche to the amount of 21.1 million DM which had been contractually promised a few weeks before the

184 The debate on Chile was also part of a struggle for power within the CDU and CSU; memo by Strauß to Kohl, October 9, 1973, in: Archiv für Christlich-Soziale Politik, Strauß papers, sign. PV/10076.

185 CSU will mit "erfolglosen Tabus" brechen. Gegen einseitige Festlegung auf CDU-Kanzlerkandidaten/Beifall für Chile-Reise, in: Süddeutsche Zeitung, December 6, 1977.

186 See Irmtrud Wojak/Pedro Holz, Chilenische Exilanten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1973–1989), in: Claus-Dieter Krohn et al. (eds.), Exile im 20. Jahrhundert, Munich 2000, pp. 168–90, here p. 175.

187 On the KAS, see Patricio Aylwin Azócar, El reencuentro de los demócratas. Del golpe al triunfo del No, Santiago de Chile et al. 1998, pp. 31–33, 92–93. On the FES, see Andreas Wille et al., Die Arbeit der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in wichtigen Schwellenländern. Chile, Indien, Südafrika, Bonn 2009, pp. 26–28.

188 This position was quite vulnerable, especially since both men had stressed the apolitical nature of financial relations at the outset of the UP coalition; interview Matthöfer with the Deutschen Allgemeinen Sonntagsblatt, October 17, 1973, in: AdsD, Hans Matthöfer papers, sign. 133, n. pag.

coup, was put on hold. The Foreign Office doubted whether this loan was in fact dependent on the conclusion of the debt rescheduling negotiations in 1974, as the BMZ had claimed, all the more because the BMZ still refused to pay out these funds even after the controversial negotiations had been concluded.[189] Although the money was transferred in the end, and the fiercest opponents of the junta were held in check, financial relations between the two countries did not return to their former level. *Ministerialdirektor* Lahn informed the Chilean ambassador in June 1975 that no further loans were planned, even though the debt rescheduling negotiations had been successful.[190] The Foreign Office was not pleased about this quasi-frozen state of relations and tried to break the policy of "double standards," but in vain.[191] Even as late as August 1979, the responsible director in the Foreign Ministry criticized the fact that these relations had been held at an "artificially curbed level" since 1973. In his eyes, Chile had been the victim of an excessive "blanket condemnation." Given the improved domestic situation, he thus advocated "gradually and carefully" relaxing the current "restrictive position" – especially in terms of economics and development aid, which benefited the people – because it would aid and abet the "liberal forces."[192] In the end, however, the West German ministries could not come to an agreement on a common policy towards Santiago. In the shadow of this stalemate, disagreeable dogmatism ran rampant while West German ambassadors flirted disastrously with the Pinochet regime.[193]

189 Letter by Schönfeld, Vortragender Legationsrat, AA, to MD Fischer, Federal Chancellery, October 25, 1974, Chile-Kapitalhilfe, in: PA/AA, ZA 100594, n. pag.

190 Instead, he presented the new line of development aid policy adopted by the Federal Republic which intended to shift the focus of its support to a few developing countries that were either politically significant or particularly poor; report by Ambassador Irrarázaval to MRE, June 5, 1975, Entrevista con Director Político Dr. Lothar Lahn, in: ARREE, Embajada Alemania, 1975, Oficios reservados, n. pag. During this conversation, Lahn explained that the Federal Republic did not consider the verbal promise of DM 45 million in capital assistance as legally binding.

191 Conversation between Genscher and British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, May 11, 1979, in: Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (AAPD) 1979, vol. 1, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2010, doc. 131, p. 594.

192 Note by Ministerialdirigent Meyer-Landrut, August 10, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 2, doc. 222, pp. 1066–72, quotes pp. 1066, 1071, 1072.

193 See Dieter Maier, "Äußerste Zurückhaltung." Die Colonia Dignidad und die deutsche Diplomatie 1961–1978. Eine Akteneinsicht im Auswärtigen Amt Berlin, www.menschenrechte.org/lang/de/lateinamerika/colonia-dignidad-deutsche-diplomatie [accessed March 29, 2017], passim.

Conclusion

Relations between both German states and Chile during the 1960s and the 1970s were intense, manifold, and dynamic. In fact, many of the relationships that existed outside the boundaries of bilateral politics could only be hinted at in this article. The 1960s were characterized by challenges to the previously uncontested dominance of West Germany in Chile and the politicization of what had been a relatively uncontroversial relationship until that point. Not surprisingly, the GDR sought to further this process indirectly through a variety of channels. Moreover, the markedly different political natures of the Chilean governments under Frei, Allende and Pinochet presented the two German states with myriad challenges. In particular, the Frei and Allende governments profited from the involvement of the two Germanies in the Cold War bloc conflict: whereas the Federal Republic contributed profoundly to Frei's Christian democratic "Revolution in Liberty," the GDR heavily subsidized Allende's "Chilean Way to Socialism." Given the amount of resources invested in the country as well as the long-term consequences of these relationships, Chile has to be recognized as one of the main pillars of East and West German foreign relations in Latin America.

Undoubtedly, neither German state – nor any other foreign state for that matter – could have completely changed the course of Chile's fate. Both the Federal Republic and the GDR had to realize with regret that they, as well as their international partners, could only exert a limited amount of influence. This finding corroborates recent scholarship on the Cold War that stresses the decisive role played by local political forces in developing countries. However, the different approaches adopted by both Germanies merit a more nuanced interpretation that goes beyond treating East and West Germany as mere vassals of their respective blocs within the Cold War.

The relations between both German states and Chile during the last stages of the Allende government and under the Pinochet regime were influenced by views that still shape our image of Chile and our [German] relations with the Andean country even today. A perspective that deems 1973 as *the* historical watershed in terms of German-Chilean relations often unduly obscures the intensity and diversity of the political relationships between the two German states and Chile that existed before the coup as well during the time when the first wave of indignation over the dictatorship had died down. By drawing attention to this complexity, as this article has demonstrated, more insight can be shed on these relationships that still hold great importance for the Andean country and its politicians today.

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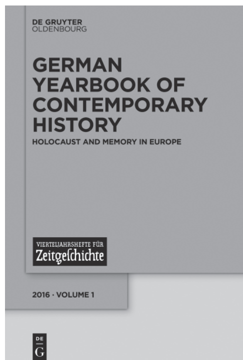

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The journal *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (VfZ) is taking an entirely new step for a German historical journal by introducing the *German Yearbook of Contemporary History*, a publication geared specifically to the English-speaking market. Each volume will be dedicated to a specific topic and will contain translated articles from the *VfZ* as well as previously unpublished articles and commentaries. The inaugural volume of the *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* is devoted to a central theme of recent historical scholarship: the Holocaust. Ulrich Herbert and Peter Hayes take stock of German contributions to Holocaust research, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe examines the collective memory of the murder of the Jews in the Ukrainian diaspora, and Jürgen Zarusky critically evaluates the controversial notion of the “Bloodlands.” The volume is rounded out by an English translation of the original 1953 article by Hans Rothfels in which a key document, the Gerstein Report, was first published, and a retrospective analysis of this important article by Valerie Hébert.

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William Glenn Gray

Stabilizing the Global South

West Germany, Human Rights, and Brazil, 1960–1980

Introduction

The Cold War strongly inflected West German policy toward the developing world; however, German responses to the global East-West struggle varied significantly from region to region. When it came to South America, Bonn's most fundamental goal was to preserve stability – the political stability of friendly governments and, as much as possible, the economic stability of trading partners. In the 1960s, this entailed support for anti-communist social forces; in the 1970s, it implied looking the other way as dictatorial regimes cracked down on labor unrest, political dissent, and urban guerrillas.

As Georg J. Dufner explains in this volume, the political upheavals in Chile captured public and political attention in West Germany. But the situation in Brazil also highlights the changing dynamics of the era – the increasing role of human rights issues on the one hand, and the political search for stability on the other. To concerned Catholics and human rights campaigners, the military dictatorship established in 1964 was a focal point for activism. Three distinct forms of repression stood out to German observers: the threat to indigenous Amazonian peoples, commonly known as "Indios"; the arrest of Catholic priests and workers; and the widespread use of torture in combating urban guerrillas.[1]

Yet there was an alternative narrative about Brazil, one that regarded the vast country as a global giant in the making. German companies had been pouring money into the São Paulo region since the early years of the "economic miracle." Investments picked up in the late 1960s as the Federal Republic began to export capital on a large scale. In the 1970s, Helmut Schmidt's government sent an important signal by approving the sale of nuclear reactors and a complete fuel cycle to the Brazilian generals. Amidst this veritable gold rush for manufacturers, extra-judicial killings hardly seemed to make an impression. What eventually

1 Brazil as a paradigmatic human rights case in the early 1970s has been overlooked by the recent wave of scholarship on human rights history. See, for example, Jan Eckel, Die Ambivalenz des Guten. Menschenrechte in der internationalen Politik seit den 1940ern, 2nd ed., Göttingen 2015.

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tempered German engagement in Brazil was not politics but economic mismanagement: with massive debts and runaway inflation, it seemed impossible to stabilize the country.

Cold War Hinterland: West Germany and the Establishment of the Brazilian Dictatorship

Non-aligned states were a constant headache for West German leaders in the early decades of the Cold War, at a time when the Federal Republic was anxious to maintain a monopoly on the international representation of Germany. At the cusp of the 1960s, the German-German rivalry spread to the newly decolonized nations of Africa – yielding a tidal wave of West German aid packages in an effort to block East German gains in the region.[2] Initially, Latin America was excluded from this rivalry, thanks to U.S. hegemony and the overwhelmingly anti-communist stance of the region's dominant powers.

For a brief moment, it appeared that Brazil's democracy might be in jeopardy. Upon his election as president in 1960, maverick leftist Jânio Quadros espoused a policy of neutrality – and sent a personal emissary to East Berlin in May 1961 to sign a trade agreement. Bonn's diplomatic corps kicked into high gear, pressing for clarification about Brazil's intentions.[3] Chancellor Konrad Adenauer warned of a "severe strain in German-Brazilian relations."[4] At the Foreign Office, Brazilian diplomats were given pointed reminders about the Hallstein Doctrine – West Germany's standing threat to break diplomatic relations with countries that recognized East Germany.[5] But drastic measures proved quite unnecessary in the case of Brazil, which denied having signed any trade deals with the German Democratic Republic (GDR). In June 1961, the Secretary General of the Brazilian Foreign Office resigned over the incident. Two months later Quadros himself

2 For overviews, see Werner Kilian, Die Hallstein-Doktrin. Der diplomatische Krieg zwischen der BRD und der DDR 1955–1973, Berlin 2001; also William Glenn Gray, Germany's Cold War. The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949–1969, Chapel Hill/NC 2003.

3 German embassy Rio de Janeiro (henceforth: DG Rio), Dittmann, 132, May 26, 1961, in: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (henceforth: PA/AA), B 1/70.

4 Pressetee-Gespräch, 2.6.1961, in: Adenauer. Teegespräche 1959–1961, ed. by Hanns Jürgen Küsters, Berlin 1988, pp. 493–509; also Press conferences of June 5 and June 9, 1961, in: Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik, Eckardt papers, sign. I-010-16/1.

5 Memo by AA, Dept. 3, Etzdorf, May 12, 1961, in: PA/AA, B 12/137.

resigned in the wake of a press campaign denouncing his friendliness toward communist regimes.[6]

Even though Bonn's capital aid flowed mainly to Asia and Africa, West German diplomacy directed some attention to South America. In 1961, Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano predicted that "developments in South America will be more important than anything that happens on the African continent."[7] Bonn governments provided credit guarantees for private investors in exceptionally large volumes. German firms founded subsidiaries in Brazil, and these drew in other well-known partners. When Volkswagen do Brasil began producing Beetles in 1959, for example, several German metalworking companies set up shop around São Paulo to serve as suppliers.[8] By 1962, government-backed guarantees had reached a sum of 820 million marks (205 million dollars). It was little wonder that Adenauer's cabinet joined an international consortium to help consolidate and refinance Brazilian debts.[9]

With so much money at stake, interested West Germans may have breathed a sigh of relief when another left-leaning Brazilian president, João Goulart, was ousted by a cadre of generals on March 31, 1964. By all appearances, the suspension of democracy occasioned scarcely a blink in Bonn. Federal President Heinrich Lübke carried out a previously scheduled trip to Brazil, becoming the first foreign leader to shake hands with the military junta. As State Secretary Karl Carstens noted, the generals appeared to be serving as "trustees" who intended to restore civilian rule quickly.[10] Two years later, when Carstens met personally with President Humberto Castelo Branco, he was struck by the general's zealous anti-communism and his record of cooperation in condemning the East German regime. "We should work more closely together with Brazil politically than we have been," Carstens concluded.[11] Willy Brandt also showed little hesitation

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6 On the Secretary General see Küsters, Adenauer. Teegespräche 1959–1961, p. 748; on Quadros see Thomas E. Skidmore, Brazil. Five Centuries of Change, New York/Oxford 1999, pp. 149–51.

7 Heinrich von Brentano to Guttenberg, April 10, 1961, in: PA/AA, B 1/70; Memo, September 26, 1963, Inter-ministerial capital aid committee, in: Bundesarchiv Koblenz, B 213/1524, pp. 11–13.

8 See Brasilien/VW-Tochter. Erfolg mit Fusca, in: Der Spiegel, September 19, 1966.

9 See Cabinet Meetings of June 28, 1961, May 23, 1962, and August 1, 1962, www.bundesarchiv.de/cocoon/barch/0000/k/index.html [accessed July 27, 2017].

10 55. Sitzung des Ausschusses für auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Stenographisches Protokoll, in: Der Auswärtige Ausschuß des Deutschen Bundestages. Sitzungsprotokolle 1961–1965, vol. 2, ed. by Wolfgang Hölscher, Düsseldorf 2004, pp. 993–1026.

11 Note by DG Rio, Carstens, July 16, 1966, in: Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (henceforth: AAPD) 1966, vol. 1, ed. by Hans-Peter Schwarz et al., Munich 1997, doc. 225, pp. 932–34.

when it came to cooperating with Brazil during his years as foreign minister. After a visit in October 1968, Brandt characterized the regime as a military government but not a military dictatorship. He doubted that the junta would hold together much longer; the generals were old and paranoid as well as out of touch with the real state of the country.[12]

Into the late 1960s, the political climate in Brazil was still relatively mild. The generals hassled political opponents and banned the national student union, but they refrained from censoring the national press and even allowed 100,000 protesters to march through the streets of Rio de Janeiro in June 1968.[13] Unfortunately, an escalating cycle of violence between underground leftist movements and the security police led to a far harsher program of repression. Institutional Act No. 5 (IA-5), promulgated on December 13, 1968, gave the generals a quasi-legal basis to suspend habeas corpus and impose strict controls on the Brazilian media. Mass round-ups of suspected radicals soon followed.[14] Within a year, the dictatorship in Brasilia would number among the most notorious human rights abusers in the world.

Genocide, Torture, and Squalor: Early German Responses to Human Rights Abuses

Although the imposition of Brazil's police state in 1968 drew some press coverage in West Germany, it was the fate of indigenous peoples in the country that first awakened a significant outcry. In late October and early November 1969, all of the major national newspapers ran stories about the wholesale slaughter of Amazonians: "Mass murder is being trivialized" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*); "The Indians – hunted, enslaved, murdered" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*). These reports followed allegations that first appeared in the British and Swedish media, claiming that the Brazilian government had purchased specially outfitted airplanes in Canada to drop napalm on the rain forest. "Indios" were said to be being poisoned by arsenic – or gunned down en masse – by rapacious

12 Memo by AA, Dg I B, Caspari, November 22, 1968, Betr.: Lateinamerikareise des Bundesministers, in: PA/AA, B 33/588.

13 See Victoria Langland, Speaking of Flowers. Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil, Durham (NC)/London 2013.

14 See Thomas E. Skidmore, The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–85, New York/Oxford 1988, pp. 81–84.

white settlers.[15] In some ways, reactions to the plight of the "Indios" paralleled the horror (and fascination) Germans felt toward the genocide of Native Americans.[16] The tropes were remarkably similar: in the Brazilian jungle, as previously in the U.S. borderlands, small groups of people living close to the land were being driven into extinction by an allegedly superior culture.

Letters poured in to the Foreign Office and the Brazilian embassy in Bad Godesberg. Younger activists also opted to express their dismay through protest and action. In mid-January 1970, a group of students from Bonn's "Kommune 1 Roleber" gathered outside the embassy building and smashed windows. In Hannover, someone painted the words "Genocide in Brazil" in giant letters on a wall opposite the Brazilian consulate.[17] What could or should the Brandt government do on behalf of the "Indios"? One newly elected SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) deputy, Wilhelm Nölling, called for an "urgent protest" to be sent to the Brazilian authorities conveying "our concern about the fate of these people." He urged the launching of new German aid programs specifically designed to alleviate the distress of indigenous Amazonians.[18] However, officials in Bonn's foreign ministry flatly refused to raise the "Indio" situation with Brazilian authorities, insisting that such inquiries would constitute interference in internal Brazilian affairs.[19]

The brief burst of attention paid to "genocide in Brazil" mobilized institutions in West Germany that had a stake in preserving harmonious bilateral relations. The External Office of the Lutheran Church in Germany issued a nineteen-page memorandum critiquing the sensationalist and unverified reporting on Brazil, comparing it to problems that had plagued the church's response to the Biafran

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15 Proteste in Schweden gegen Völkermord in Brasilien, in: Frankfurter Rundschau, September 9, 1969; various articles by Der Spiegel, October 27, November 3, November 10, 1969.

16 See H. Glenn Penny, Kindred By Choice. Germans and American Indians since 1800, Chapel Hill/NC 2013.

17 Security reports from October 8, 1969 and January 16, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 33/621. On the relative absence of militant action during these years, see Luiz Ramalho, Opposition und Opportunismus. Die deutsch-brasilianischen Beziehungen während der Diktatur. Ein (auch persönlicher) Rückblick, in: Nunca Mais, Brasilientage. Deutschlandweite Veranstaltungsreihe 2014. Programmheft, pp. 6–9, www.kooperation-brasilien.org/de/NuncaMaisBrasilientage2014Programmheft.pdf [accessed July 27, 2017].

18 For Wilhelm Nölling's question and the written response, see Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages, Stenographische Berichte, 12th session, November 14, 1969, p. 458A, dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btp/06/06012.pdf [accessed August 3, 2017]. On his follow-up suggestion, Memo by AA, Dept. I B 2, Motz, January 9, 1970, Betr.: Pressenachrichten über Indianerausrottung in Brasilien, in: PA/AA, B 33/610.

19 Deutscher Bundestag, written response, November 14, 1969.

war.[20] The Ibero-Amerika Verein, which represented German business interests in Latin America, circulated a thick packet of materials refuting the genocide thesis. Chemical giant BASF sponsored a press junket to Brazil's main industrial regions for 95 business journalists, 59 of them from the Federal Republic. The group was received personally by President Emílio Médici, who spoke bitterly about the "genocide campaign" in the European media and insisted that critics should visit the Indian territories for themselves.[21] Whether or not Médici was persuasive, lavish trips such as BASF's helped to redirect the German conversation toward Brazil's phenomenal economic expansion under the dictatorship.

Even as the topic of "genocide" faded from view, major news outlets shifted focus to cover Brazil's appalling suppression of political and personal liberties. In December 1969, *Der Spiegel* printed a harrowing essay by a German citizen who had been tortured by the Brazilian police. "I had to give myself electric shocks, and my friends too," wrote the twenty-seven-year-old Clemens Schrage, an activist in Brazil's underground leftist "Popular Action" movement. For thirty days, he was beaten and hung upside down; afterwards, he spent five months in an overcrowded São Paulo prison run by the Department of Social and Political Order.[22] For many German readers, Schrage's case offered a first, jarring look into the arbitrary and brutal workings of Brazil's military dictatorship.

The violence was also directed against certain branches of the Catholic clergy that had embraced a socially critical message – most notably Dom Hélder Câmara, archbishop of Olinda and Recife. Operating amidst the squalor and misery of Brazil's northeast, Dom Hélder spoke passionately in favor of land reform, earning him the enmity of local elites. On May 27, 1969, the body of one of Câmara's trusted aides, Father Antônio Henrique Pereira Neto, was found on the campus of Recife's university – shot, beaten, disfigured, and with a noose around his neck.[23] Catholics in Germany began to register concern. It was a CDU (*Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands*) deputy, Fritz Baier, who first inquired about Neto's murder and the arrest of numerous members of the Chris-

20 Jürgen Westphalen of the Ibero-Amerika Verein to AA, Dept. I B 2, Motz, December 15, 1969, in: PA/AA, B 33/610; research memo by Reinhart Müller, February 6, 1970, in: ibid.; summary statement by Hans Strauss, February 10, 1970. On the over-selling of the Biafran genocide, see Michael Barnett, Empire of Humanity. A History of Humanitarianism, Ithaca/NY 2011.

21 Note by DG Rio, Holleben, December 17, 1969, in: PA/AA, B 33/610.

22 "Ich musste mir selbst Stromstösse geben." Folterung in Brasilien, in: Der Spiegel, December 15, 1969, p. 100.

23 Details on the investigation into Neto's death in Despatch by German Consulate General Recife, Wöckel, January 4, 1971, in: PA/AA, B 33/608.

tian Worker Youth.[24] Unbeknownst to Baier, his simple question had direct consequences for Clemens Schrage: it finally pushed Bonn's ambassador to undertake official steps in demanding Schrage's release.[25] Soon thereafter, Schrage was on a plane to Cologne, a city he had not seen since moving to Brazil with his family at the age of eight.

Schrage's case was exceptional, however, because most of the Catholic and socialist activists in Brazil's prisons did not happen to be German citizens. Anxious about the fate of Brazilian members of their order, Dominican monks in the Rhineland began to collect evidence about the use of torture.[26] Catholic youth and school groups were mobilized as well. One ninth-grade class petitioned the district's local representative to denounce Brazil in the Bundestag. In the months that followed, as the generals continued to detain Catholic priests and workers, CAJ (*Christliche Arbeiterjugend*) affiliates across Germany "flooded the federal government with protests and demands for action, up to the severing of diplomatic relations."[27] Helmut Kohl, then minister-president of Rheinland-Pfalz, received stacks of petitions as well – and wrote to Scheel requesting that something be done.[28] Bending slightly to public pressure, the Foreign Office received a delegation from the Christian Worker Youth for an information session. They then brokered a follow-up meeting between the CAJ and Brazilian diplomats, giving an opportunity for young West Germans to air their concerns to representatives of the military government.[29] However, as in the case of the "Indios," Bonn's diplomats refused to broach the issue of torture directly with their Brazilian counterparts, claiming that if they did so they would be "violating international law by interfering in the internal affairs of a foreign state."[30]

Even at the height of public outrage over the Brazilian dictatorship, from 1969 to 1971, opposition to the generals failed to coalesce into a movement with deep institutional anchors in West Germany. The CAJ was a niche organization;

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24 Baier question dated July 25, 1969, in: PA/AA, B 33/583.

25 DG Rio, Holleben, 293, August 1, 1969, in: PA/AA, B 33/609; for a detailed timeline of the efforts undertaken by the São Paulo general-consulate through August 1969, PA/AA, B 33/611.

26 Documents submitted by Dominikanerkloster St. Albert (near Bonn), May 11, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 33/609.

27 Memo by AA, Dept. Pol 2, Gehlhoff, December 10, 1970, Betr.: Besuch des Gouverneurs des brasilianischen Bundesstaates Minas Gerais, in: PA/AA, B 33/613.

28 Kohl to Scheel, December 8, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 33/607.

29 Memo by AA, Dept. I B 2, Motz, November 27, 1970, Betr.: Brasilien; hier: Gespräch mit Vertretern der CAJ, in: PA/AA, B 33/607; also Scheel to Kohl, January 14, 1971, in: ibid.

30 AA, Dept. D Pol 2, Gehlhoff, to Pater Ernst Alt, Dominikanerkloster St. Albert, June 1, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 33/609.

its embrace of anti-imperialism and Third World solidarity put it outside the mainstream of what was already a dwindling Catholic workers' movement.[31] There was no community of Brazilian guest workers in Germany, just as there was no "foreign front" of oppositional Brazilian students comparable to the Iranian student movement.[32] Nor did a stream of exiles arrive in West Germany after the imposition of military rule in Brasilia, as happened later in the case of Chile.[33] On the contrary: Bonn's foreign and interior ministries cooperated in barring the entry of anti-regime militants.[34] Lacking a natural constituency that would, of necessity, remain focused on the question of human rights in Brazil, the topic did not gain traction at national congresses of the SPD or CDU or the League of German Unions.

By 1972, the locus of activism for issues in Brazil had shifted to one organization with a commitment to human rights on a universal basis, Amnesty International (AI). The plight of imprisoned Brazilians inspired one of AI's first large-scale documentation projects – the Report on Allegations of Torture in Brazil (1972), which conveyed information about 1081 victims and 472 torturers.[35] Aside from important contributions to AI's work at its London headquarters, German volunteers founded a Brazil Coordination Group based in Cologne. On the 150th anniversary of Brazilian independence – September 7, 1972 – the group set up information stands in several German cities; these posts collected signatures from passers-by to deliver to the regime.[36] In December 1972, activists and

31 See Ute Schmidt, Katholische Arbeiterbewegung zwischen Integralismus und Interkonfessionalismus. Wandlung eines Milieus, in: Rolf Ebbighausen/Friedrich Tiemann (eds.), Das Ende der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland? Ein Diskussionsband für Theo Pirker, Opladen 1984, pp. 216–39, here p. 237.

32 On Greek guest workers and Iranian students, see Alexander Clarkson, Fragmented Fatherland. Immigration and Cold War Conflict in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945–1980, New York 2013; on the role of student activists more generally, see Quinn Slobodian, Foreign Front. Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany, Durham (NC)/London 2012.

33 For the Chile case see the article by Georg J. Dufner in this Yearbook: Chile as a Litmus Test. East and West German Foreign Policy and Cold War Rivalry in Latin America, pp. 77–117.

34 AA, Dept. 300, Hampe, to the BMI (Bundesministerium des Inneren), October 31, 1972, in: PA/AA, B 33/637.

35 A copy of the 1976 reprinting is available at www.anistia.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Relatório-da-Tortura-1972.pdf [accessed February 25, 2017]. On its release and reception, see James N. Green, We Cannot Remain Silent. Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States, Durham (NC)/London 2010, pp. 285–87. On AI's anti-torture campaign, see Ann Marie Clark, Diplomacy of Conscience. Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms, Princeton (NJ)/Oxford 2001, pp. 43–47.

36 Bernd Woidtke of the Brasilienspezialgruppe to Scheel, June 1972, in: PA/AA, B 33/637.

scholars staged a "Brazil tribunal." Clemens Schrage, the torture victim, served as a witness; Professor Hermann Görgen of the German-Brazilian Society played the role of defense attorney.[37]

Throughout the early 1970s, the big German weekly news outlets, *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit*, reported in bleak terms about poverty and oppression in South America's largest country. In January 1972, an extensive two-part series in *Der Spiegel* depicted a country gripped in silence, as newspapers and television faced ever tighter censorship.[38] In May 1972, ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*; German public TV broadcaster) broadcast a documentary on the favelas called "The Voice of Poverty is Without Poetry."[39] A favorite journalistic technique was to contrast the great-power ambitions of the Brazilian leadership with the daily grind faced by most of the population: "Four-fifths of all Brazilians are consciously neglected by the fetishists of progress," wrote *Der Spiegel*.[40] And yet there was an inherent ambivalence in the media's growing emphasis on the "Brazilian miracle." This would turn out to be the part of the story that most interested West Germans.

Partners in Stability: West Germany and Brazil in the 1970s

Willy Brandt's social-liberal coalition prided itself on a policy of universal trade. Détente did not, of course, bring a final end to the Cold War in Europe, but for Bonn it significantly reduced the salience of the East-West confrontation in the developing world. Trade was celebrated as a means of communication that made frontiers porous. Brandt's Germany fostered closer economic ties with countries as diverse as the Soviet Union, apartheid South Africa, the shah's Iran, and the Brazilian dictatorship. As one Foreign Office text explained: "In the German view it is in the interest of all nations – not only the industrialized countries – that international trade should be allowed to develop unhampered by barriers and impediments of any kind."[41]

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37 See Ramalho, Opposition, p. 9.
38 See Ein Geschwür bedeckt das Land, in: Der Spiegel, January 24, 1972, and ibid., January 31, 1972.
39 Note by DG Brasilia, Wimmers, May 26, 1972, in: PA/AA, B 33/635.
40 "Unser Kapitalismus kennt keine Scham," in: Der Spiegel, September 18, 1972, pp. 124–29.
41 German memorandum prepared for Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda, November 8, 1970; English translation in: National Archives and Record Administration (henceforth: NARA), RG 59, SNF 70–73, Box 2304 (Pol 7 Ger W), US Bonn (Fessenden) A-1138, October 21, 1970.

From the standpoint of investors, the long-term stability offered by the military dictatorship made Brazil an attractive partner. Under Antônio Delfim Netto, finance minister from 1967 to 1974, the regime made great strides in the battle against inflation.[42] German firms stepped up their engagement accordingly; as of 1972, they had poured 1.7 billion dollars into southern Brazil.[43] All the usual suspects were there: Siemens, Bosch, AEG, MAN, Daimler-Benz, Bayer, Hoechst, and many more. São Paulo was the most concentrated zone of German investment anywhere in North or South America; by 1975 there were some 40,000 expatriate German families living there, and another 12,000 in Rio.[44] German companies were well aware of their economic standing in Brazil, which was second behind the United States, but still ahead of the Japanese competition.

If there was a challenge to Brazil's police state, it was not Cold War infiltration by Cuban or Soviet bloc forces; rather, it was a home-grown network of left-wing terrorists. In Rio and other major urban centers, underground bands of anti-regime militants – inspired by the Tupamaro guerillas in neighboring Uruguay – took to robbing banks and kidnapping diplomats to finance their operations. Coming at a time when Germany, too, had to contend with a string of violent bombings by the "Tupamaros West-Berlin" and "Tupamaros Munich," the threat to state authority in Brazil seemed palpable.[45] One experienced revolutionary, Carlos Marighella, authored a "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" shortly before his death at the hands of Brazilian security forces; it was widely read in West Germany's left-extremist milieu.[46]

Conditions in Brazil impinged more directly on German interests when armed rebels ambushed German ambassador Ehrenfried von Holleben outside his official residence in Rio de Janeiro on June 11, 1970. The militants demanded the release of forty prisoners and the publication of their movement's manifesto. The dictatorship agreed to the terms without hesitation; Minister of Justice Alfredo Buzaid put the forty prisoners on a plane to Algeria, and the ambassador was

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42 Note by DG Brasilia, Wimmers, February 1, 1973, in: PA/AA, ZA 100494.

43 Memo by Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft), Dept. V, Hanemann, February 2, 1973, Betr.: Gründung einer Deutsch-Brasilianischen Gemischten Kommission zur Förderung der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen, in: PA/AA, ZA 100499. No developing country had received more German investments.

44 Memo by AA, Dept. 300, von Haeften, October 14, 1975, in: PA/AA, ZA 100488.

45 See Wolfgang Kraushaar, "Wann endlich beginnt bei euch der Kampf gegen die heilige Kuh Israel?" München 1970 – Über die antisemitischen Wurzeln des deutschen Terrorismus, Hamburg 2013.

46 For an example of RAF (Red Army Faction) member Andreas Baader citing Marighella, see Stefan Aust, Der Baader Meinhof Komplex, 2nd ed., Hamburg 1997, p. 228.

released within four days.[47] German newspapers expressed harsh views on the young Brazilian guerrillas, questioning why a German should pay the price for Brazilian "difficulties"; they also asked how greater democratic freedoms could be won via criminal means, and how much respect kidnappers could possibly have for human rights.[48] Most commentators on the Holleben kidnapping implicitly endorsed Brasilia's efforts to stamp out underground terrorist cells, even as German authorities intensified their pursuit of the Red Army Faction. Facing parallel challenges from urban guerrillas, Bonn and Brasilia each wielded the police measures they believed to be most suitable for preserving political stability.

Chancellor Brandt expressed thanks to the Brazilian government for its prompt action in securing Holleben's release. However, he was reluctant to rub shoulders too overtly with the regime. When Buzaid visited Germany in September 1970, Brandt refused to see him.[49] The trip turned into a fiasco; a planned speech at a Bonn museum had to be canceled for fear of hostile demonstrations, and Buzaid wound up scrapping a visit to Berlin altogether.[50] Behind the scenes, however, Bonn's Foreign Office endeavored to patch up relations. State Secretary Paul Frank met with Rondon Pacheco, a regional governor and head of Brazil's governing party, and spoke in glowing terms about the prospects for economic and technological cooperation. "We cannot allow this cooperation to be disturbed by radical, anarchist groups," Frank noted.[51] In April 1971, Scheel traveled to Brasilia to attend the opening ceremonies of the new German embassy – making the Federal Republic the first major power to shift its seat of diplomatic representation to the new capital. Scheel spoke with President Médici for forty minutes, well beyond the allotted time, and signed a nuclear research agreement between German and Brazilian institutes.[52]

Brandt's administration remained circumspect when it came to meetings on German soil. When the Brazilian foreign minister, Mario Gibson Barboza, made inquiries about a stopover in April 1972, the Foreign Office played for time. Scheel's aides thought it best to avoid setting a date until after the fall Bundestag elections; and, by that point, Gibson Barboza had decided Germany could

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47 Details in PA/AA, B 33/620.

48 See editorials from the General-Anzeiger, Saarbrücker Zeitung, and Tagesspiegel, all from June 13, 1970.

49 See Christian Russau, Abstauben in Brasilien. Deutsche Firmen im Zwielicht, Hamburg 2016, pp. 26–27.

50 NARA, RG 59, SNF 70-73, Box 2129 (POL 2 Braz), US Brasilia A-68, November 3, 1970.

51 Memo by AA, Dept. I B 2, Motz, December 18, 1970, in: PA/AA, B 33/607A.

52 Memo by DG Brasilia, Knoke, April 24, 1971, in: PA/AA, B 33/612.

wait.[53] Brandt's reelection in November 1972 did indeed provide his government with more leeway in dealings with Brazil. So, too, did a remarkable turn in German media coverage. Atrocity reports from Brazil all but vanished from German newspapers over the course of 1973 – despite what U.S. diplomats saw as an "increase in subversion-related arrests and allegations of torture."[54] From September 1973 onward, German horror at events in Chile dominated the conversation about human rights;[55] yet the shift in coverage about Brazil came about prior to the overthrow of Salvador Allende.

Some credit for the public affairs turnaround should go to the Brazilian government itself, which adopted an expansive foreign and economic policy in 1972/73. Emulating Japan, the Brazilians founded an assortment of state-backed trading companies – and then invited foreign investors to partake. One partner was the Deutsche Bank in Frankfurt; in April 1973, Hermann-Josef Abs hosted a twenty-member delegation of Brazilian bankers and entrepreneurs led by Delfim Netto.[56] Brazil, it seemed, had it all: a low-paid but productive industrial sector, untold mineral wealth, and an enormous agricultural base. Meanwhile, the "oil shock" of late 1973 made Europeans acutely aware of their reliance on raw materials from the Global South. Over the next several years, the Brazilians would play the "Third World" card brilliantly by demanding a change in the terms of global capitalism – all while cultivating a special relationship with the arch-capitalist Federal Republic. If any proof was needed that Bonn was no longer embarrassed by its connections to Brazil, the Minister of the Economy, Hans Friderichs, supplied it by attending the inauguration of President Ernesto Geisel in March 1974. Geisel was a general like all the others, and he came to power as Médici's handpicked successor; but his prior experience as the head of Brazil's state-owned oil concern, Petrobras, seemed to herald a more technocratic approach to government. Geisel's father had emigrated from Germany as a young man, providing an additional link to the Federal Republic. When Geisel promised a period of "decompression," suggesting steps toward a loosening of controls over political life, Theo Sommer of *Die Zeit* took him at his word.[57]

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53 Memo by AA, Dg I B, Müller, April 21, 1972, Betr.: Einladung des brasilianischen Außenministers, in: PA/AA, B 33/636; Memo by AA, Ministerbüro, Hofmann, August 7, 1972, in: ibid.; note by DG Brasilia, Wimmers, November 28, 1972, in: ibid.

54 NARA, RG 59, SNF 70-73, Box 2133 (POL 23-8 Brazil), US Brasilia (Rountree) 2415, April 26, 1973.

55 See Dufner's article in this Yearbook.

56 Despatch, April 24, 1973, Generalkonsulat São Paulo, in: PA/AA, ZA 100500; also see Brazil, "the New Japan," in: The New York Times, January 28, 1973.

57 See Wenn Brasilien Glück hat/"Dekompression" – eine Chance für Wohlstand und Demokratie, in: Die Zeit, November 29, 1974.

Despite its antipathy to leftist politics, Geisel's Brazil joined dozens of developing countries in promoting an economic revolution – the New International Economic Order (NIEO), proclaimed at a UN Special Session in May 1974. Brazil and the others asserted the right to trade with the Global North on more favorable terms and to reap the benefits of technology transfer.[58] For Brasilia, West Germany was very much the intended audience: throughout 1974, Brazilian officials unfolded a grand vision of energy cooperation with the Federal Republic. They wanted eight nuclear reactors and a complete fuel cycle, including the technology to enrich uranium and then reprocess spent uranium into additional fuel. In addition, German firms were offered prospecting rights for uranium ore – thereby easing fears about oil shortages and nuclear fuel bottlenecks as the reactor industry prepared for an unprecedented boom.[59]

The new social-liberal partners in Bonn, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, hesitated for several months before signing on to this package deal. High-level officials spared not a word for human rights concerns; the looming question involved nuclear proliferation. Brazil was not a signatory to the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Was it safe to share technology that could give Brazil the capacity to build nuclear weapons? Schmidt's cabinet relented in June 1975, granting its blessing to a complex sale worth an estimated 20 billion marks – at the time, the largest trade deal in German history.[60] Peter Klein, head of AI's "Brazil Coordination Group" in Cologne, wrote to members of the Schmidt cabinet complaining that the nuclear deal "stabilizes and supports the rule of the Brazilian military government."[61] But only a handful of activists in Germany registered dissent. Media coverage of Brazil brushed aside the nature of Brazil's dictatorship in favor of a narrative that stressed West Germany's sovereign right to share technology with the South.[62]

For Helmut Schmidt, more than just German jobs were at stake. He saw North-South cooperation as a way to stabilize the global economy without giving in to the radical demands for a New International Economic Order. To his fellow Western leaders, he pitched a plan for "earnings stabilization" that would help to

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58 On the NIEO in relation to U.S. foreign policy, see Daniel J. Sargent, A Superpower Transformed. The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s, New York/Oxford 2015.

59 Report on the visit of State Secretary Hans-Hilger Haunschild (research and technology ministry), August 7, 1974, in: PA/AA, ZA 100508.

60 See William Glenn Gray, Commercial Liberties and Nuclear Anxieties. The US-German Feud over Brazil, 1975–7, in: International History Review 34 (2012), pp. 449–74.

61 AI to Genscher, June 24, 1975, and AI to Hans Matthöfer, June 25, 1975, in: PA/AA, ZA 102025.

62 See, for example, Wie die amerikanische Konkurrenz den deutschen Reaktorenexport zu behindern versucht, in: Die Zeit, June 20, 1975.

even out the wild price swings that disrupted markets for commodities such as coffee or cacao.[63] In July 1975 he sent Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski on a "fact-finding mission" around the globe to speak with the Brazilian president and other Third World leaders about the North-South dialogue. Privately, Geisel indicated that the oil price explosion was a serious threat for the Brazilian economy, and he expressed hope that the West would be able to nudge the Arab oil-producing states toward moderation.[64] For the time being, with so much of Brazil's export earnings going toward oil imports, the ongoing boom was financed by taking on more debt. New York banks "recycled" Arab petrodollars and lent them back out to Latin American borrowers. The ultimate result was thus soaring inflation and a crushing debt load.[65]

Brazil was, nevertheless, an excellent customer in the mid-1970s, and German visitors arrived in droves – from Bundestag deputies to delegations of the League of German Industry to representatives of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.[66] In November 1975, Genscher himself made the trip, accompanied by a large contingent of business leaders and reporters. Unlike Schmidt, Genscher expressed his goals in conventional Cold War terms: his "task" was to "contribute to the creation of healthy living conditions in the Third World so that these states were immune to communism."[67] Representatives from AI wrote afterwards to inquire whether Genscher had raised human rights concerns; the answer was a resounding no. This was all the more remarkable in light of the timing: just weeks earlier, a popular Jewish-Brazilian TV journalist, Vladimir Herzog, had turned up dead in a Brazilian jail.[68] The ensuing uproar is often seen as the beginning of the end of the dictatorship – yet at the time, the authorities in Bonn tiptoed around the topic. Nor did the

63 For an early exploration of earnings stabilization, dated May 28, 1975 and passed along from German to British hands, in: The National Archives, PREM 16/612.

64 Telegram by DG Brasilia, 277, July 25, 1975, in: PA/AA, B 150/333. On Wischnewski's mission, PA/AA, B 3/106172.

65 See Skidmore, Politics of Military Rule, pp. 206–7.

66 In contrast to Chile, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was slower to engage in Brazil. Its first major program, assistance to educational television broadcasting, was launched in 1970. See Felix Dane/Reinaldo J. Themoteo, Die Rolle der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in der deutsch-brasilianischen Kooperation, in: Cadernos Adenauer XIV (2013), edição especial, pp. 161–74.

67 Conversation Genscher/Silveira, November 18, 1975, in: AAPD 1975, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2006, doc. 351, pp. 1655–60. Genscher was apparently swayed by the recent Cuban intervention in Angola, bringing a new dimension to the Cold War confrontation in the Global South.

68 Egon Goldschmidt to Genscher, November 24, 1975, in: PA/AA, ZA 100488, and the reply by Jürgen Chrobog, December 30, 1975. On Herzog's death, see Green, We Cannot Remain Silent, pp. 330–32.

German media pay much heed: neither *Der Spiegel* nor *Die Zeit* reported on Herzog's murder or the subsequent tumult.[69] It was as if the story of the nuclear deal monopolized whatever time and attention Germans had to devote to Brazil.

Despite the lack of concern about Brazilian abuses in the mainstream press, Amnesty International's growing professionalism helped to keep the issue from disappearing completely. There were fewer angry, mobilized citizens than in the early 1970s, at least when it came to Brazil; but activists were now better informed and interacted more effectively with the Foreign Office. For their part, the Latin America experts at the Foreign Office began to collect critical pamphlet literature, such as Brasilien-Nachrichten, in order to stay fully abreast of the human rights situation – a tacit acknowledgment that the activists were collecting valuable and reliable information.[70] Chancellor Schmidt did not give human rights petitioners much cause for satisfaction, however. Asked if the Bonn government would identify human rights as the "unconditional foundation" for German-Brazilian relations and a prerequisite for fulfilling the terms of the nuclear deal, Schmidt's aides refused, noting how touchy Latin American governments were about their sovereignty. Seeking to isolate Brazil would merely rob West Germany of any prospects for exerting influence. In the long run, they maintained, "carefully nurtured economic relations and a lively exchange of views" would prove to be a "more effective means toward a gradual but secure improvement of the situation in the realm of citizens' freedoms."[71]

Was this vision of patient dialogue mere obfuscation, or a realistic path toward constructive engagement with the Brazilian generals? Under Helmut Schmidt's administration, the Social Democratic Party did encourage closer ties between German and Brazilian labor unions. During a visit to Brazil in April 1979, the chancellor spoke with the labor movement's most dynamic leader, the steel union activist (and later Brazilian president) Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The meeting did not go well. Schmidt lectured Lula about why auto workers should avoid excessive wage demands. Lula complained that German capitalists, above all Volkswagen do Brasil, were hard-hearted and all too ready to call in the police against striking workers.[72] Schmidt also met with a Brazilian cardinal; here, too,

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69 The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" did. See Proteste gegen die Folter in Brasilien, in: ibid., November 11, 1975.

70 Note by AA, Hampe, January 4, 1978, in: PA/AA, ZA 111062.

71 Peter Barrenstein (deputy spokesman of AI Germany) to Schmidt, April 5, 1977, in: PA/AA, ZA 107948; Bundeskanzleramt, Oldenkott, to Barrenstein, June 1, 1977.

72 For this account, see Schmidt-Reise. Große Luftblasen, in: Der Spiegel, April 16, 1979, pp. 23–24. Brazil's labor unions continued to criticize Volkswagen; Note by DG Brasilia, Kastl, April 18, 1979, in: PA/AA, ZA 116022.

the chancellor appeared dismissive of the church's naïve views about poverty and economic development.[73] Even so, the fact that the German chancellor insisted on meeting with church and union leaders in Brazil underscored the value he attributed to social movements outside the control of the state. In conversation with the Brazilian president, Schmidt praised the "good progress of the democratization or redemocratization process in Brazil."[74]

And indeed, the repression had loosened considerably. Before leaving office in early 1979, President Geisel arranged for the repeal of the draconian Institutional Act No. 5 and other emergency legislation. A political amnesty was now in effect.[75] Brazil's relatively smooth transition to democracy ensured that West German leaders were largely spared from any embarrassments about their prior failure to condemn the military dictatorship. Yet things could easily have taken a darker turn, as they did in both Argentina and Chile. In the spring of 1977, Schmidt's government responded with shocking passivity to the arrest and murder of a German citizen, Elisabeth Käsemann.[76] At the very same time, German diplomats were papering over child abuse and torture committed by German emigré and cult leader Paul Schäfer in the south of Chile.[77] Both of these cases have gained widespread notoriety in recent years, casting a shadow over German diplomacy in Latin America.

Conclusion: An Unstable Continent

On balance, it makes sense to characterize the thrust of West German policy toward Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s as a program for stabilization. Early on, this involved fortifying the generals' anti-communist inclinations and blocking gains by the rival German state. The emphasis later shifted toward fostering trade and investment ties, in the hopes of lending support to the "Brazilian miracle." West

73 See Schmidt-Reise, in: Der Spiegel.
74 Telegram no. 284 by DG Brasilia, Kastl, April 9, 1979, excerpted in: Gesandter Lewalter, Brasilia, an das Auswärtige Amt, April 6, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildbrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2010, doc. 102, p. 102, footnote 46.
75 See Skidmore, Politics of Military Rule, pp. 217–19.
76 See Dorothee Weitbrecht, Profite versus Menschenleben. Argentinien und das schwierige Erbe der Diplomatie, in: Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik 58 (2013), pp. 93–104, here pp. 97–98.
77 In April 2016, German foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier ordered the blanket declassification of files from the German embassy in Santiago up to the time of Schäfer's death in 1996, see Die Akte "Colonia Dignidad" wird geöffnet, in: Deutsche Welle, April 27, 2016.

German leaders showed little warmth toward the dictatorship at the height of its excesses – yet they refrained from public condemnations of torture, mass arrests and the maltreatment of indigenous peoples. The Brazilian police state did, after all, guarantee a certain form of stability. German activists chafed against this public reticence in the early 1970s, but most eventually shifted attention toward the human rights situation in Chile and in Iran as well as in other notorious cases.

One of the uncomfortable ironies of German-Brazilian relations is that the course of democratization in the 1980s made Brazil a less desirable economic partner. With inflation higher than 100 percent, a crushing debt load, and newly assertive labor unions, German companies hit the pause button on investments in Brazil.[78] Given the country's plummeting economic fortunes, the most sensitive aspects of the 1975 nuclear deal were never realized. The New International Economic Order proved just as ephemeral: the Third World debt crisis removed the pressure on Western countries to recalibrate the terms of trade with the Global South or to share technology and intellectual property freely. An unstable Latin America – caught in the throes of Cold War proxy battles in Nicaragua and El Salvador – was bad for business, but evidently not a serious threat to German interests after all.

78 See Christian Lohbauer, Brasilien und Deutschland. Sechs Jahrzehnte intensiver wirtschaftlicher Partnerschaft, in: Cadernos Adenauer XIV (2013), edição especial, pp. 133–47, here pp. 135–36.

Frank Bösch

Between the Shah and Khomeini

The Federal Republic of Germany and the Islamic Revolution in Iran

Introduction

Especially from today's perspective, the Iranian revolution represents one of the most influential upheavals of the modern age. Within a few months – as in other major revolutions – a mass movement toppled the country's political, social and cultural order by pursuing a universalistic claim.[1] Contemporaries were quite aware of this fact and recognized the potential threat. At the same time, they were also intrigued by the dynamic of the events. In the fall of 1978, the French social philosopher Michel Foucault, who traveled to Tehran twice as a special correspondent of the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, commented even before the downfall of the shah: "This might be the first major insurrection against the global systems; the most modern and the most insane form of rebellion."[2] Helmut Kohl considered the events in Iran a threat to world peace that represented a "clash between developed and developing states."[3] Yet many Western observers never thought that an Islamic Republic under Khomeini's leadership would emerge in the end. Iran was regarded as a modern and economically flourishing country with a strong army and secret police. Moreover, it was massively supported by the United States and had close cultural ties with many Western countries. Indeed, the contrast to the Islamic Republic could not have seemed to be any greater. Although some referred to the events in Iran as the "unthinkable revolution," the advent of mass protests demonstrated that a regime change was indeed possible.[4]

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1 On this categorization, see Henner Fürtig, Totgesagte leben länger – 30 Jahre iranische Revolution, in: Anke Bentzin et al. (eds.), Zwischen Orient und Okzident. Studien zu Mobilität von Wissen, Konzeption und Praktiken, Freiburg 2010, pp. 316–33.

2 Michel Foucault, Il mitico capo della rivolta dell'Iran, in: Corriere della Sera, November 26, 1978. See Thomas Lemke, "Die verrückteste Form der Revolte." Michel Foucault und die Iranische Revolution, in: Sozial.Geschichte 17 (2002), pp. 73–89.

3 Minutes of CDU/CSU parliamentary party meetings, November 13, 1979, p. 2, in: Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik, sign. VIII-001-1059/1.

4 See Charles Kurzman, The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran, Cambridge/MA 2005. Kurzman's study based on interviews is directed against classic sociological ex-post explanations.

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The Iranian revolution was an event that did not fit within the logic of the Cold War. Islam seemed to be developing into a new kind of challenge for the West, as well as for the Soviet Union and the Middle East, that was emerging alongside the bipolar world order shaped by the opposition between communism and capitalism. American scholars have interpreted the Iranian revolution as a symbol of "America's Failing Empire" that pointed to the future challenges that might come from radical Islamic movements.[5] The hostage crisis in the U.S. embassy has therefore been referred to in scholarship as "America's first encounter with radical Islam," which proved to be so disastrous in the end because U.S. experts had only seen Iran through the lens of the Cold War and thus underestimated the explosive power of radical Islam.[6] The occupation of the American embassy, following on the heels of the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, was yet another major humiliation for the United States. It forced the Western allies as well as communist and Islamic states (such as Saudi Arabia) to take a much clearer stance towards Iran and Islamism. Furthermore, it indicated that the rules of the game had changed; the diplomatic conventions that had still applied even during the Cold War were now being ignored. And finally, the loss of Iranian oil exports – which amounted to roughly a tenth of the international oil trade – caused a second oil crisis in 1979 that had serious consequences for many Western countries as well as Eastern Europe.

Whereas the Iranian revolution and the hostage crisis play a key role in American collective memory and are an integral part of the narrative of the 1970s as a decade of crisis,[7] their significance in the German context has received little scholarly attention. The fact that contemporary historical research has predominantly focused on classical topics of the Cold War, but also the impression that the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) seemed to have played a rather marginal role in terms of the Iranian revolution may account for this difference. Only a few studies on German-American relations in the late 1970s deal with the events in

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5 See Warren Cohen, America's Failing Empire: U.S. Foreign Relations Since the Cold War, Oxford 2005; Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times, Cambridge 2007, pp. 288–89.

6 This is the key thesis put forth by David R. Faber, Taken Hostage. The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's first Encounter with Radical Islam, Princeton/NJ 2005.

7 See Thomas Borstelmann, The 1970s. A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality, Princeton/NJ 2012, pp. 263–70. On different research perspectives in Germany and the United States, see Frank Bösch, Zweierlei Krisendeutungen: Amerikanische und bundesdeutsche Perspektivierungen der 1970er Jahre, in: Neue Politische Literatur 58 (2014), pp. 217–30.

Tehran and examine the new tensions erupting between the United States and the FRG over the course of the hostage crisis.[8]

However, apart from the United States, West Germany was in fact Iran's most important Western partner in an economic, cultural and political sense in the 1970s. Thus, analyzing how West Germany responded to the transition from the regime of the shah to the equally violent rule of the Islamic clergyman Khomeini promises to be a worthwhile scholarly endeavor.[9] Especially as it took place in the decade of emerging global human rights policies, the Iranian revolution proved to be a key challenge, prompting West German contemporaries to increasingly associate unrestrained violence with Islam.[10] To what extent did the FRG maintain contact with Iran, despite its radical Islam? How could the West German government act as a smart mediator, especially during the hostage crisis?[11]

Close Partners: The Federal Republic of Germany and Iran during the Oil Crises

The close ties between West Germany and Iran were mainly of an economic nature. Before the revolution, the FRG had been Iran's most important trade partner, and this did not change during the revolution or after Khomeini had established his regime. Also, Iran was one of West Germany's major non-European export countries. Even during the time of the hostage crisis in early 1980, almost half of all European Community (EC) exports into Iran bore the label "Made in Germany."[12]

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8 For the most detailed study on this diplomatic maneuvering (with a focus on the United States) to date, see Klaus Wiegrefe, Das Zerwürfnis. Helmut Schmidt, Jimmy Carter und die Krise der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, Berlin 2005, pp. 303–28.

9 For a critical historical overview, see Matthias Küntzel, Die Deutschen und der Iran. Geschichte und Gegenwart einer verhängnisvollen Freundschaft, Berlin 2009.

10 Iran and the Islamic states are hardly mentioned by the numerous accounts of the history of human rights. For a recent account, see Jan Eckel, Die Ambivalenz des Guten. Menschenrechte in der internationalen Politik seit den 1940ern, Göttingen 2014; Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (ed.), Moralpolitik. Geschichte der Menschenrechte im 20. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2010.

11 Particularly rich source material on Iran was found in the records of the Federal Chancellery in Bundesarchiv Koblenz (henceforth: BArch), in the materials already provided to the archives by Helmut Schmidt and in the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (henceforth: PA/AA); the records of the embassy in Iran, which are held separately in the Bundesarchiv, were also highly informative.

12 Statement by Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft, henceforth: BMWi), March 26, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16652.

These close trade relations had evolved over time. Initially, Great Britain had benefited from Iranian oil production. British and Soviet occupation during both world wars, however, fostered increasing discontent directed against both countries. By the beginning of the 1950s, this culminated in the nationalization of the Iranian oil production facilities of the "Anglo-Persian Oil Company" to keep more of the profits within the country. The United States subsequently supported the toppling of the popular Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh in 1953 to secure Western oil production and backed the shah and his faithful General Fazlollah Zahedi from then on. Whereas Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union were met with much skepticism among the Iranian people, (West) Germany had a rather positive image and was seen as a neutral partner because it had not gotten involved in these conflicts.[13]

Accordingly, during the Adenauer era, the young FRG had been able to revive former contacts, making it possible for Germany to become Iran's most important trade partner as early as 1952. West German and American imports were officially given preferential treatment and the West German government supported trade with Iran by offering guarantees and substantial financial aid. Beginning in the 1960s, arms exports to Iran had also increased.[14] German nationals managed companies in Iran and got actively involved in training and education. At the same time, thousands of Iranians came to West Germany to study and to learn. In 1974, this cultural cooperation culminated in the foundation of the German-Iranian University of Gilan. As a result, not only many secular elites, but also many future protagonists of the Islamic revolution had been educated in Western Europe. As the shah had married Soraya Esfandiary Bakhtiari, a German-Iranian, in the 1950s, the German tabloids were fascinated by the "Peacock Throne." For many, Iran appeared to be an oriental fairy tale and a cosmopolitan monarchy at the same time; Soraya became the substitute empress of the Germans.[15] The fact that the shah squandered his wealth on a glamorous jet set lifestyle between Davos and the Côte d'Azur strengthened his

13 On the establishment of relations during the 1920s and 1930s, see Yair P. Hirschfeld, Deutschland und Iran im Spielfeld der Mächte. Internationale Beziehungen unter Reza Schah, 1921–1941, Düsseldorf 1980, pp. 303–08. Küntzel emphasizes the closeness of these ties, see Die Deutschen, p. 43.

14 See Sven Olaf Berggötz, Nahostpolitik in der Ära Adenauer: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen, 1949–1963, Düsseldorf 1998; Küntzel, Die Deutschen, p. 82; Harald Möller, Waffen für Iran und Irak. Deutsche Rüstungsexporte und ihre Querverbindungen zu den ABC Waffenprogrammen beider Länder. Ursachen, Hintergründe, Folgen, Berlin 2006, pp. 54–62.

15 See Simone Derix, Soraya. Die "geliehene Kaiserin" der Deutschen, in: Gerhard Paul (ed.), Das Jahrhundert der Bilder, vol. 2, Göttingen 2008, pp. 186–193.

contacts to Western elites, but also increased contempt towards the monarch *and* the West among the Iranian population.

By the time the shah visited West Berlin in 1967, when the student Benno Ohnesorg was shot dead by a policeman, the authoritarian, violent, and extravagant rule of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi had become public knowledge in the FRG. And yet, economic relations between West Germany and Iran flourished during the 1970s, even under the social-liberal coalition government. The oil crisis of 1973 further improved these good relations, because Iran and Saudi Arabia made an effort to lower oil prices in the following years. Over a year before the revolution, Iran had developed into the largest oil supplier of the Federal Republic, accounting for a fifth of all its oil imports.[16] Vice versa, Iran was also Germany's most important sales market in the "Third World" with annual exports climbing to 6.35 billion DM (*Deutsche Mark*) in 1978. In particular, German machinery and cars as well as electrical and chemical engineering products were shipped to Iran.[17]

The West German government increasingly supported the authoritarian regime militarily even during the decade in which the discussion on human rights was in full swing. Despite the fact that the catchphrase "training assistance" replaced "technical assistance," i.e. the supply of weapons, as of 1974 and deals for tank deliveries were less forthcoming in light of NATO guidelines (although the West German government considered circumventing the restriction by supplying separate tank components), little changed on the whole.[18] Thus, weapons worth about one billion DM were supplied to Iran between 1974 and 1979. Even during the uprising, the shah ordered six submarines and four frigates in 1978 from West German companies, which was welcomed by the federal government.[19] According to a German-Iranian agreement made in 1974, 94 Iranian officers and cadets

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16 On the international development of oil exports, see the lists from November 7, 1978, Dept. 421, Röskau, as well as the memo by Meyer-Landrut for the Federal Minister of Auswärtiges Amt (Federal Foreign Office; henceforth: AA), August 12, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

17 Report by Dept. 213, January 2, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

18 Note by AA, March 21, 1974, in: BArch, B 136/17572. On the export of Leopard tanks to Iran, see the critical reports by Hermes und Lahn, March 1, 1974, in: Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (henceforth: AAPD) 1974, vol. 1, ed. by Hans-Peter Schwarz et al., Munich 2005, doc. 66, pp. 274–75, and the report by Hermes, May 27, 1974, in: ibid., doc. 153, pp. 648–49.

19 See Hermes to German embassy in Tehran, March 7, 1978, in: AAPD 1978, vol. 1, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2009, doc. 71, pp. 354–56. Hermes refers here to a note by Lautenschlager, February 17, 1978, in: ibid., p. 355, footnote 7. This was apparently already common knowledge, see Der Spiegel, March 6, 1978, p. 31; see also Möller, Waffen, p. 62.

were to be trained at the Bundeswehr academy in Munich.[20] Rising oil prices also strengthened the economic ties between the two nations. Moreover, oil-exporting countries such as Iran invested their "petro-dollars" in Western companies. Iran, for instance, bought 25 percent of the Fried. Krupp Hüttenwerke AG (*Aktiengesellschaft*), a German heavy industrial giant with a long history.

The cooperation between Iran and Germany in the still controversial nuclear industry proved to be quite close at that time. Whereas the United States voiced reservations as early as the mid-1970s, the West German government signed the German-Iranian "Agreement for Nuclear Cooperation" on July 4, 1976, which paved the way for supplying Iran with two nuclear plants set up by the Kraftwerk Union AG (KWU). They were supposed to be about the size of the then largest German nuclear power plant in Biblis. With a sum of roughly eight billion DM (other estimates are around eleven billion), this was one of the country's largest export orders with a potential to create about 6,000 new jobs in the FRG alone in the years to come.[21] Also, in Iran, German nationals took part in setting up an Iranian nuclear research center, and the Federal Ministry for Research and Technology financed the consultation provided by the German Society for Nuclear Research (*Gesellschaft für Kernforschung*).[22] Numerous Iranians studied nuclear physics at several European universities, although Iran sought to use this knowledge for civilian as well as military purposes in the long run. In return for this more intensive cooperation, the shah offered to supply more oil to Germany after the first oil crisis.[23]

Accordingly, reports of the Federal Foreign Office on state visits to Iran during the 1970s entailed lengthy remarks on economic and cultural relations, but hardly ever touched human rights issues. The notes on the talks when the minister of economic affairs, Hans Friedrichs (*Freie Demokratische Partei*, FDP) visited the country, for example, only mentioned that the federal government should take action against anti-shah groups operating in Germany.[24] And yet, although West Germany in particular supported the shah's regime economically in a variety of ways, the Iranian population, and even the Islamists, saw Germany as less of an

20 See note by Pagenstert, Vortragender Legationsrat, July 4, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol 2, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2011, doc. 201, pp. 1086–87.
21 Memo by AA, Dept. 413, VS, July 7, 1976, in: BArch, B 136/17572. This is only very briefly mentioned in: Stephan Geier, Schwellenmacht. Bonns heimliche Atomdiplomatie von Adenauer bis Schmidt, Paderborn 2013, p. 326.
22 BMWi to German embassy Tehran, October 28, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/17572.
23 German embassy Tehran, Ritzel, to AA, August 2, 1977, in: ibid.
24 German embassy Tehran, Wieck, to AA, October 21, 1976, in: ibid.

enemy than the United States. It is fair to assume that this was due not least to American involvement in the Israel conflict.

Immediately before the revolution, Iran's oil exports peaked. Its share in the global market amounted to about ten percent, while its share of production within OPEC hit 20 percent. At the time, Iran was the most important oil supplier for many Western countries. As with the FRG, oil from Iran accounted for a fifth of all oil imports in Japan and the Netherlands; Israel and South Africa relied to an even greater extent on Iranian oil. In fact, even in countries that had their own oil reserves such as the United States and Great Britain, Iranian oil accounted for ten and 17 percent of their imports, respectively.[25] After OPEC had already announced a price increase in 1978, the price of oil skyrocketed as of the end of 1978 when Iranian exports ground to a halt in the wake of the protests and strikes in the country – in terms of absolute prices, the cost of oil rose even more dramatically than in the oil crisis of 1973. Even more worrying was the assumption that Saudi Arabia might not be able to increase its oil production and only had enough reserves to last for twenty years.[26] Against this backdrop, the planning staff of the federal government responded very pragmatically to the looming revolution: "our partner is neither the shah nor Khomeini, but the potentially rich country," it stated in a memo to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.[27]

The West and the Rise of the Revolution

Whereas the industrial nations in the West and in the East had come to terms with the regime of the shah, growing waves of protest began to engulf Iran. They were prompted by various economic, cultural, and political factors. A genuine Islamist mobilization directed against Western imperialism and Western culture developed comparably late in the 1960s/1970s. The conflict with Israel also served to further unify Islamists across borders.[28] The "white revolution" of the shah, confirmed in a referendum in 1963, had introduced active and passive female suff-

25 Memo by AA, Dept. 421, Röskau, November 7, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/16650; note for the Chancellor, January 15, 1979, in: ibid.; see Fiona Venn, The Oil Crisis, London 2002, p. 91.
26 Ursula Braun, conversation of experts on Iran, June 22, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
27 Notes to Chancellor Schmidt, Dept. 213, February 6, 1979, and Dept. 311, February 5, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
28 See Fakhreddin Azimi, The Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle against Authoritarian Rule, Cambridge/MA 2008, pp. 339–40; Homa Katouzian, Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power, London 1991, pp. 156–93.

rage, improved secular education, and brought about a land reform, all of which fostered the discontent of the Islamic clergy. But, even during the 1970s, it was mainly the socio-economic situation and political repression that motivated the protests rather than the desire for an Islamic republic. The Iranian people were mainly outraged by the fact that mostly only the rich upper class, and especially the relatives of the shah, seemed to benefit from the growing oil profits while the general cost of living in the country continued to rise. The anger and disgust of the Islamic clergy and religious followers was further fed by the shah's commitment to nationalism and his tendency to break with religious traditions such as in his calendar reform. In addition, the international campaigns for human rights that had begun in the mid-1970s most likely stirred Iranian discontent even more. Organizations such as Amnesty International were not the only ones to criticize the situation in Iran. For example, U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who had been promoting human rights since 1977, openly condemned Iranian torture chambers at an international level, although the Iranian people themselves did not consider human rights issues to be a particularly pressing issue.[29] That said, protests against the shah, such as those in the FRG or the United States in 1977, nonetheless impressed the Iranian public.[30]

The shah responded to the protests in 1978 with a mixture of concessions and violence. He tolerated more political groups and granted more freedom of expression. He also retracted some particularly controversial reforms such as the new calendar, the establishment of casinos, and a ministry for women's affairs that was run by women.[31] Cynically, Western observers regarded these measures as the source of the unrest. A ministerial memo of the government in Bonn noted: "Let us hope that the tempo of the changes will slow down."[32] Similarly, the German embassy in Tehran argued that the "lack of restraint" seen in the streets of Iran reflected the "level of political maturity of the Iranian masses."[33]

At the same time, the regime in Tehran called in the police several times to crack down on the protests in 1978 with brutal violence, resulting in the deaths

29 However, Carter focused primarily on other countries such as South Korea. See Jan Eckel, Schwierige Erneuerung. Die Menschenrechtspolitik Jimmy Carters und der Wandel der Außenpolitik in den 1970ern, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 66 (2015), pp. 5–24.

30 Even the later Vice Prime Minister Tabatabai regarded Carter's human rights policy the main reason for the revolution; conversation Genscher and Tabatabai, March 21, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 1, doc. 88, pp. 496–501, here p. 496.

31 Memo by Montfort to State Secretary, September 7, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

32 Memo by Peterson to State Secretary, August 16, 1978 and memo by Montfort to State Secretary, September 7, 1978, in: ibid.

33 Report by German embassy Tehran to AA, October 17, 1978, in: ibid.

of numerous demonstrators.[34] These concessions and this governmental violence only intensified the protests. In particular, the strikes that hit the oil industry, whose workers demanded higher wages, put the regime in a predicament because they brought the entire economy to a standstill. As more than one million people gathered in the streets on December 11, 1978, the representatives of the movement called on Khomeini to take over the leadership of the country.[35] Due to the strikes, production had sunk down to only a fifth, banks had been destroyed and were no longer solvent, and even German businesses in the country such as BMW and VW dealers reported heavy losses.[36]

In many countries all over the world exiled Iranians also took to the streets in protest. Some 7,000 Islamist opponents of the shah gathered in Frankfurt and hundreds of people were injured in the ensuing fights.[37] When the shah finally fled in the face of these mass protests on January 16, 1979, he left Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar in charge of the government. Bakhtiar tried to save what was already beyond repair by implementing last-minute reforms. The millions of protestors who finally pushed the shah into exile came from very different directions: communists and socialists as well as liberals and moderate Islamic groups had mobilized in opposition. Initially, it was quite unclear which camp would prevail in the end.[38] During this phase of the revolution, it was not the desire for an Islamic state that held things together, but rather objections to the shah, demands for more social justice and a strain of nationalism that was opposed to Western influence and Western profits stemming from Iranian oil.[39]

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34 The body count is not clear: official figures cite 64 fatalities, but Stuti Bhatnagar refers to 600; idem, Revolution in Iran, 1979 – the Establishment of an Islamic State, in: P. K. Kumaraswamy (ed.), Caught in the Crossfire: Civilians in Conflicts in the Middle East, Reading 2008, pp. 95–118, here p. 98.

35 See Nikki R. Keddie, Modern Iran. Roots and Results of Revolution, New Haven/CT 2003, p. 234.

36 Report by AA, November 11, 1978, task force Iran, November 6, 1978, and Ambassador Ritzel, Tehran, January 31, 1979, all in: BArch, B 136/16650.

37 Report by AA, January 13, 1979, in: ibid.

38 All existing accounts emphasize the diversity of the protests, see Peyman Jafari, Der andere Iran. Geschichte und Kultur von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart, Bonn 2010, p. 72; Amir Sheikhzadegan, Die iranische Revolution von 1979. Eine makrosoziologische Analyse, in: Asiatische Studien 59 (2005), pp. 857–78, here p. 871.

39 See Keddie, Modern Iran, p. 212.

Khomeini as the "Lesser Evil"? Islam as a Challenge during the Cold War

On February, 1 1979, Khomeini landed in Tehran. In just a few weeks, he and his Islamic followers were able to take over all major positions of power. This development proved that the governments and elites in the West had profoundly underestimated Khomeini as they were too engrossed in Cold War ideology and too naïve in their prejudices against Islam. Compared to the dynamic politicians of the 1970s, Khomeini seemed to have fallen out of time. As a fragile, grim clergyman without political experience who continued to live in a sparse room at his sister's even after coming to power and who wanted to implement Sharia law, Khomeini was far from what the West imagined as a modern statesman.[40] Accordingly, Western as well as Arabic politicians assumed that he would not be able to hold on to power in the long run, even if he was successful initially, and that his charisma would fade.[41] Even the Saudi Arabian foreign minister described him as a "primitive personality."[42] And Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told the Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat in confidence: "The ayatollahs will not be able to rule the country for long."[43]

However, as early as February, Western governments recognized the provisional government under Mehdi Bazargan spawned by the revolution, despite continuous reports about escalating violence in the streets of Tehran. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher announced at the cabinet meeting on February 14, 1979 "the continuance of friendly relations" and Schmidt sent a congratulatory telegram to Bazargan, whom he judged to be part of the democratic camp.[44] With an underlying anti-American tone, the SPD (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) leadership called for the official recognition of the revolution, claiming that the "shah had been an undemocratic ally of the West."[45] The Federal Foreign Office and the embassy in Tehran, on the other hand, empha-

40 See the biography by Baqer Moin, Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah, New York 2000.

41 German Ambassador, Washington, to AA, January 25, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

42 Record of conversation between Schmidt and Prince Saud, January 19, 1979, in: Archiv der sozialen Demokratie Bonn (henceforth: AdsD), 1/HSAA008825.

43 German-Egyptian governmental talks (between Schmidt and Sadat), March 29, 1979 in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildebrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2010, doc. 94, pp. 421–27, quote p. 427.

44 Brief minutes of the cabinet meeting on February 14, 1979, and speaking note of the Chancellor, February 15, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.

45 Karsten Voigt according to SPD press service, February 12, 1979.

sized with relief that there were not any "left-wing extremists" in the new Iranian cabinet and that Bazargan had gained effective control over the country.[46]

Germany's Western neighbors responded in a similar way. France and Great Britain also recognized the new government, citing anti-communist arguments as justification. The French minister of foreign affairs Jean-François-Poncet commented in a slightly optimistic tone that Khomeini "might not be the best solution for Iran, but he is also not the worst," noting that "the present leaders in Iran are about to get things under control administratively."[47] In a conversation with Chancellor Schmidt, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was even more forthright; as a victory for the leftists would have rendered economic relations with Iran impossible, he hoped "for Khomeini's victory – even though he is rigorous and bloodthirsty – and for a defeat of his opponents as well as the communists."[48] On February 23 the NATO foreign ministers concluded: "only Khomeini has a broad enough base of support among the population. Any other solution would be worse for the West given the current circumstances."[49] The Carter administration also sought to establish relations with the new rulers in good faith. Its trust in the new Prime Minister, Bazargan, helped alleviate some of the reservations against a regime change.[50]

Another factor behind the West's rather benevolent attitude towards the new regime was the general assumption that the Soviet Union hoped for a socialist revolution in Iran and therefore stood to profit from an unstable situation.[51] And indeed, the USSR and its socialist allies such as the German Democratic Republic (GDR) quickly sought to establish good relations with the new Islamist government.[52] A day before Khomeini's return from French exile, *Pravda* sided with the ayatollah and recognized the new government in a move to secure Soviet

46 Report by German embassy Tehran, February 14, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
47 Cited by François-Poncet on February 23, 1979 at Franco-German consultation, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA006730; conversation Genscher with François-Poncet on February 22, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, doc. 50, pp. 214–25, quote p. 223.
48 Conversation protocol Giscard d'Estaing–Schmidt, February 23, 1979, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA006730.
49 Ambassador Pauls, Brussels, to AA, February 21, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, doc. 49, pp. 207–13, quote p. 208.
50 See Christian Emery, US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution: The Cold War Dynamics of Engagement and Strategic Alliance 1978–81, New York 2013, pp. 105–07.
51 See Ambassador Pauls, Brussels, to AA, February 21, 1979, and Ambassador Wieck, Moscow, to AA, March 1, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, doc. 49, pp. 208–11, here p. 208–09, footnote 11; note by Ruhfus, June 29, 1979, in: ibid., doc. 193, pp. 936–39, here p. 938.
52 The good relationship with the Islamic Republic was praised, for instance, see Neues Deutschland, April 3, 1979, p. 1, and April 9, 1979, p. 1.

influence.[53] Anti-Americanism proved to be a link between the two regimes and *Pravda,* as the mouthpiece of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), blamed the United States for the deaths at the last mass demonstrations. In the Western bloc, fears arose that the Soviets would encircle the Persian Gulf from Ethiopia across South Yemen to Afghanistan – and therefore half of the world's oil reserves – ultimately gaining access to the Strait of Hormuz.[54] The Soviet Union in fact demanded the right to have a say in the Gulf region and urged the Americans to show restraint.[55] Although the Soviet Union delighted in the fact that Iran had broken with the United States, it was also plagued by concerns over the spread of Islamism quite close to its southern Muslim regions.[56] The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan later on was also a response to this destabilizing process and, at the same time, it confirmed Western fears of Soviet expansion in this oil-producing region.

In addition to anti-communism, economic interests played a key role in the swift international recognition of the revolution. The internal assessments of the Federal Foreign Office immediately after Khomeini's return to Tehran clearly indicated this: whoever governs, one report noted, "Iran is and will remain an oil exporter. [...] It is of pivotal importance for the West that Iran will not drift off into the Soviet sphere of influence."[57] The German ambassador in Tehran was equally clear when he told Ezzatollah Sahabi, a member of the Council of the Islamic Revolution and head of the economic planning office that "we need foreign trade partners, as well as Iran, for that matter, and foreign politics should not be weighed against moral principles."[58] The West wanted to paint the revolution in Iran in a positive light to secure economic relations, especially since oil prices had already been skyrocketing and the debate on the NATO Dual Track Decision had aggravated Cold War tensions. Accordingly, Deputy Prime Minister Sadegh Tabatabai travelled to Bonn several times in early 1979, where he met with officials such as the Federal Minister of Economic Affairs and the State Secretary

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53 Analysis of Soviet press coverage, AA, January 31, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16650. See the summary of Pravda articles by the correspondent of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ): Moskau blickt mit gemischten Gefühlen nach Iran, in: FAZ, January 13, 1979, p. 12.

54 Memo by AA, Dept. 405, January 29, 1980, in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 126878; AA, Dept. 405, May 29, 1980, in: ibid.

55 German embassy Moscow to AA, March 1, 1980, Breshnev's speech, in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 126878.

56 See Ambassador von Staden, Washington, to AA, February 8, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, doc. 33, pp. 149–53, here p. 152.

57 AA, Dept. 311, situation in Iran, February 6, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.

58 German embassy Tehran, March 20, 1979, in: ibid.

of the Ministry of the Interior to talk about establishing a new intelligence service and joint efforts to combat terrorism.[59]

Khomeini's skillful media policy that simultaneously threatened the global public while signaling a willingness to compromise facilitated his acceptance in the West. Khomeini had stepped onto the global political stage just a few months before he came into power in the fall of 1978. While still in exile in Paris, he gave about 130 interviews in a very short period of time. At times, hundreds of journalists were waiting in front of his house to catch him on his walks.[60] When his plane landed in Tehran on February 1, 1979, some 150 journalists from all over the world were on board, among them ZDF (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*; German public TV broadcaster) reporter Peter Scholl-Latour and *Der Spiegel* (weekly political magazine) correspondent Volkhard Windfuhr.[61] His advisors had established a relation of trust with some of these reporters, including Scholl-Latour, who came to act as mediators.[62] Consequently, the world's press elevated Khomeini to a leading figure within Iran as well as within international politics.

Before he had come into power, Khomeini had already announced to the media that he would renegotiate economic agreements initiated under the shah – for instance Iranian investments in Krupp companies and orders for German submarine and nuclear power plants – this information was immediately passed on to the West German Foreign Office by the correspondent of the German tabloid *Bild*.[63] Khomeini kept emphasizing that he would use Iranian oil as a political weapon: Israel and Egypt would no longer receive oil supplies, and all other countries would have to pay a "fair price," indicating a substantial spike in prices.[64] In most interviews, Khomeini promised to steer away from both the United States

59 Ritzel to AA, May 20, 1979 and June 29, 1979, in: PA/AA, B 150.
60 See Moin, Khomeini, p. 192. His daughter also remembers that Khomeini continuously listened to the news on the radio: Robin Wright, The Last Great Revolution: Turmoil and Transformation in Iran, New York 2000, p. 49.
61 See Shaul Bakhash, The Reign of the Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution, New York 1984, p. 49. As Amir Taheri recalls, Khomeini did not talk with Iranian journalists, see idem, The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution, London 1985, p. 205. The figures of journalists on the plane differ, some mention up to 200, see Carole Jerome, Back to the Veil, in: New Internationalist, September 1, 1980.
62 He expanded on this later in detail, see Peter Scholl-Latour, Allah ist mit den Standhaften. Begegnungen mit der islamischen Revolution, Stuttgart 1983, pp. 95–96.
63 AA, Dept. 421, Röskau, November 7, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/16650. Khomeini's statements were also collected in the United States, see Congress of the United States/Joint Economic Committee (eds.), Economic consequences of the revolution in Iran: A Compendium of Papers, Washington, D.C. 1980, here p. 226.
64 Memo by AA, January 7, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

and the Soviet Union. He indicated that he would respect the United States – as long as the Americans left the country and refrained from interfering in its affairs – as well as the Soviet Union, but not form a government with Marxists.

At the same time, Khomeini also appeared in interviews as a surprisingly moderate politician willing to compromise. He frequently used the language of democracy, human rights, and social justice, distancing himself from the undemocratic regime of the shah. Shortly before his return to Tehran, he and his advisors promised free elections, freedom of the press, and a constitution, but insisted that Islamic criteria would apply to the selection of candidates.[65] Women, they claimed, would not be excluded from public life. These signs of compromise enabled him to unify very different political protest groups under his leadership after his return to Iran.

Such compromises can also help explain why the West misjudged the change of power in Iran. With Bazargan, Khomeini appointed a Prime Minister who was rooted in both the Islamic and secular resistance movements against the shah but belonged to the more liberal-leaning Islamist camp. This Tehrani professor, who had studied engineering in France and fought in the French army, was considered to be respectable even among Western diplomats. The West German ambassador in Iran saw him as "guarantor of the hope that a non-violent and largely consensual solution can be worked out." According to him, it was still unclear whether Khomeini sought to institute a theocratic state or a democracy.[66] The cabinet in Tehran included representatives of various protest movements, who also expressed moderate opinions in early diplomatic talks. For instance, Hassan Nahsi, a member of the Council of the Islamic Revolution and Bazargan's confidant, promised Bonn diplomats that the future republic would be Islamic in name only and "would look to align itself with the liberal ideas of the Western world."[67]

However, as early as March 1979, it became very clear that Western politicians had been just as mistaken as their Soviet counterparts, whose hopes soon burst. The Iranian Marxists were not able to reach and mobilize peasants. It did not help that they were also widely seen as Soviet henchmen.[68] Khomeini established the Islamic Republic with feigned democratic concessions, populist promises, and sheer force. He initiated the regime change by calling a referendum in

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65 See Khomeini's interview with Der Spiegel correspondent Windfuhr: "Ich bin der Sprecher dieses Volkes," in: Der Spiegel, January 22, 1979, pp. 110–11.

66 Ambassador Tehran to AA, February 5, and February 6, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.

67 Ambassador Tehran to AA, February 14, 1979, in: ibid.

68 See Maziar Behrooz, Rebels With A Cause: The Failure of the Left in Iran, London 2000, pp. 138–51.

which 98 percent voted in favor of an Islamic Republic as opposed to a monarchy. The referendum did not offer other options such as a Western-style democracy or a socialist republic. Khomeini adopted a similar approach when it came to the new constitution, which he also put to a referendum. While it contained several democratic elements designed to integrate different political groups, the constitution also cemented the hegemony of the clergy. It established Islamic law as the foundation of the legal system and placed the political and religious leadership of the country firmly in the hands of the deputy of the Twelfth Imam, which de facto ensured Khomeini's position.[69] The constitution created a dual structure of religious power and secular government in which the clergy only permitted select candidates to run for office.[70]

In addition, Khomeini also made populist promises to garner support. He announced a "Foundation for the Oppressed" funded with the assets of the shah and his followers that was to support the poor lower class. A land reform was also introduced with the intention of turning destitute agricultural workers into independent farmers who were supposed to form cooperatives.[71] With an eye to the important bazaar merchants, Khomeini also emphasized the protection of private property. At the same time, the restructuring of state and society was carried out with violence. Revolutionary courts and Islamic guards publicly executed political opponents. People's militias took over police stations and barracks. As a result, numerous weapons were circulating throughout the streets, fueling the violence and choking off resistance.[72] In addition to all the people killed in the streets, hundreds were executed after speedy trials that were closed to the public, which targeted former politicians, followers of the shah, military officers, and police commissioners in particular.[73] Whereas the general population tolerated the execution of police chiefs responsible for torturing opponents under the shah regime, the execution of ex-Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda was not met with unequivocal approval in Iran.[74]

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69 For an overview of the constitution, see Ervand Abrahamian, A History of Modern Iran, Cambridge 2014, pp. 163–65. The return of the Twelfth Imam is a key element of Shiite religion. Until his return, the Iranian constitution of 1979 stipulates a representative government by the clergy.

70 See Keddie, Modern Iran, pp. 242–43; Azimi, Quest, p. 414.

71 See Abrahamian, History of Modern Iran, pp. 179–80.

72 See Philipp W. Fabry, Zwischen Schah und Ayatollah. Ein Deutscher im Spannungsfeld der Iranischen Revolution, Gießen 1983, pp. 30, 36–37.

73 See Abrahamian, Modern Iran, p. 181.

74 See Botschaftsrat Strenziok, Tehran, to AA, April 9, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, doc. 103, pp. 463–64.

The Western states still tried to maintain (or establish) close ties with Iran, but by March 1979 they were also at least protesting against the executions of former political leaders whom they had courted shortly before. The West German government also responded with indignation, in particular regarding the death sentence on the longstanding head of government Hoveyda. Regardless of such protests, he was executed on April 8 on the grounds that he had, among other things, supplied Israel and the United States with oil for their wars.[75] Diplomatic attempts to intervene at this point were rather toothless. The ambassadors of France, Ireland and West Germany met with Bazargan and presented a confidential demarche of the EC states demanding at least proper trials.[76] However, significant protests or sanctions were not yet imposed.

The Islamic Republic curtailed many human rights, which politicians and social movements had fought for worldwide during the 1970s. This was especially true for women's rights. As early as March, women were no longer allowed to serve on courts, and moral committees began to monitor dress code and behavior, which de facto forced women to wear the chador. Husbands were granted authority over their wives and the right to divorce them, and the legal age for marriage was lowered gradually to nine years. Finally, women were even denied the right to testify as equals before a court of law. In May 1979, co-educational schools were abolished and married women were prohibited from attending schools.[77] Numerous secular schools and universities had to close, because non-Islamic studies were seen as a gateway for Western values.[78] Teaching materials were "cleansed" and history rewritten, while freedom of the press, which had been fought for and hard-won during the revolution, began to disappear, thanks in part to self-censorship.

Thus, the Iranian revolution was a difficult challenge for the political Left in the West. Not surprisingly, the Left was generally skeptical of such a religious regime that far exceeded the pope in terms of conservatism. And yet, some leftists were sympathetic to the anti-American, anti-consumption, and revolutionary character of the new Iranian regime. In February 1979, for example, Joschka Fischer praised the Islamic Revolution in the journal *Pflasterstrand*, because "it is also opposed to the infiltration of consumerist atheism coming from Western industrialized societies."[79] In a way, the political Left saw the revolution in Iran

75 See ibid., p. 463; memo, March 16, 1979 and April 9, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651. On the American perspective, see Con Coughlin, Khomeini's Ghost. Iran since 1979, London 2009, p. 155.
76 German embassy Tehran, April 30, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
77 See Bhatnagar, Revolution, in: Kumaraswamy (ed.), Caught in the Crossfire, pp. 106–07.
78 These difficult to verify figures come from: ibid., p. 109.
79 Joschka [Fischer], Durchs wilde Kurdistan, in: Pflasterstrand no. 47 (1979), pp. 28–31, here p. 31.

as a romanticized version of what they had not been able to achieve at home. Some West German journalists initially sang the same tune. The TV reporter Gordian Troller (Radio Bremen) compiled a favorable documentary for the ARD (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*; German public TV broadcaster) that spoke of a cultural revolution "against a foreign lifestyle that would bring impoverishment," given that only multi-national companies had made money. According to his film, the Islamists wanted "to abolish the fever of consumerism that is reflected in this traffic chaos," noting that panic only reigned in "upscale neighborhoods." Troller underpinned these statements with lengthy moral speeches by Khomeini.[80] Drawing on an analysis of the minutes of the "Bergedorf discussion group" and the contributions to a conference of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Matthias Küntzel has shown that even West German intellectuals and scholars shared this romanticized view of Iran.[81]

However, not all leftist intellectuals were deceived. The liberal-left journal *Der Spiegel* reported very critically right from the beginning on violence and deprivation of rights in Iran and condemned the excesses in detailed cover stories to a greater extent than most politicians. Writers such as Munir D. Ahmed predicted that "the Islamic state" would be a "mixture of Fascist state ideology and practices of a late medieval absolutist state" that discriminated against women and non-Muslims.[82] The hostage crisis in the American embassy shortly thereafter only served to reinforce this impression. Amnesty International in particular published critical reports on the revolutionary courts describing the bloody punishments in great detail.[83]

As Edward Said pointed out immediately after the Iranian revolution in reference to British media coverage, "Islam" became a generalized phrase that disregarded the diversity within the Arab world. The Middle East appeared to merely consist of mosques, the praying masses, and a violent threat against the West – an anachronistic counterpart to democratic modernity.[84] In the West German public, observers

80 See Eine Verteufelte Revolution – Iran 1979 – Persien kurz nach der Revolution, ARD 1979, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ecYdqarp15g [accessed March 12, 2012].

81 See Küntzel, Die Deutschen und der Iran, pp. 159–62.

82 Islam. Hoffnung in den Übermenschen, in: Der Spiegel, April 9, 1979, pp. 160–68, here p. 162; see also Der Spiegel, February 12, 1979.

83 See Amnesty International, A Report Covering Events Within the Seven Month Period Following the Revolution of February 1979, London 1979.

84 See Edward W. Said, Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World, rev. ed., London 1997, p. 6; see the foreword to the new edition, in: ibid., p. xvi, xxvi.

and commentators also dramatized the spread of Islam. *Der Spiegel*, for instance, wrote: "In all the countries between Morocco and Indonesia, the teachings of the Prophet are gaining ground."[85] Prior to this point, the Turkish "guest workers" had hardly been seen as part of the Islamic world.[86] Over the course of the Iranian revolution, left-leaning journalists noted that mosques, Koran schools, and "radical sects" such as the Suleymanicilar movement were even infiltrating West Germany, which connected Islam with the rising fear of sects and gurus. Such reports spoke of some 1.4 million Muslims in the FRG and quoted senior German trade union officials as fearing an "Islamic state within the state." *Die Zeit* (the German weekly newspaper) even headlined: "Khomeini's arm stretches as far as Hamburg."[87]

Women's rights advocates within the circles of the so-called "new social movements" also sought to intervene. Prominent feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir protested with manifestos; numerous Western women's rights activists traveled to Iran to demonstrate against increasing discrimination and to make the violence against women public. The German feminist Alice Schwarzer also flew to Tehran in mid-March 1979 to support Iranian women. Again, the regime signaled its willingness to enter talks. The hastily established "International Committee for the Protection of Women's Rights" was personally received by Khomeini and Bazargan.[88] And yet, the "spring of freedom" ended in March 1979. The American feminist Kate Millett was expelled from Iran; others left with the feeling that there was not much that could be done to stop the repression of women. Thus, the hope that it would be possible to ensure human rights everywhere in a globalized world with the help of an international public disintegrated.

The Hostage Crisis and Delayed Sanctions

With the hostage crisis in the American embassy in Tehran, radical Islam presented a new kind of challenge to the Western world. Roughly 400 Iranian students stormed the building on November 4, 1979 and took 66 American embassy staff

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85 On the portrayal of Islam in Der Spiegel, see the issues cited, December 11, 1978, pp. 152–53; February 12, 1979, pp. 103–06; April 9, 1979, p. 164.
86 Ulrich Herbert has also pointed out this connection, see idem, Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge, Munich 2001, p. 260.
87 See Der Spiegel, January 7, 1980, pp. 38–43; Die Zeit, August 27, 1979, p. 5.
88 See Janet Afary/Kevin B. Anderson, Foucault and the Iranian Revolution, Gender and the Seductions of Islamism, Chicago/IL 2005, pp. 112–17; for reports of the feminists' experiences, see Um ihre Hoffnungen betrogen, in: Die Zeit, March 20, 1979; Emma, May 1979.

hostage.[89] Originally, they had only intended to occupy the embassy for a few days,[90] but the hostage situation turned into one of the longest lasting and most dramatic events of its kind in history. It took 444 days and several international sanctions, negotiations, and concessions, until the hostages, numbering then only 52, were finally released.

From early on, it was clear that the revolutionary protests and the new regime presented a potential danger to Western nationals. According to estimates, roughly 55,000 Americans and 13,000 people with West German passports were in Iran in late 1978.[91] Most of the Germans worked for major export projects, in particular for "Hochtief" and KWU Siemens, and to a lesser extent for Babcock and Zimmer AG. As early as December 1978, 1,400 Germans left the country, some because German schools had been closed.[92] From late 1978, a few Western nationals were murdered in isolated incidents.[93] After Khomeini's return, numerous roadblocks and roadside checks, in particular close to the airport, created an atmosphere of permanent intimidation. Since it was first and foremost the Americans who were the object of hatred, many Germans profited from being able to point out their German nationality, even though this sometimes led to comments such as "Germany, Hitler, very good."[94]

Internal documents confirm that the West German government, just like other Western countries, began to prepare for the evacuation of its nationals in November 1978. Lufthansa was instructed to keep some of its larger aircraft on stand-by. The government also looked into increasing the frequency of flights leaving the country and potential connections via neighboring countries. Additionally, it considered an evacuation across the Caspian Sea with Soviet support as well as a military airlift coordinated with Western allies.[95] The West German Foreign

89 Six hostages were able to escape to the Canadian embassy and were brought out of the country by the CIA. Thirteen hostages, mostly women and African Americans, were released after two weeks.

90 According to one of the leading hostage-takers in an interview, see Ulrich Encke, Vom Kaiserreich zum Gottesstaat. Reportagen aus 30 Jahren iranischer Revolution, Norderstedt 2010, p. 103.

91 Memo, Multinational Evacuation, in: BArch, B 136/16650. Figures vary widely depending on the source.

92 Report by Oldenkott for the Chancellor, December 7, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

93 On December 23, 1978, the American oil manager Paul Grimm was killed. German embassy Tehran, January 7, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16650.

94 See the report by the journalist Volkhard Windfuhr, Wann kommt der Schah eigentlich zurück?, in: Der Spiegel, February 19, 1979, p. 112.

95 Report by German embassy Tehran to AA, November 2, 1978, task force Iran, November 6 and 28, 1978, report by Oldenkott for the Chancellor, December 7, 1978, all in: BArch, B 136/16650. See also the note by Meyer-Landrut, January 10, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 1, doc. 8, pp. 43–46.

Office opted for the strategy of encouraging Germans to leave the country without making an official announcement. It recommended that its nationals refrain from making public statements, even on the shah, so as not to worsen the situation of German nationals in Iran or jeopardize the relatively good relations between the two countries.[96] In early January, an additional 3,000 Germans left, some of them with extra Lufthansa planes and military aircraft from Canada. Even before Khomeini's return, half of the Germans living in Iran had left. Nevertheless, the regular daily flights still had empty seats, because many Germans were convinced that things would get back to normal again soon.[97] After Khomeini's return, the West German government prepared for the worst: two Boeing 707s were kept on stand-by, blood reserves were stored, and two Transall planes carrying specialists from the *Bundesgrenzschutz* (national border control) flew to Cyprus.[98] Following Khomeini's triumph in February, a British-German-American-French task force specified the plans to evacuate 20,000 people: 4,800 West Germans, 8,411 Americans and Japanese citizens if there were any empty seats left.[99] Although, officially-speaking, Western politicians seemed to be unruffled by the regime change and some even greeted it as the lesser of two evils, they were nonetheless highly aware of the severity of the situation behind closed doors.

In mid-February 1979, a radical group had already occupied the U.S. American embassy in Tehran. Yet Khomeini, who wanted to be seen as the guardian of the new order by the international public, persuaded them to leave. Several threats had been made against foreign nationals prior to the fall of 1979, but their situation seemed to stabilize on the whole. Businessmen began to travel to Iran again, especially because Iranian oil had slowly started to flow again and the country's relations with European trade partners were stabilized. In summer 1979, KWU/Siemens actually withdrew from the largest German project, the nearly completed nuclear power plant in Bushehr that is still controversial even today, citing the economically and politically unstable situation as well as Khomeini's lack of support for nuclear power.[100] Other major projects awarded to German companies, however, were confirmed, such as a refinery in Isfahan (Thyssen), a thermal

96 Report by AA, November 10, 1978, in: BArch, B 136/16650.
97 Memo, January 3 and 4, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16650.
98 Evacuation plan Iran, February 11, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
99 Memo, February 14, 1979, in: ibid.
100 The nuclear plant was bombed in the Iraq War and rebuilt in the 1990s with Soviet help. It remained controversial due to Iran's suspected nuclear weapons program, see Mehdi Askarieh, A case for Sustainable Development of Nuclear Energy and a Brief Account of Iran's Nuclear Program, in: Homa Katouzian/Hossein Shahidi (eds.), Iran in the 21st Century: Politics, Economics & Conflict, New York 2007, pp. 181–93.

power plant in Neka (BBC/German Babcock), and treatment facilities for Tehran's water supply (Lar-Tunnel-Konsortium Huta Hegerfeld), amounting to a total of three billion DM.[101]

But the situation changed in October 1979, when the United States allowed Reza Pahlavi, who was suffering from severe cancer, to enter the country for treatment; Henry Kissinger facilitated his visit, alongside David and Nelson Rockefeller, who had close business ties to Iran.[102] The Islamists in Iran wanted to put him on trial and demanded his extradition. When the Americans did not comply, hatred against the United States flared up again. Rumors circulated that the Americans were preparing a coup such as the one in 1953 to reinstate the shah. American flags went up in flames and the U.S. embassy in Tehran was the target of anti-American protests; ultimately, students stormed and occupied the building.

The occupation of the embassy radicalized the restructuring of the Islamic Republic and signified a clear rupture between Islamism and the Western world. Although it had not been initiated by Khomeini, he clearly tolerated the situation and – unlike the occupation in February 1979 – made no effort to put an end to it. At the same time, he took advantage of the occupation of the embassy to strengthen his position in the power struggle over the shape of the Islamic Republic and the referendum on the constitution.[103] In the months prior to this, moderate government representatives such as Prime Minister Bazargan had advocated limiting the power of the clergy to a certain extent. However, the new revolt against the United States had strengthened the influence of the Islamists and their power on the streets. When Khomeini did nothing to end the crisis, Bazargan resigned immediately and a new government was formed, weakening the moderate camp.

Officially, the Iranian Foreign Office justified the occupation by stating that it was, in fact, not an embassy that had been taken hostage, but a CIA-spy nest and the "true power center of Iran."[104] When the occupiers were actually able to identify some Iranian informants of the Americans, the hatred directed against the United States was further fueled and conspiracy theories gained ground. Similar to what happened in Vietnam and later Mogadishu, the United States was

101 Dept. 311, situation in Iran, October 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
102 See James A. Bill, The Eagle and the Lion. The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations, New York 1988, p. 322.
103 See Christian Emery, The Transatlantic and Cold War Dynamics of Iran Sanctions, 1979–80, in: Cold War History 10 (2010), pp. 371–96.
104 Press release of the Foreign Office of the Islamic Republic of Iran, November 10, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.

humiliated in the global visual media: blindfolded members of the embassy staff dragged before running cameras revealed to the whole world the superpower's vulnerability and the strength of the Islamic revolution.[105]

American embassies in many Islamic countries became the target of violent protests. Especially when Khomeini declared on the radio that the United States was to blame for the seizure of the Great Mosque of Mecca on November 20, 1979 (for which radical Islamists were actually responsible), violence erupted across borders. The U.S. embassies in Islamabad and Tripoli were burnt to the ground. This radicalized conflict spread to other Western countries, including West Germany. On the day after the occupation, Iranian demonstrators gathered in front of the U.S. embassy in Bonn, which had to be placed under constant police protection. American police had to intervene at demonstrations in Washington to separate protesters against and in favor of Iran. In London, arrested Iranian demonstrators went on hunger strikes, which increased fears about the fates of fellow Britons in Iran.[106]

In fact, the British embassy was occupied for a short while as well.[107] The West German embassy in Tehran also received a threat on November 10, 1979. It promised that the embassy would be spared if a letter was made public on TV that, among other things, condemned the applications for asylum submitted by followers of the shah.[108] For the time being, the German embassy staff stayed at home, as instructed by Federal Foreign Minister Genscher, and the embassy operated with minimum staff. The West German Foreign Office also ordered the destruction of files, and especially anything related to personal data. On the same day, the embassy advised German nationals in Iran – about 1,900 had remained – to leave the country, quietly and without raising suspicion. In a somewhat convoluted way, it spoke of a "cautious thinning out" and recommended that its citizens should definitely reveal themselves as German nationals in light of the rampant anti-Americanism in the country.[109] The ambassador urged officials at home in the FRG to abstain from making critical statements, because this might have fatal consequences for the Germans in Iran.[110] The German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, on the other hand, assessed the situation as less dan-

105 See the ABC news broadcast, November 11, 1979, www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8bC1DEYbI4 [accessed February 6, 2017].
106 Report by German embassy London, August 6, 1980, in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 137623.
107 Report by British embassy Bonn, November 9, 1980, in: ibid.
108 Dept. 114, November 6, 1979, and Dept. 213, November 8, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
109 See daily reports by Ambassador Ritzel, Tehran, November 11, 12, 15 and 16, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.
110 Ritzel, November 18, 1979, in: ibid.

gerous, and several representatives of German companies wanted to stay. At the same time, Iranian politicians tried to placate the embassies of other countries, claiming that they were not in danger as they were not hotbeds of espionage. Ayatollah Nouri and some of his followers even visited Western embassies in Tehran and presented flowers of friendship in front of running TV cameras, which was accepted as a gesture of goodwill.[111] With such acts, the new regime tried to divide the Western world.

Mediation attempts were also made at different levels. Condemnations issued by the International Court of Justice and the UN's attempts at negotiation under Secretary General Kurt Waldheim were unsuccessful. The stricter economic sanctions that the United States introduced against Iran, however, proved to be more successful over the long run. Especially effective was the freezing of Iranian assets in the United States on November 14, which amounted to a total of twelve billion dollars. Officially, this course of action was described as capital protection; in reality the American government needed to gain some leverage.[112] This measure was met with resentment in the entire Arab world, because the United States had been considered to be a safe place to invest "petro-dollars" up to this point, but now it seemed that political conflicts could jeopardize these investments. In addition, the U.S. government banned Iranian oil imports.

The West German government also responded immediately to the events in the American embassy, but rather hesitantly. As of November 6, 1979, governmental guarantees for export businesses were no longer granted and the export of military materials was stopped.[113] The government also promised to urge German companies to refrain from supplying Iran with spare parts and to keep buying Iranian oil in U.S. dollars and under OPEC conditions. At the same time, banks were advised to cease setting up new Iranian accounts and to stop making gestures of goodwill in the event of delay or default of payment.[114] In sum, the FRG, just like other Western European states, opted for softer recommendations instead of making harsh cuts.

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111 Ritzel, November 18, 1979, and cabinet note, in: ibid.

112 Russell Moses interprets this step as more of a punishment for Iran and a move to protect the U.S. dollar, see idem, Freeing the Hostages. Reexamining U.S.-Iranian Negotiations and Soviet Policy, 1979–1981, Pittsburgh/PA 1996, pp. 35–36.

113 Conversation with Secretary of State Vance on December 11, 1979, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA008875. This does not support Emery's interpretation that the Federal Republic initially saw the Iran crisis as a merely regional conflict, see idem, Transatlantic and Cold War, p. 382.

114 Preparations for talk with Secretary of State Vance on December 11, 1979, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA008875; Dept. 311, January 3, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16652.

The question of how to respond to the hostage crisis increasingly divided the Western world and exacerbated the already tense relations between Western Europe and the United States.[115] The Americans called on their NATO partners to impose drastic sanctions and put real pressure on Iran. In a phone conversation as early as November 20, President Carter urged Chancellor Schmidt to close the embassy or at least to reduce the embassy staff. Schmidt declined, citing the need to ensure the security of his fellow Germans in Iran.[116] In late March, the Chancellor warned President Carter that “hasty actions would be counterproductive” and complicate negotiations. The German ambassador in Tehran agreed.[117] They both hinted at an American military rescue mission, which the Western Europeans feared would further escalate the situation. The minutes of the conversations between Schmidt, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Giscard illustrate that the Western European states and Germany in particular were not at all interested in breaking off economic relations with the new regime or even freezing Iranian assets.[118] Ultimately, it was the fear that oil prices would spike even further if sanctions were introduced that remained foremost in their minds.[119]

Negotiations on sanctions were further hampered by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979. The United States demanded joint sanctions against the Soviet Union in response. But, given that both cases involved important trade partners of the FRG who supplied the country with oil and gas, West Germany stood to suffer itself from such sanctions. In 1979, West Germany was still one of Iran’s most important trade partners, although its exports to Iran had declined by two thirds compared to the previous year.[120] Despite all reservations against a true embargo, Schmidt emphasized that the FRG was bound to show solidarity should a joint course of action among the Allies prove to be necessary. A hand-

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115 See in detail on diplomatic maneuvering, Wiegrefe, Zerwürfnis, pp. 303–28.

116 Memo cabinet meeting, November 20, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16652.

117 Schmidt to Carter, March 29, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 1, doc. 95, pp. 528–30, quote p. 529; Ministerialdirektor to Chancellor Schmidt (Bundeskanzler; henceforth: BK) in preparation for talks with Secretary of State Vance, December 11, 1979, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA008875.

118 Conversation Schmidt with Thatcher on May 9, 1980, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA006756; conversation Schmidt with U.S. Secretary of State Christopher on January 16, 1980, recorded by von Staden, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 1, doc. 15, pp. 89–91, here p. 91. Consulted documents do not confirm that Margaret Thatcher was in favor of sanctions, as Emery argues based on media source material, see Emery, Transatlantic and Cold War, p. 384.

119 See conversation Schmidt with Secretary of State Christopher on January 16, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 1, doc. 15, p. 92.

120 List BMWi, March 26, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16652.

written annotation by the Chancellor on the letter of the ambassador in Tehran warning against sanctions reads: "Ritzel is right. 1.) That's how we have argued towards Washington – but the United States will decide – not us. 2.) Ritzel has to be told why we (only that far – not any further) have officially shown solidarity with the United States in terms of Iran."[121] The first NATO state to show genuine solidarity by breaking off trade relations with Iran was, of all countries, Portugal, one of the poorest American allies, despite the fact that it had imported a sixth of its oil supplies from Iran in 1978.[122]

The Cold War clearly continued to shape such decision-making processes. The Western European countries argued that in the event of an economic boycott, the Soviet Union and its allies would step in and try to tie another country to the Eastern bloc after having invaded Afghanistan.[123] Neither the Soviets nor China officially condemned the hostage situation immediately after the occupation of the embassy. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrej Gromyko even emphasized in a conversation with Helmut Schmidt on November 23, 1979 "that the Soviet Union is very much in favor of everything labeled as 'Iranian revolution'"; nobody was supposed to interfere.[124] As expected, the Soviet Union voted against economic sanctions in the UN Security Council and tried to further its relations with Iran by concluding trade agreements. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, however, posed an obstacle to rapprochement. After the first sanctions were introduced in November, the GDR declared that it, along with its allies, could provide Iran with everything that was needed. With Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski in charge, East Germany began supplying Iran with more and more trucks and weapons as of 1980; amounting to a total of 477 million Valuta Marks between 1981 and 1983 alone; it also provided support for training programs. Accordingly, the GDR received even more oil from Tehran after the revolution.[125]

Beginning in January 1980, schemes for a military mission to rescue the hostages were being bandied about. The West German and British governments were

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121 Ritzel to AA, January 19, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16654.

122 German embassy Lisbon, February 18, 1980, in: ibid.

123 Dept. 311, January 3, 1980 and list BMWi, March 26, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16652.

124 Conversation Schmidt with Gromyko on November 23, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 2, doc. 344, pp. 1770–84, quote p. 1775; German embassy Washington to AA, November 24, 1979, in: BArch, B136/16652.

125 See Harald Möller, DDR und Dritte Welt. Die Beziehungen der DDR mit Entwicklungsländern. Ein neues theoretisches Konzept, dargestellt anhand der Beispiele China und Äthiopien sowie Irak/Iran, Berlin 2004, pp. 226–36, 433, 437; idem, Waffen, pp. 70–78; Klaus Storkmann, Geheime Solidarität: Militärbeziehungen und Militärhilfen der DDR in die "Dritte Welt," Berlin 2012, pp. 93–106; Emery, Transatlantic and Cold War, p. 378.

against this plan because they feared that it might lead to lasting resentment within the Islamic world.[126] However, on April 25, 1980, the United States unilaterally sent in eight helicopters to try to free the hostages. This rescue attempt ended in disaster. Although the Carter administration had not officially informed its Western allies in advance, it had indeed consulted with them.[127] The president wanted to demonstrate that he was capable of action; but the embarrassing failure of the mission only strengthened his Republican opponent in the next election, Ronald Reagan.[128] It also symbolized the weakness of the superpowers in the face of such new Islamic challenges. Whereas Iran and the socialist countries responded with derision, the West German public complained that the embarrassing rescue mission had been carried out unilaterally and would aggravate global political tensions.[129] The failed rescue attempt did in fact hamper access to the hostages, who were transferred to different locations.

In the end, only tougher sanctions and informal negotiations were able to resolve this political standoff. One day before the rescue attempt, the EC countries agreed to impose sanctions if the hostages had not been released by May 17. They reiterated time and time again that they would be more deeply affected by these sanctions than Iran itself.[130] The plan was also to reduce the number of diplomats and ban arms exports prior to this deadline. However, these economic sanctions only applied to *new* contracts that had been made after the hostage crisis and not to older agreements; sanctions against these older contracts would have been genuinely economically detrimental for Iran and the EC countries.[131]

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126 Memo and conversation Christopher with Genscher, January 16, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 470; conversation Schmidt with Thatcher on May 9, 1980, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA006756; Ritzel to AA, March 18, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 475.

127 According to accessible documents, this came as a surprise to the Germans; German embassy Washington, April 25, 1980 and April 28, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16653; intelligence source material indicated that the Soviets would have tolerated a military solution, see directive Vestring, December 4, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 2, doc. 360, p. 1838, footnote 3. Kissinger requested that no critical statements should be made, despite the fact or because no information was given in advance. Thatcher, however, was likely informed, see Wiegrefe, Zerwürfnis, p. 322.

128 On the impact in the United States, see Edward D. Berkowitz, Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies, New York 2006, p. 222.

129 AdsD, HA/HSAA009140.

130 Declaration of the foreign ministers of the nine states on Iran, April 22, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16652; memo for cabinet meeting, May 14, 1980, and May 21, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/30561.

131 Federal Minister for Economic Affairs Lambsdorff actively – albeit unsuccessfully – supported exemption limits to be implemented in the new agreements; room documents for cabinet meeting on April 23, 1980; speaking note government spokesman, April 22, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16653.

Accordingly, the German Chancellor was able to reassure major German companies trading with Iran that business could go on as usual.[132] As a result, Western European sanctions did little, at least in the short run, to solve the conflict.

West Germany as a Mediator in the Hostage Crisis

Simultaneously, informal negotiations over the release of the hostages were taking place. In the beginning, Iranian demands were mostly related to the shah. At first, they demanded the extradition of the former Iranian ruler. They then stepped down their demands, calling for a hearing for the shah before an international investigative commission in the United States that had been appointed by Iran, which would determine whether the shah was to be put on trial. The Tehran government also demanded the return of the shah's assets and an official statement from the U.S. government acknowledging that the shah had committed crimes.[133] When Reza Pahlavi left the United States in mid-December 1979 and died in Cairo in July 1980, the negotiations shifted to focus mainly on financial demands and symbolic concessions. Both sides were particularly interested in saving face. Initially, Switzerland took on a key role in facilitating communication between the United States and Iran, delivering memos or reports and arranging initial meetings.[134]

Yet, the informal and top-secret negotiations were mainly engineered by West Germany.[135] Whereas Swiss mediators targeted President Abolhassan Banisadr and Parliamentary President Rafsanjani, the Germans focused their efforts on Khomeini's entourage, which proved to be the more successful tactic in the end.[136] After the release of the hostages in 1981, many West German media outlets

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132 Schmidt to Ewaldsen, June 4, 1980 (memo), in: BArch, B 136/30561. Thus, it certainly falls short to primarily blame the British House of Commons for the toothless sanctions as Emery does, since they were perfectly in line with the German opinion on this matter, see Emery, Transatlantic and Cold War, p. 386.

133 Corresponding lists in: BArch, B 136/16652. See also Ambassador Ritzel to AA, November 14, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 2, doc. 331, pp. 1692–97, here p. 1694.

134 See, albeit without consulting archive material, Thomas Fischer, Die Rolle der Schweiz in der Iran-Geiselkrise 1979–1981. Eine Studie zur Politik der Guten Dienste im Kalten Krieg, Zurich 2004.

135 The American accounts of the history of these events hardly mention this, see Moses, Freeing the Hostages, and David R. Faber, Taken Hostage. The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's first Encounter with Radical Islam, Princeton/NJ 2005.

136 Ritzel to AA, June 2, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 480; German embassy Washington to AA, September 22, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 487.

gave Foreign Minister Genscher most of the credit, although they were mostly in the dark about the details of the events.[137] Archival records, however, indicate that many officials were involved and point to the vital role played by Gerhard Ritzel, the West German ambassador in Iran. The diplomat, born in Hessen in 1922, had already acquired some experience with these kinds of sensitive talks. As the son of Heinrich Ritzel, a Social Democratic member of the Reichstag, who had emigrated to Switzerland in 1933, Gerhard Ritzel was well versed in politics from an early age. Ritzel entered into diplomatic service in 1951 and took up posts in Bombay, Colombo, New York, and Los Angeles in the years that followed. In the late 1960s, he worked close to Willy Brandt and even became one of the newly-elected Chancellor's personal assistants for a short time. In the 1970s, he was ambassador in Oslo and Prague; in 1977 he took up the post in Tehran. During the revolution, he was one of few Western ambassadors with good contacts to the Islamic leadership.[138] Numerous conversations between Ritzel and close confidants of Khomeini have been archived; Ritzel actively sought to arrange talks with the ayatollahs as well as their intermediaries and confidants in government, and they also sought to meet with him.

In February 1979, only a few days after Khomeini's triumphant return, Ritzel talked to Ayatollah Taleghani. His report clearly indicated the advent of a new framework for diplomatic relations with the Islamic leaders, especially in contrast to the pompous appearances of the shah: "shoes off, windows open at about 3 degrees Celsius [37 degrees Fahrenheit], stove fired with wood from a box, cheapest European brown carpeting."[139] But the two found a common basis during their conversations, which later contributed to the rescue of the hostages. According to Ritzel, the ayatollah said: "We have a good past in Iran, which we can build on"; Ritzel also noted, "I answered that we also hoped to keep up the good relations that we have built up over the years."[140] The German ambassador attended Ayatollah Taleghani's funeral in 1979, visited the mosque, and joined

137 First on the U.S. TV channel ABC: The Secret Negotiations, January 22, 1981, 10 pm, in the Federal Republic in the newspaper "Bild", January 23, 1981, afterwards in many German newspapers on January 24, 1981. Critical especially towards the veracity of the report in "Bild" the AA, Dept. 213, January 27, 1981, in: BArch, B 136/16653.

138 Ministerialdirektor to BK Schmidt in preparation for talks with Secretary of State Vance, December 11, 1979, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA008875; see Gerhard Ritzel, Soweit ich mich erinnere. Aufzeichnungen eines Dieners der Diplomatie über Länder, Erlebtes, Gehörtes, Empfundenes und Gedachtes, Michelstadt 1998, pp. 196–200.

139 Ambassador Ritzel, Tehran, to AA, February 7, 1979, in: BArch, B 136/16651.

140 Ibid.

the funeral procession. In his memoirs, he recalls that he was often greeted with smiles from Iranians on the streets.[141]

Ritzel soon appeared in the guise of mediator. Shortly after the hostages had been taken, the Iranian regime chose the German ambassador as an emissary to pass on a message to the shah.[142] Ritzel himself immediately offered his services to the United States and met, sometimes at the request of the American secretary of state, with ex-Prime Minister Bazargan, Ayatollah Besheti, and other confidants of Khomeini.[143] He destroyed the top secret and encrypted reports immediately afterward, and often only code names were used. Ritzel's contact to Vice Prime Minister Sadegh Tabatabai in particular proved to be crucial for the rescue mission. Tabatabai had close ties to both Khomeini and West Germany, where he had lived for a long time. After studying chemistry in Aachen, he had earned his doctorate at the university in Bochum. He allegedly supplied Ulrike Meinhof (the left wing journalist and later co-founder of the RAF, Red Army Faction) with material for her famous *konkret* column against the shah's visit.[144] He was also related to Khomeini by marriage (his sister was married to Khomeini's son) and had been at the ayatollah's side when he was in exile in Paris. In May 1979, Tabatabai was the first representative of the new regime to officially visit Germany and meet with Otto Graf Lambsdorff (FDP), the Federal Minister of Economic Affairs. He also had good contacts at the German embassy in Tehran and had built up relations of trust with some important foreign correspondents, including Peter Scholl-Latour.[145] Because Tabatabai spoke German, no interpreters had to become involved in all these conversations.

After Ritzel had made the arrangements, Genscher also met with Tabatabai on March 21, 1980. In these talks, the West Germanl Foreign Minister demonstrated his negotiation skills. He emphasized that he had never visited Iran under the shah regime nor received the shah's Foreign Minister since he had assumed office in 1974. When he mentioned the hostage situation, he indirectly slipped in some positive remarks about the new regime: "Without the hostage issue, the Iranian revolution would be met with much more sympathy and understanding

141 See Ritzel, Soweit ich mich erinnere, p. 194.

142 See Ambassador Hermes, Washington, to Montfort, December 1, 1979, in: AAPD 1979, vol. 2, doc. 357, pp. 1827–29, here p. 1828; recorded by von Staden, December 11, 1979, in: ibid., doc. 371, pp. 1884–87, here p. 1885; Ritzel, Soweit ich mich erinnere, pp. 201–05.

143 Ritzel to AA, January 2, 20, 21 and March 18, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 471.

144 A dossier on Tabatabai in the documents of Chancellor Schmidt 1979, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA008863, Bestand Schmidt. His contacts with Ulrike Meinhof, which cannot be proven here, were researched by Die Zeit, see Küntzel, Die Deutschen, p. 164.

145 See Scholl-Latour, Allah, pp. 196–97.

in Germany." Genscher also suggested a private, seemingly coincidental meeting that American representatives could join in on. Afterwards, he called the U.S. secretary of state to inform him of the plan.[146] Just two weeks later, Genscher once again spoke with Tabatabai, demanding a swift handover of the hostages and threatening sanctions.[147] Even though these meetings did not seem to be a success initially, they strengthened the trust in West German diplomacy all the more, especially because the Americans had not been able to find someone of note to negotiate on their behalf. Afterwards, Ritzel, who met Tabatabai and other Khomeini confidants on a regular basis, conveyed crucial guarantees made by the Americans in return for the release of the hostages: no punitive actions, the release of Iranian assets in the United States, the resumption of normal economic relations, and support for trials to claim the shah's assets in America for Iran.[148] These contacts were kept alive through one-on-one talks. For instance, Tabatabai met with the SPD member of the Bundestag and Middle East expert Hans-Jürgen Wischnewsk in Bonn on August 19, 1980; the two knew each other from Tabatabai's time in the FRG and the Socialist International.[149]

In early September, Ambassador Ritzel held crucial preliminary talks in Tehran that paved the way for a solution. He first talked to President Banisadr, then to Ayatollah Beheshti and finally, on September 9, 1980, to Tabatabai.[150] As a result, Tabatabai and Khomeini's son Ahmad and Chairman of Parliament Rafsanjani agreed upon a procedure to ensure the release of the hostages. They largely discussed three demands that had to be negotiated in Bonn: the release of frozen Iranian assets, American guarantees not to intervene in Iran, and the return of assets that the shah had transferred abroad.[151] This provided the basis for secret negotiations that were held in Bonn under the pretext of a conference at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on the situation in Iran on September 16 and 18, 1980. Genscher, Tabatabai, and Warren Christopher led the talks. The deputy secretary of state had arrived without any fanfare on a small airplane from London. The United States declared that it was willing to release the frozen assets, to exer-

146 Conversation Genscher with Tabatabai on March 21, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 1, doc. 88, pp. 496–501, quote p. 498; see note by Ambassador Ruth, Washington, April 16, 1980, in: ibid., doc. 113, pp. 618–22, here p. 620.
147 See conversation Genscher with Tabatabai on April 3, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 1, doc. 88, p. 501, footnote 14.
148 Schlaginweit to Ritzel, May 28, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 479.
149 Account of the hostage situation by Dept. 311, p. 14, in: BArch, B 136/16653.
150 On September 3 and 6, 1980; account on the hostage situation by Dept. 311, p. 14 in: BArch, B 136/16653.
151 Ritzel to AA, September 10, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 2, doc. 265, p. 1375.

cise military and political restraint, and to support the return of the shah's fortune (which Tabatabai stressed as the most vital point). Christopher assured the Iranians that the United States would grant guarantees in advance.[152] In Iran, Ritzel confirmed that President Carter agreed with the results of the negotiations.[153] In addition, he also suggested that the Americans resume supplying spare weapon parts to Iran.[154]

From then on, all further negotiations and contacts were supposed to be arranged through the West German ambassador. Ritzel kept in contact with Tabatabai on a regular basis and met with him eight times in October 1980 alone.[155] On these occasions, Tabatabai informed the Germans about talks he had with Khomeini. They agreed that it would be best to release all hostages at the same time.[156] It was of particular importance that Ritzel, and Genscher as well, assured Tehran "that we will be the guarantor for ensuring that the United States will live up to its promises."[157] Genscher even assured Tabatabai that he would make an effort "to positively influence public opinion on Iran."[158] As Tabatabai feared that he might be killed as a traitor in the event of Khomeini's death, Ritzel also promised to destroy all the related documents.[159] Khomeini indeed mentioned the negotiated conditions in a public speech, which Ritzel interpreted as a directive aimed at the parliament. In the end, it was the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War with the invasion of Saddam Hussein's troops on September 22, 1980 that resulted in delays in the release of the hostages.

The Iranian assets were transferred via Algeria, which seemed trustworthy in Iranian eyes because it was an Islamic country. Algeria had already been considered as a potential partner in the negotiations in February 1980.[160] The funeral

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152 Conversation notes, September 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 487; see Montfort to Ritzel, September 19, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 2, doc. 275, p. 1416; Warren Christopher, Chances of a Lifetime: A Memoir, New York 2001, pp. 110–11. He remembered that the release of the shah's assets in particular was a crucial and difficult point. See also Moses, Freeing the Hostages, pp. 253–54, 258–62.

153 German embassy Washington, September 22, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 487.

154 Ritzel to AA, September 22, 1980, in: ibid.; German embassy Washington to Genscher, October 15, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 488.

155 List in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 489.

156 See Montfort to Ritzel, September 19, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, vol. 2, doc. 275, pp. 1414–16, and note by Montfort, October 14, 1980, in: ibid., doc. 291, pp. 1516–18.

157 Ritzel to AA and Genscher to AA, October 17, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 489.

158 Phone call Genscher–Tabatabai, October 27, 1980, in: ibid.

159 Ritzel to AA, November 9, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 490. The Foreign Office, on the other hand, kept them.

160 German embassy Tehran, February 14, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16654.

of the Yugoslav President Tito on May 8, 1980, attended by leading politicians from all over the world and of all stripes, proved to be an excellent opportunity for negotiations. Helmut Schmidt asked Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid to act as advocate for the release of the hostages. When the Chancellor declared that "we will certainly find a solution without outside interference," the Algerian politician answered: "Algeria would do everything in its power."[161] It was again Ritzel who kept in touch with the Algerian ambassador in Tehran. Despite a severe illness, he had remained at his post until 1981 so that he could help bring an end to the hostage crisis.[162]

The final negotiations, mainly on financial issues and details of the hostage handover, were led by the United States, represented by deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher in particular, and Algeria; the Algerian politicians talked to Iran.[163] Both sides finally agreed that the United States would transfer about eight billion dollars of frozen Iranian assets and gold with the value of one billion dollars to the Algerian Central Bank and lift the blockade of Iranian assets after the release of the hostages. Parts of the Iranian money were retained to cover Iranian debts owed in the U.S., which reduced the sum that was transferred considerably. The so-called Algiers Accords of January 19, 1981 also guaranteed that the Americans would lift their economic sanctions against Iran, block the assets of the shah, and issue a statement of non-intervention towards Iran, which Iran is still insisting upon even today.[164] These arrangements were acceptable for both sides: the United States argued that it was only giving back what belonged to Iran anyway; Iran profited not only from symbolic concessions, but also – more importantly – from access to foreign currencies that it could use to buy weapons for the war against Iraq.

The fact that the hostages were flown out of Iran via Algiers to a U.S. military base in Wiesbaden, where they were greeted by Helmut Schmidt and U.S. President Carter, who had just lost the elections, added to the public impression that West Germany had played an important role in rescuing the hostages. In front of

161 Conversation Schmidt with Bendjedid on May 8, 1980, in: AdsD, 1/HSAA006756; Dept. 213, January 27, 1981, in: BArch, B 136/16653.

162 Ritzel to AA, November 3, 1980, in: PA/AA, B 150, vol. 490. Afterwards Ritzel worked in the Federal Chancellery as director of Dept. 6 (Federal Intelligence Service, coordination of the intelligence services of the Federal Republic, also responsible for the internal security of the Federal chancellery), 1983–1988 as ambassador in Stockholm.

163 The memoirs of Christopher are quite telling, see idem, Chances of a Lifetime, pp. 116–23.

164 Memo, meeting of the Federal Cabinet, January 21, 1981, in: BArch, B 136/16653; see Moses, Freeing the Hostages, pp. 252–326. The Algiers Accords, January 19, 1981 are accessible online: www.parstimes.com/history/algiers_accords.pdf [accessed February 6, 2017].

TV cameras and in a personal letter, Carter thanked the Germans, which was balm on the wounded German-American friendship: "They helped us in ways which I can never reveal publicly to the world," Carter wrote.[165] Behind closed doors, he thanked the German ambassador in particular: "Working patiently, Ritzel brought Tabatabai to accept being a middle man for the American government, passing on messages to the ayatollah through Ahmed Khomeini."[166] The internal assessment of the West German Foreign Office humbly concluded that Genscher's and Ritzel's contributions were not really the main factor behind the release of the hostages.[167] On further reflection, however, it was very much Ritzel's brave and skillfully tactful engagement in Tehran that facilitated the crucial talks. Thus, in the end, it had paid off that he had maintained contact with the Islamic clergymen and the country's new leaders after Khomeini's return, lending an open ear to a country in upheaval.

The Islamic Revolution and the Discourse on Human Rights

The Iranian revolution took place at a time when the discourse on human rights was blossoming. And yet the international response to the events in Iran illustrates that political elites in the FRG – as well as large portions of the political Left – hardly paid more than lip service to this topic. Even when violence escalated after the Islamic Republic had been established, a policy of tolerance reigned supreme. Immediately after the end of the hostage crisis, the West German government sought to normalize its relations with Iran, primarily driven by economic and anti-communist motives. In late summer 1981, for instance, the West German Foreign Office soberly stated in an internal memo that approximately thirty executions had been carried out every day since the dismissal of Iranian President Benisadr in June. But, according to internal minutes, Foreign Minister Genscher had only informed his Iranian counterpart Mir Hossein Mousavi that the FRG would "deplore any act of violence" while continuing to court the oil-rich country at the same time: "We have met your revolution unconditionally. If you want good relations, you will get good relations."[168] Similarly, the new German

165 German embassy Washington, January 22, 1981, in: BArch, B 136/16653.
166 Transcript appendix, in: ibid.
167 Dept. 213, January 27, 1981, in: BArch, B 136/16653.
168 Conversation Genscher with Mussawi on October 8, 1981, in: AAPD 1981, vol. 3, ed. by Horst Möller/Gregor Schöllgen/Andreas Wirsching, Munich 2012, doc. 292, pp. 1568–70, quotes p. 1569.

ambassador in Tehran, Jens Petersen, declared in front of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in October 1981 that critical media coverage on the executions in Iran was neglecting to point out "to what extent these brutalities are the result of terror acts by the militant Left opposition."[169]

Yet, the human rights discourse did not shift its focus more heavily to Iran until October 1981. From the revolution in early 1979 until Banisadr's dismissal on June 21, 1981, "only" 2,000 people were executed, which was about the same number that was killed during the first three months after Banisadr was removed, not to mention the even greater number of deaths in the fights against the Kurds.[170] Media coverage on executed young people and children in particular, for instance on the *Tagesschau* (TV news program) on October 11 and on *Panorama* (TV investigative current affairs program) on October 27, 1981, ensured outrage in the FRG. Students in schools as well as adult citizens bombarded German politicians with letters and signed petitions. In turn, several politicians, including the Federal Justice Minister Jürgen Schmude (SPD), staged a protest at the reception of the UN human rights committee.[171] Other problems also arose when Iran put pressure on German companies, such as Bayer, to transfer shares to the Iranian state for free.[172] In the months to come, Genscher addressed "the high number of executions" in talks with Iranian politicians more directly, even when he met with Chairman of Parliament Rafsanjani in 1984.[173]

Yet, no Western country maintained closer ties to Khomeini's Iran than the FRG. The well-established economic and cultural relations tended to trump critical media rhetoric. In 1983, German exports to Iran amounted to 7.7 billion DM.[174] German exports to Iran increased significantly in the years that followed, accounting for almost 50 percent of all EC exports to Iran in the 1990s.[175] Armament sup-

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169 Ambassador Teheran, Jens Petersen, to AA, October 25, 1981, in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 137673.

170 Amnesty referred to 1,800 executions in the three months; report by Dept. 311, November 23, 1981, and report by German embassy Tehran, November 2, 1981, in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 137673. 171 various documents in: PA/AA, ZA 137673.

171 Various documents in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 137673.

172 AAPD 1983, vol. 1, ed. by Horst Möller/Gregor Schöllgen/Andreas Wirsching, Munich 2014, doc. 156, p. 817, footnote 7.

173 Conversation Genscher with Ambassador Velayati on February 5, 1982, in: AAPD 1982, vol. 1, ed. by Horst Möller/Gregor Schöllgen/Andreas Wirsching, Munich 2013, doc. 43, pp. 212–16, here p. 215; see also conversation Genscher with Rafsanjani on July 21, 1984, in: AAPD 1984, vol. 2, ed. by Horst Möller/Gregor Schöllgen/Andreas Wirsching, Munich 2015, doc. 201, pp. 934–37, here p. 935. Genscher nonetheless gave a positive summary of the conversation: Genscher to Secretary of State Shultz, July 23, 1984, in: ibid., doc 203, pp. 941–42.

174 Report by German embassy Tehran, September 15, 1984, in: PA/AA, ZA, vol. 137754.

175 In international comparison, see Roger Howard, Iran Oil: The New Middle East Challenge to

plies were still limited due to the war against Iraq that lasted until 1988, but even during the wave of executions in 1983, there were talks about potential weapon exports after the end of the war, such as submarines, alpha-jets, and tanks.[176] Accordingly, the FRG courted a political exchange with Iran more than other countries. It was the first Western country to receive Iranian statesmen in 1981, and Federal Foreign Minister Genscher was the first leading Western politician to officially visit Iran in 1984. During the 1990s, his successor Klaus Kinkel was also more eager to establish a dialogue with Iran than his fellow Western ministers. Likewise, most of the long-standing business relations remained in place. Iran kept its large block of Krupp shares, which meant that a representative of the Khomeini regime served on the Krupp supervisory board. In particular, Iranian elites, trained and educated in the West, facilitated this ongoing cooperation. As a result, however, the FRG had to deal with considerable tensions in its relations with the United States. It was not until the Americans put pressure on German companies with shares held by Iranians that Thyssen-Krupp, for example, bought back these shares in 2003, ending its partnership with Tehran to avoid jeopardizing its American market.

For a long time, human rights policy and rhetoric focused on other regions and countries such as South Africa and Chile. Efforts within political circles and even within social movements that were directed against oil-rich Arab countries that fostered violence and terrorism while torturing their people faded in comparison. In 1979, for instance, Genscher visited Libya – a country that supplied Germany with a fifth of its enormous oil exports – with a large entourage. He pled for such economic contacts, arguing that otherwise the Soviets, who already provided Libya with weapons and had built a nuclear test facility, would step in and exploit the situation. The fact that the Gaddafi regime supported terrorism and sent troops to Chad did not change the policy of the West German federal government towards Libya.[177] Although the Iranian revolution raised fears over the radicalization of Islam in the media and among the public, most German politicians still seemed to be stuck in the Cold War and to be entirely pragmatic when it came to economic policy.

America, London/New York 2003, p. 67. For a very critical perspective on the later developments, see Küntzel, Die Deutschen und der Iran, pp. 151–76.

176 Notes by Schlagintweit, Vortragender Legationsrat, September 26, 1983, in: AAPD 1983, vol. 2, doc. 278, pp. 1402–03.

177 See Tim Szatkowski, Gaddafis Libyen und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1969 bis 1982, Munich 2013.

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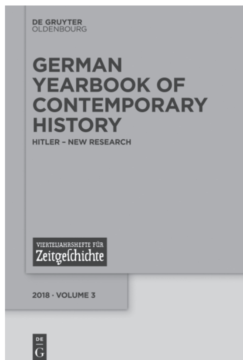

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Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf

Islam as an Underestimated Challenge

NATO States and the Afghan Crisis of 1979

Introduction

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 not only signified that East-West relations were relapsing into a "Second Cold War,"[1] but also helped propel Islamism as an emerging factor within international relations in the immediate "history of the present."[2] At this point, the heyday of détente between East and West, which had been initiated in the 1960s and reached its culmination in the signing of the Helsinki Accords, had come to an end. In its place, the arms race not only dominated international political debates, but also policy discussions between the NATO allies.[3] As early as 1977, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt drew public attention to Soviet armament with nuclear SS-20 missiles in a speech at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, provoking concerns within the alliance that the strategic balance of power might be shifting in favor of Moscow. A second controversy among the NATO partners over the production and deployment of the so-called neutron bomb followed on its heels, ending in a fiasco that deeply damaged German-American relations.[4] Then, on December 12, 1979, NATO's adoption of the Dual Track Decision in which the Western allies threate-

1 On the notion of the "Second Cold War," see Gottfried Niedhart, Der Ost-West-Konflikt. Konfrontation im Kalten Krieg und Stufen der Eskalation, in: Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 50 (2010), pp. 557–94, here p. 588; Philipp Gassert/Tim Geiger/Hermann Wentker (eds.), Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung. Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive, Munich 2011.

2 On the notion of the "prehistory of the present," see Anselm Doering-Manteuffel/Lutz Raphael, Nach dem Boom. Neue Einsichten und Erklärungsversuche, in: Anselm Doering-Manteuffel/Lutz Raphael/Thomas Schlemmer (eds.), Vorgeschichte der Gegenwart. Dimensionen des Strukturbruchs nach dem Boom, Göttingen 2016, pp. 9–34.

3 On the crisis of détente, see Leopoldo Nuti (ed.), The Crisis of Détente in Europe. From Helsinki to Gorbachev, 1975–1985, Abingdon/New York 2009; Poul Villaume/Odd Arne Westad (eds.), Perforating the Iron Curtain. European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War 1965–1985, Copenhagen 2010; Melvyn P. Leffler/Odd Arne Westad (eds.), The Cambridge History of the Cold War, vol. 3: Endings, 1975–1991, Cambridge et al. 2010.

4 See Klaus Wiegrefe, Das Zerwürfnis. Helmut Schmidt, Jimmy Carter und die Krise der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, Berlin 2005, pp. 180–206.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110522990-007

ned to install medium-range nuclear missiles if no arms control agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union within the next four years sparked even more dissent.

In this already heated international situation around Christmas 1979, the news of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan came as a complete surprise to the German public.[5] For the first time since the end of World War II, Moscow had openly intervened in a country outside the Warsaw Pact – the era of détente seemed to be over once and for all. Although the NATO partners had accomplished a major feat with the Dual Track Decision just two weeks prior, an even more intensive crisis within the alliance seemed to be looming on the horizon. How could NATO respond to this act of aggression without sacrificing the chances for an agreement with the Soviets on the control of medium-range missiles? What role was the West supposed to play in the war between the Soviet army and Afghan government troops on the one hand and armed Afghan resistance groups on the other? And, finally, which long-term objectives did the individual NATO partners pursue on their own accord in Afghanistan?

Historiography and Concept

In recent years, historians have taken a much closer look at what is often referred to as the Second Cold War. In particular, they have paid a great deal of attention to the aspects of this bipolar conflict reflected in the debates over arms control policy prior to the NATO Dual Track Decision in 1979. Moreover, several studies have explored the role of the peace movements and the question of whether, and to what extent, they were ideologically influenced and financially supported by the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries.[6]

Scholarship on the conflict in Afghanistan itself has predominantly examined the Soviet invasion within the context of the history of the USSR and its

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5 See Afghanistan: “Wir werden sie hinausjagen,” in: Der Spiegel, December 31, 1979, pp. 63–64, and: Moskaus Griff nach Afghanistan, in: Der Spiegel, January 7, 1980, pp. 71–85.

6 See Gunnar Seelow, Strategische Rüstungskontrolle und deutsche Außenpolitik in der Ära Helmut Schmidt, Baden-Baden 2013; Andreas Wenger/Christian Nuenlist/Anna Locher (eds.), Transforming NATO in the Cold War. Challenges beyond Deterrences in the 1960s, London 2007; Gassert/Geiger/Wentker (eds.), Zweiter Kalter Krieg; Christoph Becker-Schaum/Philipp Gassert/Martin Klimke (eds.), “Entrüstet Euch!” Nuklearkrise, NATO-Doppelbeschluss und Friedensbewegung, Paderborn et al. 2012; Jan Hansen, Abschied vom Kalten Krieg? Die Sozialdemokraten und der Nachrüstungsstreit (1977–1987), Munich 2016.

collapse while focusing on the global level of the Cold War.[7] Other publications compare the failure of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan to the American experience in Vietnam[8] or interpret it as a precursor to the "humanitarian intervention" efforts undertaken by NATO since 2001 and the American "war on terror."[9] In addition, initial case studies based on archival material address the question of whether the Soviet invasion was rather offensive or defensive in nature. For the most part, a broad consensus has emerged among scholars that Moscow considered this attack necessary in order to secure its power, although it was fully aware of the military and economic risks involved.[10] Alongside this focus on the superpowers, a few recent studies have also begun to situate the communist era in Afghanistan within the context of the general history of the country.[11] That said,

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7 See Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times, Cambridge/MA 2005; Alan P. Dobson, Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Cold War, Aldershot et al. 1999; Robert J. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery. The United States, India, and Pakistan, New York 1994; Michael Ploetz, Wie die Sowjetunion den Kalten Krieg verlor. Von der Nachrüstung zum Mauerfall, Berlin/Munich 2000; Anthony Arnold, The Fateful Pebble. Afghanistan's Role in the Fall of the Soviet Empire, Novato/CA 1993; Milan Hauner, The Soviet War in Afghanistan. Patterns of Russian Imperialism, Philadelphia/PA 1991; Tom Lansford, A Bitter Harvest. U.S. Foreign Policy and Afghanistan, Aldershot et al. 2003; Helmut Hubel, Das Ende des Kalten Kriegs im Orient. Die USA, die Sowjetunion und die Konflikte in Afghanistan, am Golf und im Nahen Osten, 1979–1991. Auswirkungen für Europa und Deutschland, Munich 1995.

8 See Douglas A. Borer, Superpowers Defeated. Vietnam and Afghanistan Compared, London 1999; Gennadi Botscharow, Die Erschütterung. Afghanistan – das sowjetische Vietnam, Berlin 1991.

9 See Rasul Bakhsh Rais, War without Winners. Afghanistan's uncertain Transition after the Cold War, Oxford et al. 1994; Dieter Kläy, Der sowjetische Krieg in Afghanistan und die Folgen bis heute, in: Claudine Nick-Miller (ed.), Strategisches versus humanitäres Denken. Das Beispiel Afghanistan, Zurich 2009, pp. 103–35; Geoff Shaw/David Spencer, Fighting in Afghanistan. Lessons from the Soviet Intervention, 1979–89, in: Defense & Security Analysis 19 (2003), pp. 177–88.

10 See David N. Gibbs, Die Hintergründe der sowjetischen Invasion in Afghanistan 1979, in: Bernd Greiner/Christian Th. Müller/Dierk Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege im Kalten Krieg. Studien zum Kalten Krieg, vol. 1, Hamburg 2006, pp. 291–314; Bernhard Chiari, Kabul 1979. Militärische Intervention und das Scheitern der sowjetischen Dritte-Welt-Politik in Afghanistan, in: Andreas Hilger (ed.), Die Sowjetunion und die Dritte Welt. UdSSR, Staatssozialismus und Antikolonialismus im Kalten Krieg 1945–1991, Munich 2009, pp. 259–80; Evguénia Obitchkina, L'intervention de l'union soviétique en Afghanistan, in: Revue d'histoire diplomatique 120 (2006), pp. 155–69; Pierre Allan/Dieter Kläy, Zwischen Bürokratie und Ideologie. Entscheidungsprozesse in Moskaus Afghanistankonflikt, Bern et al. 1999. On Afghan-Soviet relations in general, see Paul Robinson/Jay Dixon, Aiding Afghanistan. A History of Soviet Assistance to a Developing Country, London 2013.

11 See Thomas Barfield, Afghanistan. A Cultural and Political History, Princeton (NJ)/Oxford 2010; Konrad Schetter, Kleine Geschichte Afghanistans, Munich 2010; Antonio Giustozzi, War,

however, studies on the Western – and in particular the West German and Western European – perceptions of the war in Afghanistan that analyze the discussions among the allies over the motives, tactics, and strategies of the Soviet leadership and the resulting decision-making processes are still few and far between.[12]

Moreover, the debates among the NATO partners on how to deal with the Afghan resistance movement that opposed the communist regime and the Soviet troops have received scant attention within historical scholarship. Although most scholars agree that the United States provided these groups with weapons prior to the Soviet invasion,[13] it is still unclear whether – and if so, under which normative and strategic aspects – this question was discussed by the allies, particularly during the early stage of the war. What significance did the NATO partners attach to the fact that the competing resistance groups, which were often divided along the lines of ethnic tribal affiliations, had one thing in common: Islamism as the ideological foundation for the "Holy War" against the communist suppressors and a source of legitimacy for their armed fight to free Afghanistan from socialism?[14]

Building on this scholarship, this article will first situate the conflict in Afghanistan within the larger framework of the emerging crisis in the Greater Middle East region[15] during the 1970s. After broadening the general perspective, it will then examine how the NATO states perceived the invasion. As this

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Politics and Society in Afghanistan, 1978–1992, Washington D.C. 2000; Bernhard Chiari, Wegweiser zur Geschichte. Afghanistan, Paderborn et al. 2006; William Maley, The Afghanistan Wars, New York 2002; M. Hassan Kakar, Afghanistan. The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979–1982, Berkeley (CA)/Los Angeles (CA)/London 1995; Assem Akram, Histoire de la guerre d'Afghanistan, Paris 1998; Eric Bachelier, L'Afghanistan en guerre. La fin du grand jeu soviétique, Lyon 1992.

12 See Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf, Frieden durch Kommunikation. Das System Genscher und die Entspannungspolitik im Zweiten Kalten Krieg 1979–1982/83, Berlin/Boston (MA) 2015. On German-Afghan relations before 1979, see Matin Baraki, Die Beziehungen zwischen Afghanistan und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945–1978, Frankfurt a M. 1996; on the French perspective, see Maurice Vaïsse, Le chemin de Varsovie. La France face à l'intervention soviétique en Afghanistan (decembre 1979–juin 1980), in: Revue d'histoire diplomatique 120 (2006), pp. 169–87.

13 See Gibbs, Hintergründe, in: Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege, p. 310.

14 On the conceptual history of Islamism and Islamic fundamentalism, see Tilman Seidensticker, Islamismus. Geschichte, Vordenker, Organisationen, Bonn 2015, pp. 9–14; Thomas Meyer, Was ist Fundamentalismus? Eine Einführung, Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 21–31; Thomas J. Moser, Politik auf dem Pfad Gottes. Zur Genese und Transformation des militanten sunnitischen Islamismus, Innsbruck 2012; Sibylle Wentker, Historische Entwicklung des Islamismus, in: idem/Walter Feichtinger (eds.), Islam, Islamismus und islamischer Extremismus, Vienna 2005.

15 In order to avoid confusion over geographic terminology, this article uses the term "Greater Middle East" to refer to a contiguous set of countries stretching from Morocco in the west to the western border of China in the east.

article will show, these states did not act as a cohesive group, but rather used the bodies of the alliance at both the working and ministerial levels as outlets for formal and informal exchange. Alongside the United States, France and Great Britain, West Germany played a key role within the NATO alliance, which is why this article concentrates on these four states. Although it addresses the question of how the allies assessed the Kremlin's course of action from the perspective of the bipolar-system conflict, it also investigates the varying significance that they attached to the religious motivations of the Afghan resistance movements. Was Islamic fundamentalism seen as a mere instrument to mobilize the Afghans against the Soviets or was it also perceived to be a potential threat to the capitalist West? In a third step, this article then assesses the diplomatic crisis management strategies of the West. Which political concepts and strategies were drawn up by the allies to resolve the conflict and what role did the Islamic Arab states in the region play in these plans? Did the NATO states connect the events in Afghanistan with the Shiite revolution in Iran, and if so, in what ways?[16] Fourthly, this article examines the political and material support for the Afghan mujahideen provided by the NATO states. How did the allies discursively legitimize their cooperation with radical and obviously anti-democratic militias on the basis of their foreign policy claims that they were acting in the name of freedom, self-determination, and human rights? Is it possible to identify different intellectual traditions and thought systems particular to each of the European transatlantic partners?[17] What role did domestic politics play in this respect? And, finally, did these Western actors take Islamism in Afghanistan seriously as a long-term factor within international politics or did they only regard it as a useful geopolitical and ideological instrument in the global Cold War?

The Greater Middle East as a Crisis Region

In the late 1970s, the Greater Middle East burst as a trouble spot onto the international stage, attracting political attention around the globe. Various global and regional tensions, some of which had been around for a while, contributed to this heated situation. These factors included the bipolar structuring of international relations along Cold War lines as well as the exploitation of the oil fields

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16 On the "Islamic revolution" in Iran, see Frank Bösch's article in this Yearbook: Between the Shah and Khomeini. The Federal Republic of Germany and the Islamic Revolution in Iran, pp. 137–71.
17 See Tim B. Müller, Krieger und Gelehrte. Herbert Marcuse und die Denksysteme im Kalten Krieg, Hamburg 2010.

in the Gulf region just as Western industrialized countries were becoming more dependent on energy imports. Likewise, the aftermath of the decolonization processes in the countries of the region that had gained independence after the Second World War and the powerful so-called Arab nationalism that emerged as a result also had a hand in the matter, not to mention the increasing social and political Islamization of vast areas of the Greater Middle East. These strands of conflict combined in varying degrees of intensity within four major flashpoints that began to overlap with each other, effectively turning the entire area into one of the most dangerous crisis regions ever since the late 1970s.

The first flashpoint was the conflict between Israel and Palestine, which had developed incrementally into a long-term structural conflict after the end of the Second World War.[18] After being defeated by Israel in its "war of independence" in 1948, the Arab states formed a united "Arab front" under the leadership of the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser[19] that avidly promoted a pan-Arab agenda. These states not only demanded liberation from British and French colonial rule, but also shared the desire to destroy Israel. By the time the Yom Kippur War broke out in 1973 between Egypt and Syria on the one side and Israel on the other, the increasing importance of the Arab states for international politics was becoming obvious, especially because the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) had clearly demonstrated just how dependent Western industrialized nations were on oil imports. When Egypt's president Anwar el-Sadat signed a separate peace agreement following the Camp David Accords in 1978 in which he agreed to formally recognize Israel's right of existence in exchange for the return of the Sinai peninsula, the country effectively isolated itself from the rest of the Arab world for decades. From this point on, Egypt – bolstered by substantial U.S. arms deliveries and economic aid – became the West's most important ally in the region alongside Israel, especially given that Iran could no longer be counted on as a pro-Western stabilizing force after 1979.

This brings us to the second flashpoint. In the 1960s, the Iranian government in Tehran under shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi fostered the economic and socio-political modernization of the country along Western lines, receiving substantial arms supplies from the United States in return.[20] When the shah was

18 See Rolf Steininger, Der Nahostkonflikt, 3rd ed., Frankfurt a. M. 2006.
19 For easier readability, Arab, Iranian and Pashtun personal names and terms have been rendered in English.
20 See Westad, Global Cold War, pp. 288–330. For a brief overview of the history of Iran, see Monika Gronke, Geschichte Irans von der Islamisierung bis zur Gegenwart, Munich 2009, here pp. 95–116.

overthrown in the spring of 1979 and Ayatollah Khomeini proclaimed an Islamic Republic, the West abruptly lost an important partner and oil supplier. The situation then came to a head in November when Iranian students occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran with Khomeini's approval. They took American members of the embassy staff hostage and demanded the extradition of the shah who was in New York at the time.[21] The American-Iranian crisis – which was finally resolved with the release of the hostages on January 20, 1981 after a series of dramatic turns – became a focal point in the U.S. elections that ultimately ended in a victory for Ronald Reagan. For over a year, the developments in Iran captured the attention of both the American administration and the public, setting the tone for Washington's policy throughout the region.

The "Islamic revolution" in Iran also had profound repercussions on the country's chronically strained relations with its neighbor Iraq, the third flashpoint in the region. A former British mandate area, Iraq was an artificial creation whose territorial lines failed to take the ethnic and religious identities of the population into consideration. As a result, the country has been continually plagued by domestic conflicts and border disputes with its neighbors ever since. The division of the Muslim population into Shiites and Sunnis also created a fault line within Iraqi society. Although the former clearly formed the majority of the population, they were largely excluded from governmental posts traditionally held by members of the Sunnite upper class. Following the Shiite revolt in neighboring Iran and Khomeini's calls to spread his revolutionary ideology, the mostly Sunnite Ba'ath party in control of the government in Baghdad feared that the revolution might sweep into Iraqi territory.

After the Ba'ath party staged a coup in 1968 that brought it to power under the leadership of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, it enacted a constitution that established Islam as the state religion and introduced a socialist economic system, resulting in rapprochement with Moscow. In 1979, only a few months after the "Iranian revolution," al-Bakr stepped down from power, turning the reins over to the second man in charge, Saddam Hussein. The new leader gradually established a dictatorship, leaving a lasting mark on world politics that still reverberates today. Hussein was an avid proponent of Abdel Nasser's ideas of Arab nationalism, and

21 On the events of the hostage crisis, see David Harris, The Crisis. The President, the Prophet, and the Shah. 1979 and the Coming of Militant Islam, New York 2004; Mark Bowden, Guests of the Ayatollah. The First Battle in America's War with Militant Islam, New York 2006; Wiegrefe, Zerwürfnis, pp. 303–28; Bösch, Shah, pp. 154–69.

he strove to become the leader of the Arab world in its fight against the "Jewish threat" in the West and the "Persian threat" in the East.[22]

When Tehran was hit by a period of domestic political weakness during the months after Khomeini's seizure of power, Hussein jumped at the chance to forcibly redraw the contested geostrategic border that had been defined by the thalweg of the Shatt al-Arab river. By starting a "blitz" war against Iran, he hoped to claim this waterway with its access to the Persian Gulf for Iraq, bolstering the country's oil industry.[23] However, these plans did not work out. The conflict turned into an eight-year war in which both of the major superpowers and their respective allies sometimes supplied both sides with weapons. After a ceasefire agreement was finally signed in 1988 following years of intense efforts on the part of the UN, the world found itself confronted with a devastating situation: Iran and Iraq were economically ruined and the rifts between Arabs, Kurds, and Persians as well as between Shiites and Sunnites had deepened. Not only had millions of people died, but also countless refugees had fled the war zone. In the 1980s, Iran in particular not only had to deal with its own internally displaced persons but also with refugees coming from outside, especially since its eastern neighbor, Afghanistan, was involved in a year-long war of attrition at the time.

This fourth flashpoint – the Afghanistan conflict – had been brewing since the late 1970s, but it turned into a true international crisis in December 1979 when Soviet troops invaded the country. Afghanistan had built up close relations with the Kremlin since the 1950s, and the Soviet Union had gradually become the country's most significant supplier of economic and military aid.[24] As the conflict between East and West worsened, Washington's interest in the country increased, and the United States tried to strengthen its influence vis-à-vis this officially neutral state by providing development aid. Afghanistan thus enjoyed a period of prosperity in the 1960s, which has often been idealized as a "golden era" in retrospect.[25]

This phase of relative stability ended abruptly in July 1973 when Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan staged a coup against his cousin, King Mohammed

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22 See Henner Fürtig, Kleine Geschichte des Irak. Von der Gründung bis zur Gegenwart, Munich 2003, pp. 81–96.

23 On the war between Iran and Iraq, see Nigel Ashton/Bryan Gibson (eds.), The Iran-Iraq War. New International Perspectives, New York 2013; Rob Johnson, The Iran-Iraq War, Basingstoke 2011; Efraim Karsh, Essential Histories. The Iran-Iraq War 1980–1988, London 2002; Henner Fürtig, Der irakisch-iranische Krieg 1980–1988, in: Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege, pp. 376–407.

24 See Gibbs, Hintergründe, in: ibid., p. 295; Robinson/Dixon, Aiding Afghanistan, pp. 47–92.

25 See Schetter, Geschichte, pp. 84–95.

Zahir shah. Supported by the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), Daoud declared himself president of the newly-proclaimed republic of Afghanistan.[26] His cooperation with the communists remained a fragile partnership of convenience: as a member of the aristocracy, Daoud was willing to modernize the poor and backward country, but he was not prepared to carry out a socialist revolution. The PDPA itself was deeply divided over the question of how quickly the country should be restructured along communist lines. The moderate Parcham wing under Babrak Karmal took the view that the agrarian country with its profoundly devout population was not yet ready for socialism, which meant that a long transitional period would probably be necessary. The Khalq faction under the leadership of Nur Muhammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin, on the other hand, advocated a swift and radical social transformation.

At first, a general aversion to the president's policies seemed to keep the party united. Then, on April 27, 1978, it staged a coup supported by the military and took over power, overthrowing Daoud and proclaiming the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Taraki himself took up the posts of Secretary General of the party, director of the Revolutionary Council, and prime minister of the new "revolutionary government." Whereas Karmal was designated as his deputy in all of these offices, Amin was made Foreign Minister. However, it was not long before the arduously concealed conflict within the PDPA erupted once again. In the end, Taraki and Amin, who still leaned towards Moscow, held the upper hand. They not only modeled the party doctrine after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also ultimately signed a treaty of friendship with the Kremlin in December 1978. With the help of Soviet advisors, they created a tight party organization and began restructuring the economy and Afghan society along socialist lines. But, the radical measures implemented by the government met with growing resistance among the Afghan population, which regarded the party's communist and anti-religious reforms as an attack on Islam and evidence of a Soviet occupation of the country. Unrest and protests led by oppositional Muslim brotherhoods increased, provoking a brutal response from the government. With the Herat uprising in mid-March 1979, the conflicts escalated to a new height as more and more members of the Afghan army defected to the opposition.

Despite the PDPA's repeated appeals, Moscow refused to send troops to put down the rebellion in Afghanistan at this point. Thus, when Amin overthrew his

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26 See Gibbs, Hintergründe, in: Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege, pp. 291–314; Sylvain Boulouque, Der Kommunismus in Afghanistan, in: Stéphane Courtois et al. (eds.), Das Schwarzbuch des Kommunismus. Unterdrückung, Verbrechen und Terror, 2nd ed., Munich/Zurich 2004, pp. 772–92; Rais, War, pp. 25–65.

rival Taraki on September 14, 1979 and took over as head of state and Secretary General of the PDPA before initiating a series of bloody purges, the fight for power within the party entered a new phase. The violence between government supporters and resistance groups also escalated over the next three months as the insurgents took control of more of the country. Finally, on December 24, 1979, Soviet troops marched across the Afghan border, and they conquered Kabul two days later. Amin also died under unexplained circumstances in the process.[27] On the evening of the same day, Moscow's protégé Babrak Karmal took over as director of the Revolutionary Council, Secretary General of the PDPA, and Prime Minister of the country. Thus, in the late 1970s, Afghanistan, just like the entire region of the Greater Middle East, found itself in a precarious state of political, religious, and ethnic instability.

NATO and the Path to the Soviet Invasion

Following the communist "April revolution," the NATO partners regularly discussed the developments in Afghanistan during their deliberations. At first, the debates focused on the question of what role Moscow had played in the coup of the PDPA. Andreas Meyer-Landrut, Head of Department in the West German Foreign Office, concluded in a letter to Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher dated July 1978 that the Kremlin's active participation in the April revolution was "unverifiable and rather unlikely."[28] The CIA shared this opinion.[29] Nevertheless, diplomats and the intelligence services in Bonn and Washington were convinced that Moscow sought to establish permanent control over the regime in Kabul in order to gradually expand its sphere of influence to include Iran and Pakistan and to gain access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean in the long run. Accordingly, they believed that this cautious and reserved maneuvering was proof

27 The CIA assumed that Hafizullah Amin had been murdered by the Soviets, but evidence is lacking to prove this assumption, see Douglas MacEachin, Predicting the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. The Intelligence Community's Record, Washington D.C. 2002, pp. 33–35.

28 Letter by Head of Dept. 3 of Auswärtiges Amt (Federal Foreign Office; henceforth: AA), Ministerialdirektor Andreas Meyer-Landrut to the minister's office, Staatssekretär (State Secretary; henceforth: StS) Günther van Well and Bundesminister (Federal Minister; henceforth: BM) Hans-Dietrich Genscher, July 3, 1978, Betr.: Lage in Afghanistan, hier: Besuch des Ministerialdirigenten Jens Petersen in der Demokratischen Republik Afghanistan, in: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts (henceforth: PA/AA), B 1, MB (ZA), vol. 178766.

29 See MacEachin, Predicting, p. 8. David N. Gibbs also assumes that Moscow was not actively involved in the April coup, see Hintergründe, in: Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege, p. 301.

that the Soviets were fully aware of the foreign policy disaster that might await Moscow if it chose to actively intervene in Afghanistan.

However, the more the balance of power shifted in favor of the insurgents in the Afghan civil war, the more Bonn and its partners discussed the question of whether, or rather when, the Soviet Union would march into Afghanistan to keep the struggling Amin regime in power. Although the NATO partners were kept informed about the current situation and the increasing military presence of the Soviet Union through the daily reports sent by their embassies in Kabul as well as their intelligence services and the CIA in particular,[30] they were uncertain of how to assess the political significance of these developments. Bonn, Paris, London and Washington continually had to weigh two aspects against one another. On the one hand, it was obvious that military intervention would have had severe political consequences for Moscow at the international level. Not only would the credibility of the Soviets' "Third-World" policy have suffered,[31] but also the détente process, which had already been severely tested by the increasingly heated debates on rearmament in the West, would have taken a hard hit. On the other hand, the collapse of the communist government in Kabul would have dealt a blow to Moscow's international image, because it would show the world that the allegedly unstoppable march of socialism towards a global revolution was an illusion. What would Moscow choose? Would it try to save face ideologically or would it opt for its foreign policy rationale?

The way these questions were answered had more to do with the respective political positions of the countries in question than it did with the sometimes conflicting reports coming from ambassadors and intelligence services on the ground. The disputes within the U.S. administration were perhaps the best example of this. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter had taken office with the goal of finally putting the experiences of Vietnam to rest and introducing a new line of foreign policy with a moral foundation that would focus on the protection of human rights.[32] Within the U.S. government, it was Secretary of State Cyrus Vance who primarily represented this idealist and sometimes missionary approach. Carter's Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, on the other hand, was

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30 Note d'information du Ministre de l'interieur, May 3, 1979, Objet: La situation actuelle en Afghanistan selon un rapport "secret" de la C.I.A., in: Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (henceforth: AMAE), Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 455INVA/1963, and see MacEachin, Predicting, pp. 6–35.

31 For easier readability, the term "Third World" will not henceforth be put in quotation marks.

32 On the foreign policy of the Carter administration, see Friedbert Pflüger, Die Menschenrechtspolitik der USA. Amerikanische Außenpolitik zwischen Idealismus und Realismus 1972–1982, Munich/Vienna 1983; Wiegrefe, Zerwürfnis.

regarded as an advocate of traditional *Realpolitik,* and he had made a name for himself as a right-wing hardliner thanks to his staunch anti-communism.[33] As early as April 1978, he had tried to convince the president that the communist coup in Kabul was part of a long-term Soviet political strategy to gain hegemony over the Middle East and access to the Persian Gulf.[34] Thus, in September 1979, Brzezinksi recommended breaking off American-Afghan relations and undermining Moscow's plans with covert CIA operations. He side-stepped objections that this might in fact provoke Soviet intervention in the first place by pointing out that the invasion had been Moscow's objective all along.[35] At this point, however, Vance was able to push through his suggestion of maintaining relations with Kabul for the time being while continuing to provide moderate economic aid as part of a wait-and-see approach.[36]

The government in London was also divided on this issue. Margaret Thatcher, who had moved into No. 10 Downing Street in the spring of 1979, championed a strict anti-communist line. In a conscious effort to distance herself from her predecessor James Callaghan and the Labour Party, she also called for a tough policy against Moscow.[37] She believed that the growing influence of the USSR over the last few years could be put down to the lack of strong leadership in the Carter administration, France's insistence on maintaining an independent foreign policy, and the burgeoning economic ties between West Germany and the Eastern European states.[38] British Foreign Secretary Peter Carrington agreed with the

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33 See John Dumbrell, American Foreign Policy. Carter to Clinton, London 1997, pp. 53–58; John Patrick Diggins, Ronald Reagan. Fate, Freedom and the Making of History, New York 2007, pp. 11–17. Alongside Zbigniew Brzezinski, Minister of Defense Harold Brown and Minister of Energy James R. Schlesinger belonged to the hardliners in Washington who championed military action in Afghanistan at a very early stage as a way to curb Soviet influence, see Hubel, Ende, here pp. 40–46.
34 See MacEachin, Predicting, pp. 9–10.
35 Scholarship assumes that the CIA started to financially support the Afghan rebels as early as July 1979 on a small scale at first, see details later in this article; Gibbs, Hintergründe, in: Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege, pp. 309–10.
36 On the persistent differences between Cyrus Vance and Brzezinski, see memorandum by Marshall Brement of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs, Brzezinski, May 2, 1980, in: Foreign Relations of the United States (henceforth: FRUS) 1977–1980, vol. VI, Soviet Union, Washington D.C. 2013, doc. 276, www.history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977-80v06/d276 [accessed April 12, 2017].
37 See Daniel James Lahey, The Thatcher Government's Response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan 1979–1980, in: Cold War History 13 (2013), pp. 21–42, here p. 25.
38 See Richard Smith, The UK Response to the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. Proposals for a Neutral and Non-Aligned Afghanistan, 1980–1981, in: Cambridge Review of International Affairs 26 (2013), pp. 355–73, here p. 356.

anti-communist consensus of the Conservative government and Thatcher's firm belief that Britain needed to take on a leading role in the global conflict with the Soviet Union. Yet, he disagreed with a one-dimensional confrontational approach, favoring a pragmatic and constructive policy towards Moscow in close cooperation with Britain's Western European partners.[39]

At an operational level, the responsible South Asian Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) discussed the current situation in Afghanistan in November 1979, just a few weeks before the Soviet invasion. The Head of Department, William White, had no doubts that Moscow would march in if a takeover by Islamists loomed.[40] Graham Archer and Michael Howell, on the other hand, still thought that a Soviet invasion was unlikely, not because Leonid Brezhnev was not capable of such a step, but because the insurgents were too weak to overthrow Amin.[41]

The West German government as well as the French president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, took the view that Brezhnev would not risk the hard-won achievements of détente for Afghanistan alone. As late as December 23, 1979, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the West German Foreign Office still strongly believed that Moscow would not interfere in the conflict between Afghan government troops and the insurgents – if only for the simple reason that the onset of winter would make a quick and effective suppression of the rebellion difficult.[42] German and French diplomats thus interpreted the reinforcement of the Soviet military presence merely as an act of political support for the Amin regime. In the end, this proved to be a blatant misjudgment on their part.

Regardless of the differences in detail, the debates of the NATO partners focused predominantly on Moscow's role in Afghanistan and the repercussions of an invasion in terms of security politics and détente as well as the geostrategic consequences for the global balance of power between the superpowers. The developments in Afghanistan seemed to become all the more dangerous as the

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39 See Paul Sharp, Thatcher's Diplomacy. The Revival of British Foreign Policy, London 1997, pp. 30–48.

40 Letter by White, Head of the South Asian Dept. of the FCO, to Mallaby, Eastern European and Soviet Dept. of the FCO, November 23, 1979, Subject: Afghanistan, in: The National Archives (henceforth: TNA), FCO 37/2132.

41 Letter by Archer, South Asian Dept. of the FCO, to White, Head of the South Asian Dept., November 23, 1979, in: TNA, FCO 37/2132; note by M. E. Howell, FCO, November 28, 1979, Subject: Afghanistan: Mr Mallaby's and Mr White's minutes, in: TNA, FCO 37/2132.

42 Télégramme no. 771/774 de Kaboul à Paris, December 23, 1979, Objet: Présence militaire soviétique en Afghanistan, in: AMAE, Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 455INVA/1963.

West appeared to be losing its influence in the Greater Middle East region. The "Islamic revolution" in Iran in the spring of 1979 was a particularly important factor in these assessments. The main threat was not considered to be the religious fundamentalism of the Khomeini regime, but rather the domestic instability of the country caused by the revolution, which might have tempted Moscow to march into Iran in order to secure access to the Persian Gulf and the oil deposits of the region.[43]

Consequently, the idea of a Soviet Union so bogged down by its long-term political, economic, and military involvement in Afghanistan that it could not make use of its geostrategic advantages in the region became all the more enticing. Washington thus came around to the idea that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan might have some advantages for the West, especially since it would more than likely severely damage the trust that had developed between Moscow and the countries of the region as well the entire Third World. At a meeting with his fellow ministers, André François-Poncet, David Owen, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher in New York on September 25, 1979, Vance argued: "The West should not overreact if the Soviets feel obliged to intervene. Let them sink into the swamp, while the West responds with more prudence."[44] In early November 1979, Christopher Mallaby from the Eastern European and Soviet Department of the FCO also noted that an invasion should be welcomed because it would significantly damage Moscow's image and carry enormous military and political costs. As he noted in a letter to White, "The best outcome for the West might be a slow escalation of the present situation, which will ensure that the Russians are slowly and painfully educated in the limits of imperial power without events reaching any definite conclusion."[45]

When Soviet troops finally marched into Afghanistan in late December 1979, as West German records show, the NATO partners shared the belief that Moscow

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43 See Panagotis Dimitrakis, The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. International Reactions, Military Intelligence and British Diplomacy, in: Middle Eastern Studies 48 (2012), pp. 511–36, here pp. 526–27; Bösch, Shah, pp. 147–48.

44 Note by Reinhold Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, Betr.: Treffen der vier Politischen Direktoren am 24./25.1.1980, in: Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (henceforth: AAPD) 1980, ed. by Horst Möller/Klaus Hildbrand/Gregor Schöllgen, Munich 2011, doc. 29, pp. 168–91, here p. 173, footnote 16.

45 Letter by Mallaby, Eastern European and Soviet Dept. of the FCO, to White, Head of the South Asian Dept. of the FCO, November 8, 1979, Subject: Afghanistan, in: TNA, FCO 37/2132. However, there were other opinions within the FCO. R.D. Lavers from the South Asian Dept. of the FCO argued that Britain had no interest in an invasion; letter by Lavers to Archer and White, South Asian Dept. of the FCO, November 29, 1979, Subject: Afghanistan, in: TNA, FCO 37/2132.

had not only intervened in order to replace Amin through Taraki, but also that the Soviets were planning a full-scale occupation of the country in order to crush the rebellion once and for all.[46] However, they disagreed over the question of Brezhnev's long-term objectives. Were Moscow's actions mainly part of an ideologically motivated offensive that aimed at a worldwide communist revolution, which would have directly affected Western security interests? Or was the invasion a defensive act designed to secure power as the Kremlin sought to block the looming Islamist takeover of Kabul and keep such religiously-motivated uprisings from spreading to the Muslim population in the neighboring southern provinces of the Soviet empire?[47]

The way in which the Europeans and the United States answered these questions determined which kind of response they believed to be most appropriate given the circumstances. Carter summarily declared that Moscow's actions were an attack on vital American security interests.[48] Given the immense pressure coming from the Iranian hostage crisis and the upcoming elections, he saw the situation as a chance to improve his domestic image.[49] In order to counter continuing allegations that he was a weak leader, he proclaimed unilateral sanctions against the Soviet Union[50] and demanded a boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow without consulting the NATO allies.[51]

For Thatcher, the Soviet invasion was proof that the West had been too lax when it came to Soviet expansionism in the Third World. Like Carter, she demanded a clear and unambiguous response to Brezhnev.[52] She demonstratively

46 Note by AA, Dept. 340, January 3, 1980, Betr.: Lage in Afghanistan, hier: Ergebnisvermerk über die 6er-Gespräche in London am 31.12.1979, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113035.

47 On the role of Islam in the southern provinces of the Soviet Union, see Rainer Freitag-Wirminghaus, Rußland, islamische Republiken des Kaukasus und Zentralasiens, in: Werner Ende/Udo Steinbach (eds.), Der Islam in der Gegenwart, 5th ed., Munich 2005, pp. 277–305.

48 Letter by the German Ambassador in Washington, Peter Hermes, to AA, January 25, 1980, Betr.: Rede des Präsidenten zur Lage der Union, hier: sicherheitspolitische Aspekte, in: PA/AA, B 14, dept. 201 (ZA), vol. 120163. On the exact wording of the speech, see Carter's message on the state of the nation, in: Archiv der Gegenwart 50 (1980), pp. 23225–23237.

49 See Wiegrefe, Zerwürfnis, pp. 303–28; Hubel, Ende, pp. 40–46.

50 Telegram no. 46 by German embassy Washington to AA, January 5, 1980, Betr.: Erklärung Präsident Carters zu Iran und Afghanistan, in: PA/AA, B 41, dept. 213 (ZA), vol. 133203.

51 Note du Ministre des affaires étrangères, June 11, 1980, Objet: Jeux Olympiques. Les centres de décision et la problematique, in: AMAE, Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 455INVA/1975; Letter by Ricketts, British embassy at Brussels (NATO), to Broucher, East European and Soviet Dept. of the FCO, February 27, 1980, Subject: Special Political Committee (SPC) discussion on Afghanistan and East/West relations, in: TNA, FCO 28/4004.

52 See Dimitrakis, Invasion, pp. 514–15.

declared her solidarity with the confrontational strategy adopted by the United States and also recommended that the British Olympic Committee refrain from taking part in the summer games in Moscow. This decision not only caused frictions within the British government, but also led to a public controversy in Great Britain, as the freedom and independence of sports seemed to be called into question by this political act.[53] Yet Thatcher remained skeptical when it came to the economic sanctions imposed by Washington because of the tense economic situation in Great Britain at the time as well as its traditional role as a trading giant.[54]

In contrast to the Thatcher and Carter administrations, the West German government primarily sought to preserve the détente between East and West and prevent a Second Cold War in Europe. Its credo was thus de-escalation through communication, and Genscher in particular incessantly argued for keeping up the dialogue with Moscow. Especially in times of international crisis, Genscher insisted, it was important to keep the lines of communication open in order to be able to understand the other side's motives, interests and perceptions of threat so that a way forward could be found that was acceptable to all. Regardless of ideological differences – which Genscher saw as the necessary basis for negotiations rather than an obstacle to them – he tried to find possible compromises that would sufficiently satisfy the security concerns of the West while giving Brezhnev the opportunity to withdraw from Afghanistan without losing face.[55]

Schmidt generally supported the West German Foreign Office's political strategy of détente. This is reflected, for instance, in the Franco-German declaration signed in early February 1980 in which Schmidt and Giscard agreed that the policy of détente "would not withstand another blow of this kind," thereby leaving the door open for further talks with Moscow.[56] In order to avoid adding further fuel to the flames of the highly charged atmosphere immediately after the invasion, the chancellor decided to try to downplay the dramatic events by purposely continuing with his vacation on Mallorca in late December 1979.[57] For

53 See Paul Corthorn, The Cold War and British Debates over the Boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, in: Cold War History 13 (2013), pp. 43–66.

54 See Lahey, Thatcher, pp. 27–33. On British-Soviet relations, see Sharp, Thatcher's Diplomacy, pp. 183–201.

55 See Bresselau von Bressensdorf, Frieden, pp. 99–170.

56 On the exact wording of the Franco-German declaration, see Bulletin der Bundesregierung no. 15, February 2, 1980, Gemeinsame Erklärung anlässlich der 35. deutsch-französischen Konsultationen am 4. und 5. Februar in Paris, in: Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung (eds.), Bulletin der Bundesregierung, vol. 1, Bonn 1980, pp. 117–18.

57 After his vacation on Mallorca, Schmidt was on an official state visit to Madrid from January 7 to 9, 1980. He did not return to Bonn until January 10, 1980.

Genscher, who took the lead when it came to détente in his role as Foreign Minister, the chancellor's decision also had a positive side-effect in that he was able to take over the immediate management of the crisis in Schmidt´s absence.[58]

In Paris, however, Washington's unilateral action almost instinctively triggered resistance, prompting Giscard to refuse to take part in a joint course of action supported by the European Political Cooperation (EPC) and NATO as he insisted upon the sovereignty and independence of French foreign policy.[59] Yet Carter, driven by the expectations of the American public and internal party pressure, stuck to his policy of sanctions and insisted on unconditional solidarity from his European partners.[60] As a result, the anti-American undertones that had emerged within German and French public debates as a result of the NATO Dual Track Decision and widespread concerns over a new arms race became all the more pronounced.[61]

In the end, although NATO managed to draw up a joint statement demanding the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops and the assurance of the right of self-determination for the Afghan people, the Western Europeans refused to express their unconditional solidarity with the United States. At the NATO conference on January 15, 1980, they merely agreed not to undermine Carter's sanctions.[62] Rather than strengthening the cohesion of the West in light of the Soviet threat and the dissent over the NATO Dual Track Decision, the Afghanistan conflict further fueled the centrifugal forces within the alliance. Thus, instead of representing a united front, NATO and its different bodies seemed to offer a forum for (sometimes lacking) exchange and coordination between the partner states. That

58 See Bresselau von Bressensdorf, Frieden, pp. 182–95.

59 Note by Gerold Edler von Braunmühl, Vortragender Legationsrat, February 26, 1980, Betr.: Gespräch des BM mit Außenminister François-Poncet am 4.2.1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 39, pp. 235–38. See also Vaïsse, Le chemin de Varsovie, pp. 169–87; Georges-Henri Soutou, La guerre de cinquante ans. Le conflit Est-Ouest 1943–1990, Paris 2001, pp. 617–19.

60 See Dumbrell, Policy, pp. 32–52.

61 See Philipp Gassert, Viel Lärm um Nichts? Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss als Katalysator gesellschaftlicher Selbstverständigung in der Bundesrepublik, in: idem/Geiger/Wentker (eds.), Zweiter Kalter Krieg, pp. 175–202. On the reception of the decision amongst the French public, see the press review of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Note du Ministère des affaires étrangères, January 4, 1980, Objet: La crise afghane dans la presse française, in: AMAE, Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 455INVA/1966.

62 Directive of the Head of Dept. 213 of AA, Alexander Arnot, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 16, 1980, Betr.: Sowjetische Intervention in Afghanistan, hier: NATO-Beratung vom 15.1., in: AAPD 1980, doc. 14, pp. 85–88; telegram no. 248 by British Ambassador Brussels (EC), Butler, to the FCO, January 15, 1980, Subject: Foreign Affairs Council/Political Cooperation Meeting, in: TNA, FCO 28/4000.

said, however, the NATO allies did have one thing in common: their interests, strategies, and notions were driven by détente and security policy considerations that stemmed from modes of thought associated with the bloc politics of the Cold War rather than assessments of the current and future significance of Islamism for the Greater Middle East region in particular and international relations as a whole.

Islam as a Vehicle of Anti-Communism

Despite these differences of opinion among the NATO partners on how to adequately respond to Moscow, the allies still faced the question of how to deal with the new situation in Afghanistan and the Greater Middle East region in general. They saw possible ways to resolve the conflict in their best interests via different channels. On one level, they could aim for diplomatic cooperation with the Islamic-Arab countries in the region. On another level, they could provide political and material support to Afghan resistance groups.

Using the Means of Diplomacy: Islamic States as Partners

As the situation in Afghanistan escalated, one organization that had been previously overlooked by the international community suddenly gained importance: the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).[63] Founded in 1969 as a union of Islamic countries in Asia and Africa, it pursued two main objectives. First of all, it strove – as did other international movements and organizations of Third World countries – for equal participation in the shaping of world politics and the global economy. Its most important organs therefore included the mostly Saudi-financed Islamic Solidarity Fund and Islamic Development Bank that were to subsidize and provide development aid for structurally weak member states lacking in raw materials. Secondly, it is still the only international organization bound to a religious commitment to date. By recognizing the principle of the territorial nation state, it aimed to unite all the Islamic countries to work together towards a long-term restructuring of global politics. This goal was closely linked to the efforts

63 See Johannes Reissner, Internationale islamische Organisationen, in: Ende/Steinbach (eds.), Islam, pp. 747–51; Ellinor Schöne, Islamische Solidarität. Geschichte, Politik, Ideologie der Organisation der Islamischen Konferenz (OIC) 1969–1981, Berlin 1997.

of the Arab-Islamic states to strengthen their position in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which repeatedly resulted in internal disputes with the Asian and sub-Saharan African member states. With the decision to suspend Egypt's membership after the country signed a separate peace agreement with Israel in 1979, the OIC survived its most severe test up to that point. But, just a few months later, the focus of international crisis diplomacy turned towards another OIC member state when the Soviets marched into Afghanistan.

The OIC's very first extraordinary Conference of Foreign Ministers in Islamabad in late January 1980 adopted a declaration in response to the invasion that many Western observers perceived as surprisingly severe in tone. The Foreign Ministers of the OIC explicitly denounced the Soviet military aggression as a violation of international law and demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops; they also suspended Afghanistan's membership of the OIC and called on member states to break off diplomatic relations with Kabul.[64] At the same time, the Islamic countries did not want their hostile attitude towards the USSR to be seen as an indication that they were taking sides with the United States. Thus, the conference justified its declaration by citing the firmly non-aligned status of the Islamic countries and expressing its concern that the United States might try to use the crisis to expand its own military presence in the region. In addition to the Afghanistan resolution, the OIC therefore adopted a declaration that underscored its unconditional support for the Islamic Republic of Iran in the hostage crisis and denounced any form of pressure put on Tehran, including economic sanctions. Thus, the OIC prioritized upholding its principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of its member states over the fact that foreign diplomats were being unlawfully held in Tehran. By adopting both declarations at the same time, moreover, the OIC states ostentatiously demonstrated that they by no means intended to let themselves be drawn into the East-West conflict.[65]

This made it clear to Bonn that any political initiative led by Washington or NATO to resolve the conflict in Afghanistan would be seen as wrongful interference not only by Kabul and Moscow, but also by the neighboring Islamic states. Nevertheless, in order to reinforce NATO's demand for a withdrawal of the Soviet troops and work towards a political solution to the conflict, Genscher called upon his Foreign Minister colleagues in the European Political Cooperation (EPC), the foreign policy arm of the European Community (EC). Thus, as archival documents

64 Telegram no. 119 by German Ambassador Islamabad, Ulrich Scheske, to AA, January 30, 1980, Betr.: Außerordentliche Islamische Außenministerkonferenz, 27.1.–29.1.1980 in Islamabad, in: PA/AA, dept. 340 (ZA), vol. 113188. See also Schöne, Solidarität, pp. 198–204.
65 See ibid., p. 202.

reveal, it was the Foreign Office and not the Chancellor's Office that set the tone in West Germany when it came to identifying possible political solutions to defuse the crisis.[66]

Genscher's objective was not only to get the countries of the region involved, but also to draw the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) as a bloc onto the international stage on the side of the EC. To this end, he introduced a multi-dimensional strategy based on the premise that it would have been more difficult for Brezhnev to reject a proposal submitted by the NAM states.[67] Denouncing such an initiative as Western interference would have alienated the countries of the Third World, but the Kremlin actually needed to court these countries more than ever before, because the Soviet invasion of the officially independent Afghanistan had raised fears that Moscow might do the same in other non-aligned countries. Secondly, Genscher hoped that this approach would make it possible to prevent the Afghanistan crisis from becoming part of a new East-West confrontation by emphasizing that it was an issue between the Eastern bloc and the "global South."[68] And thirdly, he believed that this kind of crisis management strategy would help pave the way for the improvement of relations between the Federal Republic and the Arab-Islamic countries, which had been neglected for a long time due to West Germany's "special relationship" with Israel.

British Foreign Secretary Carrington proved to be Genscher's most important European partner in developing these kinds of specific political initiatives. Unlike Thatcher, who offhandedly dismissed such a diplomatic strategy as "useless,"[69] Carrington worked together with the West German Foreign Minister to draw up concepts for an independent, non-aligned Afghanistan.[70] The objective was to achieve the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the establishment of a representative Afghan government with the participation of the oppositional groups. Accor-

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66 Usually, plans were developed in the Federal Foreign Office, so only copies were filed in the Chancellor's Office. There are no archival documents entailing plans and initiatives coming from the Chancellor's Office itself. See the relevant documents in PA/AA (B 37) and Bundesarchiv (B 136; henceforth: BArch). The West German Ministry of Defense also complained about the suboptimal information policy of AA, which – as it claimed – had monopolized the crisis management of the Afghanistan conflict; letter by Dietrich Genschel, GL 23, to Head of Dept. 2 of AA, Ministerialdirektor Klaus Blech, January 10, 1980, in: BArch, B 136/16585.

67 Directive of Head of Dept. 3, Ministerialdirektor Meyer-Landrut, March 11, 1980, Betr.: Neutrales und blockfreies Afghanistan, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113036.

68 On the notion of the "global South," see Thomas Greven/Christoph Scherrer, Globalisierung gestalten. Weltökonomie und soziale Standards, Bonn 2005, pp. 50–83.

69 Smith, Response, p. 361.

70 Letter by Lavers, South Asian Dept. of the FCO, to Private Secretary, Alexander, March 16, 1980, Subject: Afghanistan, German paper, in: TNA, FCO 37/2272.

ding to British plans, this government was then supposed to declare its neutrality along the lines of the Austrian example, and the neighboring states of Pakistan, Iran, India, and China as well as the two superpowers were to issue declarations guaranteeing that they would respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, and non-alignment of Afghanistan and refrain from interfering with its internal affairs. The order in which these measures were supposed to take place and a specific schedule for their implementation remained open.[71]

However, Genscher disagreed with the idea of Afghanistan becoming a neutral country along Austrian lines for two reasons. For one thing, he claimed, Afghanistan's status could not be compared to that of Austria. For another, he cautioned against the notion of neutrality with its inherent post-imperial British foreign policy impetus that had the potential to destroy the recently hard-won trust of the developing countries.[72] Despite these differences in detail, Carrington and Genscher acted in concert and, at the meeting of the EPC in April 1980, they both advocated trying to sell the idea of a non-aligned Afghanistan to the Islamic and NAM states as a first step in order to keep up the pressure on Moscow.[73]

Interestingly, neither the British nor the Germans even thought about how to reconcile the interests of the socialist and clearly atheistic regime with the aspirations of the Islamist rebel groups within a viable and lasting unity government. Indeed, they failed to consider that this inherent antagonism between communist and Islamist ideology jeopardized not only Afghanistan's stability in the long run, but also the structure of the entire region given the universal claims of both ideologies. Rather, this diplomatic offensive was very much a product of Cold War bloc politics.

In keeping with these plans, the West German Foreign Office contacted the OIC in order to promote the idea of an independent Afghanistan.[74] This idea seemed to be promising at the time because all of the OIC member states – except for Turkey as a NATO member – belonged to the Non-Aligned Movement. If the OIC, whose members included Iran and Pakistan, could have been convinced of

71 Memo by AA, February 29, 1980, Betr.: Neuner-Positionen zu einem neutralen Afghanistan, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113036; note by AA, March 3, 1980, Betr.: Neutrales Afghanistan, Sachstand, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113036.

72 Letter by Palliser, Under-Secretary of State and Head of the Diplomatic Service, to Private Secretary, Alexander, February 22, 1980, Subject: Visit of State Secretary van Well, in: TNA, FCO 37/2263.

73 Letter by Coper, FCO, to White, Head of the South Asian Dept., April 24, 1980, Subject: European Political Cooperation: Political Committee, Rome, April 23, 1980: Afghanistan, in: TNA, FCO 98/896.

74 Telegram by Head of Dept. 3 of AA, Ministerialdirektor Meyer-Landrut, July 3, 1980, Betr.: Besuch des BK und BM in Moskau, 30.6.–1.7.1980, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113033.

the EC's suggestions, it would certainly have been an important step in the right direction.

However, given that neither the countries of the Third World nor the OIC were homogeneous, they proved to be difficult partners to negotiate with. Moreover, the West seemed to be losing favor within the OIC. At the OIC's 11th Foreign Ministers' Conference in May 1980, it adopted a distinctly less critical declaration on the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan compared to the one in January. In this new statement, the OIC sharply condemned the U.S. military's failed attempt to rescue the hostages in the American embassy in Tehran in late April as an act of aggression against Iran.[75] From the perspective of the Islamic states, Washington was less interested in turning Afghanistan into an independent country than it was in taking advantage of the Soviet-Afghan conflict to shift the geostrategic situation in the region in its favor. As Habib Chatty, the Secretary General of the OIC, noted, "[…] the U.S. stand on Afghanistan was meant to defend the American strategic position while the Islamic Conference wanted to defend the liberty of the Afghan people."[76]

Nonetheless, the West German Foreign Office judged one aspect of this Foreign Ministers' Conference to be quite promising, namely that representatives of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan – a newly founded umbrella organization of Afghan resistance movements that proved to be a rather unstable partnership of convenience from the outset – had attended the conference as part of the Iranian government delegation.[77] At this meeting, a tripartite commission was established consisting of the Foreign Ministers Agha Shahi (Pakistan) and Sadegh Ghotbzadeh (Iran) as well as Habib Chatty. It was tasked with the job of promoting the OIC's January resolution internationally.[78] At a further meeting in June, all the participants stressed their commitment to the creation of an "Afghan-Islamic resistance movement."[79] This movement was sup-

75 See Schöne, Solidarität, pp. 212–18; Wiegrefe, Zerwürfnis, pp. 303–28; Bösch, Shah, pp. 138, 162; Edward D. Berkowitz, Something Happened. A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies, New York 2006, p. 222.

76 Press statement of the Secretary General of the OIC, Habib Chatty, May 23, 1980, quoted in Schöne, Solidarität, p. 215.

77 On the course of events and the results of the 11th Foreign Ministers' Conference of the OIC in Islamabad from May 17 to 22, 1980, see Schöne, Solidarität, pp. 207–30, here pp. 214–18; 11. Islamische Außenministerkonferenz, in: Archiv der Gegenwart 50 (1980), pp. 23564–565.

78 Note by the FCO, July 1980, Subject: Afghanistan report no. 1/7, in: TNA, FCO 973/103.

79 Letter by Dept. 3 of AA to StS van Well, June 23, 1980, Betr.: Gespräche der Dreier-Kommission der Islamischen Konferenz mit Vertretern des afghanischen Widerstands am 20./21.06.1980 auf dem Mont Pelerin bei Vevey, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113045.

posed to be recognized by the international community as the legitimate representative of the Afghan people and as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, which would hopefully lead to a UN special conference on Afghanistan. Also, the OIC conference called on OPEC and the Islamic states to provide financial assistance for the Afghan resistance and break off all relations with the Soviet Union as a sign of solidarity. The establishment of satellite offices in New York, Geneva, and the capitals of the OIC member states was supposed to secure the long-term influence of the resistance movement on the situation in Afghanistan. According to the OIC commission, the fundamental prerequisite for the desired peaceful resolution of the conflict was – apart from the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops – the political independence and sovereignty of the country, the achievement of true non-aligned status, and protection of "the Islamic identity of Afghanistan."[80] Despite this apparent commitment to a solution, the OIC remained a weak partner for the West, especially as the tripartite OIC commission shrank to an ineffective duo after Tehran ceased to function as an important player in the resolution of the conflict in the wake of the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War in September 1980 as well as the ongoing hostage crisis.

The West German government together with its allies therefore focused on one of the few remaining options to stabilize the situation and maintain, or rather expand, the influence of the West in the crisis region as much as possible: a program to stabilize Pakistan, Afghanistan's most important neighboring state apart from Iran, which also played a key role in the region. If the Soviet invasion was in fact Moscow's first step towards the Persian Gulf, then the non-aligned country of Pakistan had to be stopped from strengthening its relations with Moscow and thereby being drawn into the Soviet sphere of influence.[81] Moreover, a great number of Afghan war refugees had fled to Pakistan as their first choice. The refugee camps, which were already home to over a million people by April 1980, put an additional strain on the Pakistani budget and the domestically unstable country as a whole. Since his coup in 1977, Prime Minister Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq had neither consolidated the economy of the country nor had he been able to level the historic disparities between the more affluent western and the disadvantaged eastern parts of the country in economic, administrative, financial, and military terms. Instead, a gradual Islamization of Pakistan's society had

80 Ibid.
81 Note by AA, Dept. 340, February 12, 1980, Betr.: Politik der Bundesregierung gegenüber den Staaten der Region nach der sowjetischen Intervention in Afghanistan, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113037.

taken place.[82] In addition, Afghan resistance fighters used the barely controlled Afghan-Pakistani border region as an area of retreat, which posed the risk that the war might easily spread to Pakistan.[83]

In January 1980, the West German government officially adopted a program to stabilize Pakistan politically and economically. Its three-pronged approach consisted of humanitarian aid for the refugees – augmented by substantial food supplies from the EC – and an increase in development aid[84] as well as the introduction of debt rescheduling negotiations.[85] However, this substantial aid package did not remain uncontroversial, not least because Bonn and its partners thus contributed to the consolidation and international legitimization of Zia-ul-Haq's military regime. Within Genscher's decisively "realist" foreign policy, moral considerations had to give way to geostrategic interests. In a conversation with U.S. Senator John Tower on February 20, 1980, the West German Foreign Minister reiterated his belief that Pakistan would have to be given a key role in the attempt to prevent the Soviets from advancing to the warm oceans. "Regardless of whether or not one likes Zia-ul-Haq's military regime," Genscher claimed, the country had to be stabilized in the long term.[86]

Weapons for Freedom? Supporting the Islamist Resistance

Alongside these diplomatic, economic, and financial policy initiatives designed to integrate the Islamic states, the Western allies (long before the Soviet invasion) had been fully aware of the fact that the Afghan resistance groups played a pivotal

82 On domestic developments in Pakistan, see Ian Talbot, Pakistan. A New History, London 2012, pp. 115–41; Khálid Durán/Munir D. Ahmed, Pakistan, in: Ende/Steinbach (eds.), Islam, pp. 336–62.
83 Notes by Horst-Dieter Maurer, Kapitän zur See, January 29, 1980, Betr.: Unterstützung der afghanischen Befreiungsbewegungen, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 31, pp. 196–201. See also Dimitrakis, Invasion, p. 527.
84 Letter by Head of Dept. 421 of AA, Alexander Sieger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, to StS Hans Werner Lautenschlager and BM Genscher, January 15, 1980, Betr.: Deutsch-amerikanisches Gespräch StS Lautenschlager/Cooper über Afghanistan, in: PA/AA, B 32, dep. 204 (ZA), vol. 115951.
85 Telegram no. 26 by British Ambassador Brussels (NATO), Rose, to the FCO, January 11, 1980, Subject: Afghanistan and East/West relations, in: TNA, FCO 28/3997; letter by Sieger, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, to StS Lautenschlager and BM Genscher, January 15, 1980, Betr.: Deutsch-amerikanisches Gespräch StS Lautenschlager/Cooper über Afghanistan, in: PA/AA, B 32, dep. 204 (ZA), vol. 115951.
86 Note by Head of Dept. 204 of AA, Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat, February 20, 1981, Betr.: Gespräch des BM mit Senator Tower am 20.2.1981, in: PA/AA, B 14, dep. 201 (ZA), vol. 125581, p. 7.

role in the question of whether the Kabul regime would be able to hold its ground in the long run, effectively making Afghanistan a permanent part of Moscow's sphere of influence as a result. In the global competition with communism, the French Ministry of Foreign affairs noted soberly, Afghanistan was merely "a pawn in a very big game of chess." As had often been said before, he also reiterated that "the Afghan resistance is the key to the situation."[87] What would have made more sense from this perspective than to support the insurgents? Scholarship in fact assumes that the CIA financially and militarily subsidized the anti-communist resistance even months prior to the Soviet invasion.[88] Furthermore, evidence confirms that the U.S. National Security Council decided on December 17, 1979 to confer with the United Kingdom and Pakistan about a further increase in aid and arms supplies as well as more intensive talks with the Afghan rebels "to make it as expensive as possible for the Soviets to continue their efforts."[89] Thus, it is hardly surprising that Paris, London, and Washington unanimously spoke out in favor of supplying arms to the resistance groups in January 1980.[90] From the outset, these Western partners agreed that this military support was not intended to achieve a swift victory of the rebels over the Kabul regime and the Soviet troops; rather, the goal was clearly to keep the Soviet troops involved in a long-term war of attrition.[91] At a meeting of the four political directors in London in late January 1980, Jacques Pierre Dupont, deputy Head of Department at the Quai d'Orsay, bluntly pointed out that it was a rather tempting idea to let the Soviet Union sink in the Afghan swamp.[92]

In West Germany, however, the constitution prohibited arms exports into areas of tension, which the Foreign Office in Bonn kept pointing out in response to repeated questions coming from the Bundestag and the media.[93] Notwith-

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87 Record of conversation between the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the French Foreign Minister at Chevening, December 19, 1980, in: TNA, FCO 46/2191.

88 See Gibbs, Hintergründe, in: Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege, pp. 309–10; Moser, Politik, pp. 108–09.

89 MacEachin, Predicting, p. 30.

90 Letter by Secretary of State, Lord Carrington, to Prime Minister, February 1, 1980, Subject: Afghanistan, The next steps, in: TNA, FCO 28/4001.

91 Letter by Head of Planning Staff of AA, Ministerialdirektor Niels Hansen, to StS van Well and BM Genscher, June 20, 1980, Betr.: Afghanistan, hier: Neubewertung der Interessenlage und der Zielsetzung des Westens, in: PA/AA, B 9, Pl. 02 (ZA), vol. 178431.

92 Note by Head of Dept. 204 of AA, Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 173. Dupont hinted at a remark by Vest made on September 25, 1979: ibid., p. 173, footnote 16.

93 Letter by Head of Dept. 3 of AA, Ministerialdirektor Walter Gorenflos, to Alois Mertes, member of the Bundestag (CDU/CSU parliamentary party), January 30, 1981, Betr.: Waffenlieferungen

standing this constitutional issue, there were also some strong voices within the Foreign Office in favor of supplying arms to the Afghan rebels. On January 29, for example, Horst-Dieter Maurer, who worked in the policy planning department, wrote a report together with his colleague Wilhelm Schönfelder expressing a decisively "realist" claim:

> The motives of the Soviets for the military occupation of Afghanistan are probably manifold. For the West, however, it is facts that count. [...] Given this background, the occupation of Afghanistan has clearly improved the Soviets' geostrategic position. Soviet troops are now only a few hundred kilometers away from the oil fields of the Middle East and the vital shipping routes in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. [...] One way to keep the costs high for the SU is to support the Afghan liberation movements. [...] The most suitable weapons would be those the Afghans are familiar with. [...] Yet given the Pashtun warriors' love for weapons, they are probably very capable of learning how to handle Western weapons quickly. [...] The resistance movement will not be able to achieve a decisive victory over the Soviet forces even with considerable support. [...] Despite the aforementioned problems and risks, the long-term involvement of the SU in a guerrilla war in Afghanistan will surely be in the best interests of the West [...]. The West should prudently assess whether and, if so, how the Afghan resistance groups can be effectively supported. For obvious reasons, it would be best to deliver weapons and equipment via other Islamic states. The West could encourage these countries and offer compensation – for instance to Somalia.[94]

Thus, the Foreign Office appeared to be less concerned with whether the idea of involving the Soviet Union in a war of attrition by providing military support to the Afghan resistance groups was compatible with a democratic, value-based foreign policy, but rather more concerned with how to actually go about implementing this strategy. Since the rebels used the region around Pakistan's western border as an area of retreat and received support from Islamabad, it seemed obvious that Western arms supplies should be delivered via Pakistan and other Arab-Islamic states of the region such as Saudi Arabia. As a report of the West German Foreign Office indicates, the allies agreed that their support of the resistance groups had to be handled "with the utmost discretion."[95] Likewise, it was "paramount to avoid giving the impression that the support of the Afghan rebels could be seen as

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an den afghanischen Widerstand, in: Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik (henceforth: ACDP), Mertes papers, sign. 01–403-164/3.

94 Note by Maurer, Kapitän zur See, January 29, 1980, Betr.: Unterstützung der afghanischen Befreiungsbewegungen, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 31, pp. 196–201.

95 Note by Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 173; letter by Secretary of State, Lord Carrington, to Prime Minister, January 19, 1980, Subject: Afghanistan, in: TNA, FCO 98/894. On the arms trade transactions, see Moser, Politik, pp. 108–09.

an act of imperialist interference," and, according to Dupont, this was "a matter beyond traditional diplomacy."[96]

As they had done in their dealings with the OIC, the NATO partners focused on Islam as the way to unite the divergent interest groups among the Afghan rebels in the fight against communism. Interestingly, the NATO states repeatedly linked the notion of a decidedly Islamic resistance to the Western concept of freedom. This was particularly evident in Great Britain, where "freedom" – with its anti-socialist connotations – evolved into one of the main tenets of Thatcherism.[97] At the first cabinet meeting after the Soviet invasion in early January 1980, the British Prime Minister stated: "a strong stand was necessary over Afghanistan to mitigate damage to political interest in the free world."[98]

Not surprisingly, the documents of the British Foreign Office consistently referred to the Afghan resistance groups as "freedom fighters." The Prime Minister herself also relentlessly reiterated this point in public, for instance in a speech before the House of Commons in late January 1980:

> Who are the Russians fighting against? The newspapers call them 'the rebels'. [...] It is a strange word to me of people who are fighting to defend their own country against a foreign invader. Surely they are genuine freedom fighters, fighting to free their country from an alien oppressor.[99]

David Atkinson, a fellow Conservative MP, even more plainly linked his calls for weapons exports to the Western concept of freedom when he addressed his fellow party member and representative of the FCO, Douglas Hurd, in the parliamentary debate on June 18, 1980: "Will he [Hurd] give an assurance that all possible help, aid and equipment, short of manpower, is being provided for the freedom fighters, who are fighting not only for their own freedom but for ours?"[100] These

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96 Note by Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 174.

97 See Martina Steber, Die Hüter der Begriffe. Politische Sprachen des Konservativen in Großbritannien und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1980, Berlin/Boston (MA) 2017, pp. 410–22.

98 Quoted from Lahey, Thatcher, p. 26.

99 Margaret Thatcher, House of Commons speech, East-West Relations, January 28, 1980, in: Hansard HC [977/933–45], www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104298 [accessed April 12, 2017]. She made a similar remark at a press conference in Venice, see Margaret Thatcher, Press Conference after Venice European Council, June 13, 1980, in: Thatcher Archive, COI Transcript, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104378 [accessed April 12, 2017].

100 David Atkinson, Afghanistan, in: Hansard Debates, vol. 986, Commons Sitting, June 18, 1980, cc1540–1, www.hansard. millbanksystems.com/commons/1980/jun/18/afghanistan#column_1540

quotes ideally illustrate the view of the world typical of Thatcherism in which Great Britain was the champion and guarantor of Western values of freedom both at home and abroad.[101] Given their struggle for freedom from socialist paternalism, the Islamist resistance movements thus seemed to be the natural allies of the West in its global fight against communism.

At the same time, however, the Thatcher government exercised restraint when it came to questions about these exports in the media. As Foreign Secretary Carrington wrote to the Prime Minister in mid-August:

> Public admission or even suspicion that we were considering or were actually supplying arms would not be helpful to the Afghans themselves, would embarrass the Pakistanis and could provoke reactions from the Russians. Our main tactic of bolstering Islamic and non-aligned opposition to the Russians will be spoilt if the conflict in Afghanistan takes on the appearance of an East/West confrontation. Our public line which has been used on several occasions in Parliament should therefore be that it is desirable that the Afghan resistance should have the wherewithal to oppose the Soviet invasion; that arms appear to be getting through; and that it is not helpful to the Afghans themselves to be specific about the sources.[102]

The U.S. administration, on the other hand, actually used the term "rebels" – which Thatcher had in fact rejected – in its internal documents and conversations with NATO partners.[103] Nevertheless, a rhetorical shift can be detected in the U.S. government's public statements, which certainly had to do with the fact that Ronald Reagan had become president in January 1981. Although Carter had indeed sharpened the tone of his foreign policy statements in light of the Soviet invasion and the heated atmosphere in the run-up to the elections, the ideolo-

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[accessed April 12, 2017]. Roger Garside, Deputy Head of Planning Staff of the FCO, argued along similar lines in his letter to Christopher Mallaby, November 14, 1980: "How long can we go on writing speeches for the Prime Minister to deliver at the Guildhall proclaiming the need to stop Soviet expansion in the Third World if we are not prepared at least to offer aid to the Afghan Resistance?"; letter by Garside to Mallaby, Eastern European and Soviet Dept. of the FCO, November 12, 1980, Subject: Afghanistan: Future policy, in: TNA, FCO 49/893.

101 See Dominik Geppert, Thatchers konservative Revolution. Der Richtungswandel der britischen Torries 1975–1979, Munich 2002, pp. 61–144; Ben Jackson/Robert Saunders (eds.), Making Thatcher's Britain, Cambridge 2012; Richard Vinen, Thatcher's Britain. The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era, London et al. 2009.

102 Note by the Secretary of State, Lord Carrington, August 19, 1980, Subject: FCS/80/141: Help for the Afghan resistance, in: TNA, PREM (Prime Minister's Office) 19/387, p. 1.

103 See memorandum by the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs, Brzezinski, to President Carter, January 9, 1980, Subject: A Long-Term Strategy for Coping with the Consequences of the Soviet Action in Afghanistan, in: FRUS 1977–1980, vol. VI, Soviet Union, doc. 256, www.history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1977– 80v06/d256 [accessed April 12, 2017]; note by Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 173.

gically charged anti-Soviet rhetoric of the White House intensified even further under President Reagan.[104] Similarly to Thatcher, Reagan was committed to anti-communism and a “roll back” policy that was supposed to prevent the global spread of socialism and expand the influence of the “Free World.”[105] Accordingly, Reagan dramatically emphasized the struggle of the Afghan resistance groups for freedom in his public speeches, often idealizing and justifying their cause by referring to the heroic biblical fight of David against Goliath.[106] On the occasion of the third Afghanistan Day on March 21, 1983, for example, Reagan said: “To watch the courageous Afghan freedom fighters battle modern arsenals with simple hand-held weapons is an inspiration to those who love freedom. Their courage teaches us a great lesson – that there are things in this world worth defending.”[107]

The concept of freedom also figured in the discussions in West Germany. The inquiry of the CDU/CSU (*Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/ Christlich-Soziale Union*) parliamentary group of 16 June 1981 as to whether the federal government shared the U.S. president’s preference for using “freedom fighters” or “resistance fighters” rather than “rebels” and “insurgents,” for instance, demonstrates the paramount role that this issue played in West German public debates.[108] Genscher in fact tried to avoid these terms altogether and consistently used the notion of “liberation movements” in order to emphasize the legitimacy of the actions of these groups and to avoid indirectly recognizing the Karmal regime.[109] Ministerial documents, however, commonly used the terms “resistance” and “resistance groups,” thereby alluding to the heterogeneity and

104 See Dumbrell, Policy, pp. 53–58; Diggins, Reagan; Doug Rossinow, The Reagan Era. A History of the 1980s, New York 2015.

105 See James Cooper, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. A very political special relationship, London 2012.

106 See also Moser, Politik, p. 109.

107 Ronald Reagan, Message on Observance of Afghanistan Day, March 21, 1983, in: Public Papers of Ronald Reagan, www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1983/32183e.htm [accessed April 12, 2017]. Similar remarks can be found in other speeches such as: Ronald Reagan, Proclamation 4908, Afghanistan Day, March 10, 1982, in: ibid., www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1982/31082c.htm [accessed August 13, 2016]; Ronald Reagan, Statement on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, December 26, 1984, in: ibid., www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/122684a.htm [accessed April 12, 2017].

108 Alois Mertes, request no. 42, in: Fragen für die Fragestunde der Sitzung des Deutschen Bundestages am Dienstag, dem 16. Juni 1981, printed matter 9/561, S. 9, dipbt.bundestag.de/doc/btd/09/005/0900561.pdf [accessed April 12, 2017].

109 Conversation between BM Genscher, British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, French Minister of Foreign Affairs François-Poncet and U.S. Secretary of State Muskie in Vienna, May 16, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 148, pp. 776–89, here p. 780.

fragmentation of the movement. The West German Foreign Office and Genscher himself constantly emphasized the Afghans' right of self-determination – a right to which the Afghans as well as the divided German nation were entitled. On the one hand, this reference to the German question lent a great deal of credibility to Genscher's position, especially in the eyes of his own voters. On the other hand, it bore new risks for a common EC foreign policy regarding another trouble spot, namely the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Most Western Europeans agreed that the West could hardly grant the Afghan people the right of self-determination while denying the Palestinians the same.[110] This highlighted the difficulties Bonn and its allies faced in trying to develop a consistent strategy to resolve the complex conflicts in the Greater Middle East region.

The French government also alluded to the right of self-determination, but it added revolutionary undertones in keeping with its own historical traditions, thereby lending the notion of *rebelles* a heroic touch. This also reflected the traditionally positive connotations associated with rebellion and the right of resistance against oppression (*la résistance à l'oppression*), which had shaped French history since the early modern period and found expression in the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights of 1789 as well as in the constitutions of 1791 and 1793.[111] Likewise, the *résistance* movement during World War II also played a pivotal role in France's collective memory and its national identity. Given the collaboration of the Vichy regime with Nazi Germany, the narrative of the resistance of the French people had taken on mythical proportions within the French culture of remembrance.[112] Thus, it is no coincidence that French ministerial documents as well as public statements on the Afghanistan conflict often used the term "*résistance afghan*."[113]

Consequently, the French government not only declared the armed fight of the Afghan people against the Kabul regime and the Soviet occupiers to be legitimate, but also to be worthy of support. Paris once again considered Islam to

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110 Télégramme no. 164 de Bruxelles à Paris, March 26, 1980, Objet: Conclusion des traveaux du SPC sur les consequences de l'affaire afghane, in: AMAE, Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 455INVA/1975.

111 The constitution of 1791 states: "The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." (art. 2): Günther Franz (Hrsg.), Staatsverfassungen. Eine Sammlung wichtiger Verfassungen der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in Urtext und Übersetzung, Darmstadt 1975, p. 305.

112 See Henry Rousso, Le syndrome de Vichy (1944–198…), Paris 1987.

113 Bordereau collectif no. 700, August 8, 1980, Objet: Résistance afghane, in: AMAE, Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 2882TOPO/2798.

be the vital link that could unify the population that was fragmented into tribal groups in order to resist the aggressors together. Not surprisingly, it was the French minister of foreign affairs who championed an armed revolutionary fight against communism at a meeting with his fellow ministers from Washington, London, and Bonn in January 1980. According to the notes of the West German Foreign Office, Secretary Dupont from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs also pointed out: “In general, the cause of the Afghan rebels needs to become a matter for Islam.”[114] Thus, in addition to arms supplies, he also advocated the political recognition of the resistance movements as well as their international inclusion by supporting their participation in the OIC and the Arab League. In June 1980, the French minister of foreign affairs, François-Poncet, once again emphasized this view by firmly pointing out the importance of supporting the resistance and mobilizing “Islamic opinion” against the Soviets.[115]

Despite these divergent approaches to underscoring the legitimacy of the Afghan resistance within the Western public that were clearly embedded in different intellectual and national traditions, the Western partners had correctly surmised that Islam was the only link that unified the hopelessly divided and competing Afghan resistance groups. The seven most important Afghan parties had set up camp in the Pakistani border city of Peshawar:[116] firstly, the fundamentalist Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hizb-i-Islami-yi Afghanistan) under the leadership of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar of the Kharoti tribe of the Ghilzai Pashtun from North Afghanistan; secondly, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan II (Hizb-i-Islami-yi Afghanistan II) under Yunus Khalis, who had split with Hekmatyar’s party after a leadership struggle; thirdly, the Islamic Society of Afghanistan (Jam’iat-i Islami-yi Afghanistan) of the Tajik Burhanuddin Rabbani, which is often referred to as the Tajik party; fourthly, the Islamic Revolutionary Movement (Harakat-i Inqilab-i Islami) led by the prominent Sunni clergyman from the Ghilzai tribe of the Ahmadzai, Mawlawi Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi; fifthly the National Liberation Front of Afghanistan (Jabha-yi Najat-i Milli-yi Afghanistan) under the leadership of Sibghatullah Mojaddedi; sixthly the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (Mahaz-i Milli-yi Islami-i-yi Afghanistan) under Sayyid Ahmed Gailani – the Afghan National Liberation Front and the National Islamic Front were organized along family

114 Note by Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 174.

115 Telegram no. 2093 by British embassy Washington to FCO, June 3, 1980, Subject: Visit to Washington of French Foreign Minister, in: TNA, FCO 28/4006.

116 On the following list, see Schetter, Geschichte, pp. 108–11; Ludwig W. Adamec, Dictionary of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies, Lanham (MD)/London 1996, p. 104, 120–21, 145, 162, 164–65, 188, 196.

lines with roots in the "old" Afghan establishment and pursued a traditionalist-moderate political course that aimed to reinstall Mohammed Zahir shah on the throne; lastly, the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan (Ittihad-i Islami Bara-yi Azadi-yi Afghanistan), founded by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf in March 1980, which recruited its members predominantly from the tribe of the Kharoti, in a similar way to its rival, the Islamic Party of Afghanistan. Other organizations were different Shia groups based in Iran; the most influential of these groups were An-Naar (Victory) led by Mir Hoseyn Sadeqi and the Afghanistan Islamic Movement Association of Asif Mohseni.[117]

The mujahideen used the refugee camps that had been set up in the Afghan-Pakistani border region as a place to retreat with their families before they made the difficult trip back over the Hindu Kush to Afghanistan for the next battle, armed with new weapons and replenished food supplies.[118] The Peshawar parties in particular began to control the camps according to their own rules more effectively as time went on, thereby importing Afghan ethnic and religious conflicts into Pakistan. For instance, aid relief supplies were not centrally distributed by the Pakistani authorities, who had barely any means to control the Tribal Areas, but rather by the competing factions themselves. As a result, an increasing amount of money kept flowing into what were referred to as "bachelor camps" because they had been set up specifically for resistance fighters.[119] This posed considerable problems for international institutions committed to political neutrality such as the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR).[120] Likewise, the West German government also repeatedly discussed how to address the fact that it more or less directly supported the Islamist militia by providing humanitarian aid. In the end, though, Bonn concluded that a sudden reduction or even cessation of relief aid would not only antagonize the Afghans and Pakistanis, but also incite the German media to pose rather uncomfortable questions. The West German government would then have been forced to publicly admit that it had been actively supporting the Afghan resistance, which would have raised serious doubts about its official policy of

117 Over the course of the 1980s, more parties were formed, most of which were supported by Iran, see Schetter, Geschichte, pp. 108–11.

118 Letter by German Consulate General Karachi to German embassy Islamabad, February 4, 1980, Betr.: Belutschistan, in: PA/AA, B 37, UA 34 (ZA), vol. 113184. See also Fiona Terry, Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humaniatrian Action, Ithaca (NY)/London 2002, pp. 55–82; Rüdiger Schöch, UNHCR and the Afghan refugees in the early 1980s. Between humanitarian action and Cold War politics, in: Refugee Survey Quarterly 27 (2008), pp. 45–57.

119 Letter by German embassy Islamabad to AA, March 18, 1982, Betr.: Dienstreise von RL 301 nach Pakistan v. 11.–15.3.1982, in: PA/AA, B 45 (ZA), vol. 146089.

120 See Schöch, UNHCR, pp. 50–57.

non-interference and political neutrality. Moreover, it would have dealt a death blow to the diplomatic initiatives that had been undertaken thus far, and have further damaged West Germany's relations with the Soviet Union.[121] Especially in order to avoid the latter, given the primacy of détente, the West German Foreign Office decided to continue with its existing policy. By sending humanitarian aid, Bonn thus contributed to the consolidation of the structures in the refugee camps, which increasingly developed into a breeding ground for Islamist terrorism in the future.

The governments in Bonn, Paris, London and Washington were fully aware that the resistance groups were neither structured like Western political parties, nor had any ideas or plans for a democratic reorganization of Afghanistan. The West German Foreign Office correctly discerned that Hekmatyar was a particularly radical leader. After the collapse of the communist regime in the wake of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, he took over power in Kabul with the support of other rebel leaders, becoming head of the government in 1993 for one year. When the coalition of warlords broke apart, Hekmatyar earned his nickname as the "butcher of Kabul" through the unparalleled brutality of his actions in the skirmishes between the rival groups that went on for years, in which tens of thousands died.[122]

Rupert Dirnecker, the member of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party responsible for foreign affairs, tried to play down the Foreign Office's critical assessment of Hekmatyar when the Afghan leader visited Bonn at the invitation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (associated with the CDU) and the Hanns-Seidel-Foundation (associated with the CSU) in February 1981. In a report to Alois Mertes, head of the working group "Foreign Policy," Dirnecker wrote:

> Hekmatyar, who has sometimes been referred to as the "Afghan Komeini" because he represents the strict Muslim-fundamentalist resistance group in Afghanistan, proved to be a prudent, theoretically-thinking, calm, and clever advocate of the Afghan resistance. The about 40-year old does not fit the image of a radical Muslim leader like Khomeini, but rather that of a deeply devout, humble, and religiously tolerant Muslim.[123]

121 Letter by German embassy Islamabad to AA, March 18, 1982, Betr.: Dienstreise von RL 301 nach Pakistan v. 11.–15.3.1982, in: PA/AA, B 45 (ZA), vol. 146089.

122 Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, in: Munzinger. Internationales Biographisches Archiv, www.munzinger.de/document/00000020285 [accessed April 12, 2017]. See also Abbas Poya, Afghanistan, in: Ende/Steinbach (eds.), Islam, pp. 264–77, here pp. 270–74.

123 Alois Mertes handed this note to the party whip of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, Helmut Kohl, and recommended that he should also invite Hekmatyar for talks; letter by Mertes to Kohl, February 4, 1981, appendix: Gespräch mit Herrn Hekmatyar, Repräsentant der moslemisch-fundamentalistischen Widerstandsgruppe Afghanistans am 4.2.1981 in Bonn, in: ACDP, Mertes papers, 01–403-164/3.

Apart from highlighting that Dirnecker made a gross error of judgment in his assessment, this report also alludes to an important aspect of NATO's crisis management strategies: the interdependencies between the conflicts in Iran and Afghanistan.

The Western allies came to very different conclusions on how to assess and address these interdependencies. According to the records of the West German Foreign Office at a meeting of the four political directors in late January 1980, the U.S. representative George Southall Vest stated that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan may have "complicated American policy on Iran, but altogether alleviated it," because "it brought Iran's leaders to think twice about the intentions of the Soviet Union."[124] Thus, Washington hoped that Tehran would become more concerned that Moscow might march into Iran in order to gain access to the Persian Gulf and the rich oil fields in the south of the country. By drawing attention to Soviet expansionism, Washington hoped that it could soften Khomeini's anti-American course, especially since the main objective of U.S. policy was undoubtedly to secure the release of the hostages in the Tehran embassy. As reported by the West German Foreign Office, Vest urged the allies to declare solidarity with the United State and to support its sanctions policy:

> America does not understand the tendency of certain European capitals to refrain from issuing sanctions against Iran with reference to the strategic implications for the developments in Afghanistan. No democratically elected leader can explain this to the American people.[125]

Great Britain also saw the Afghanistan crisis as an opportune moment to make Iran realize the gravity of the Soviet threat.[126] Precisely for this reason, London maintained that sanctions were counter-productive at the time. The British government argued that such measures would alienate many Islamic countries from the West, completely ruin the Iranian economy, and lead to the disintegration of the country, giving Moscow even more reason to intervene. Furthermore, the FCO claimed, Brezhnev faced a form of Islamist extremism in Tehran represented by Khomeini that was clearly anti-socialist, which meant that Iran was not a natural ally for Moscow.[127]

124 Note by Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 174.
125 Ibid., p. 175.
126 Ibid., p. 177. See also Dimitrakis, Invasion, p. 515.
127 This was the assessment of the FCO from as early as September 1979; letter by D. S. Broucher, Eastern European and Soviet Dept. of the FCO, September 7, 1979, Subject: Soviet Policy in Iran and Afghanistan, in: TNA, FCO 37/2132.

Although Bonn and Paris also considered the entire Greater Middle East region to be one big trouble spot as a whole, they still tried to focus on the differences between Afghanistan and Iran in order to minimize the potentially negative consequences for Europe and to avoid having to comply fully with Washington's demands for solidarity.[128] Accordingly, they maintained that the hostage crisis in Tehran violated the fundamental principles of human coexistence and that the lives of the U.S. citizens had to be saved. From their perspective, the situation in Afghanistan, on the other hand, affected the entire West because it had long-term repercussions for détente and East-West relations in general.[129]

Despite these varying interpretations, the allies had one thing in common: their policies were primarily driven by geopolitical considerations that followed the bipolar logic of the Cold War. In the global rivalry between the two political systems, the goal was to keep Iran and Afghanistan from falling into the Soviet sphere of influence or at least to keep the costs for Moscow as high as possible. Islam and Islamism were not considered to be a powerful long-term force within international relations. The West neither expected that Khomeini would be able to keep himself in power in the long run,[130] nor that the Karmal regime in Afghanistan would be toppled by rival mujahideen. As a memo of the Quai d'Orsay dated July 29, 1980 noted, it seemed unlikely that the various resistance groups would play a decisive role in the future given how fragmented they were.[131]

Conclusion

At the end of the 1970s, the East-West conflict once again escalated to a dangerous level with the Soviet march into Afghanistan. But the invasion did not come as a surprise to the NATO partners, who had been carefully observing and discussing the developments in Kabul since the communist "April revolution" in 1978. However, their respective assessments of Moscow's motives differed. The U.S. administration considered it to be clear proof of Soviet aims to expand into

128 Letter by German Ambassador in Brussels (NATO), Rolf Friedemann Pauls, to AA, May 14, 1980, Betr.: Bericht über die Sitzung des Verteidigungsplanungsausschusses am 14.5.1980 unter Teilnahme der Außenminister, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 145, pp. 758–65, here p. 763.
129 Note by Schenk, Vortragender Legationsrat I. Klasse, January 28, 1980, in: AAPD 1980, doc. 29, p. 176.
130 See Bösch, Shah, p. 146.
131 Note du renseignement, July 29, 1980, Objet: La Résistance afghane: ses possibilites, ses limites, in: AMAE, Direction d'Asie et d'Océanie, sous-série Afghanistan, 2882TOPO/2798.

the Third World in order to secure access to the Persian Gulf and the oil fields of the Middle East. It pressed its allies to declare solidarity with the American sanctions directed at Moscow. The Western Europeans, and particularly West Germany, detected elements of a defensive strategy in Brezhnev's actions that sought to prevent the insurgents from overthrowing the Karmal regime for ideological reasons. Accordingly, Bonn cautioned against a punitive policy, suggesting instead that the formal condemnation of the invasion should be accompanied by incentives that would allow the Kremlin to withdrawal its troops quickly without losing face.

In addition to this diplomatic strategy, which was supposed to prevent tensions from spreading to Europe and putting an end to détente, the European partners, and the West German Foreign Office and the FCO in particular, made efforts to defuse the crisis by cooperating with the Islamic states of the region. Alongside supplying Pakistan with bilateral relief aid, Genscher and Carrington tried to convince the OIC and the Non-Aligned Movement of their plans for a neutral Afghanistan and to bring them onto the international political stage. This attempt to take the Afghanistan crisis out of the firing line of the Cold War and to declare it to be a conflict between Moscow and the countries of the Third World failed, not least due to the heterogeneity of these countries and their reluctance to be instrumentalized by the West as well as a lack of diplomatic vigor.

These diplomatic and economic attempts to stabilize the situation were also counteracted by the political and especially military support that the NATO partners provided to the Afghan resistance fighters, most of whom were living in the Pakistani border region. The goal of these Western arms supplies was not to bring about the swift demise of the communist regime; but rather the plan that was openly discussed in NATO bodies and between the respective Foreign Ministers was to involve the Soviet Union in a long-term guerrilla war in order to keep its economic and military resources bound up in Afghanistan.

Both the diplomatic and military aspects of this crisis management strategy were based on the premise that an effective tool against this Afghan/Soviet atheist communism could be created by appealing to the Islamic solidarity of the heterogeneous OIC states, including Iran, and the fragmented resistance groups. It seemed to be less important at the time that neither the OIC member states nor the radical Islamic "liberation movements" were democratic forces.

Publicly, at least, the NATO partners denied being party to any arms transfers in order to avoid being accused of interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. At the same time, they underscored the legitimacy of the interests of the Islamist insurgents, thereby justifying their own political strategy of providing these groups with support. The British and U.S. governments in particular firmly emphasized that the extremist Islamists were defending Western values in the

fight against communism, including the right of self-determination and resistance as well as the pursuit of freedom from oppression and thus the freedom of the West itself. Serious concerns that such an alliance of these radical forces might strike out on its own and turn against the West, however, do not crop up in official documents. Their absence seems to be all the more paradoxical given that in Iran, Afghanistan's next-door neighbor, such a scenario seemed to be entirely plausible in light of Khomeini's openly anti-American policy and the ongoing hostage crisis. But, the lack of such considerations can in part be attributed to a substantial error in judgment made by the NATO partners, who believed that Islam could be useful as a short-term or intermediate instrument for political and military mobilization, but that it would not be able to serve as the foundation for the long-term exercise of political power. Accordingly, they believed that neither Khomeini nor the Afghan insurgents would be able to establish themselves as lasting political forces capable of holding on to power in the long run. Rather, their thinking continued to be dominated by the categories of the East-West conflict in which all Islamic forces – be it extremist or moderate – were seen as strategic allies in the fight against communism. The crisis management strategies adopted in the Afghanistan conflict thus aptly reflect just how much Western politicians underestimated religion as an independent factor within international relations because they were trapped in the tight confines of bipolar Cold War thought. And the lasting consequences of this fundamental misperception reverberate to this day.

Bernd Greiner

Bringing the Cold War Back Home

The Berlin Center for Cold War Studies

Introduction

The Cold War is and will undoubtedly remain an integral part of any international debate in the field of contemporary history. Admittedly, not everything that took place during the Cold War was in fact related to the Cold War. Decolonization, globalization and modernization, for example, would also have come about under other circumstances, probably in other guises, but with no less impact. Likewise, the experiences of violence with all the traumas and fears associated with them had already been seared into the collective memories of many societies. A good number of the wars fought after 1945 had, at most, only an indirect relationship to the rivalry between the superpowers. The same can be said of pivotal developments in domestic politics that varied by country, such as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the fight against apartheid in South Africa and the 1968 uprisings in Asia, the United States and Europe – and of course the environmental protection movements across the globe that would have challenged established policies even without the involvement of antiwar activists and other critics of the Cold War. And yet, the Cold War heralded a new and, in many ways, unprecedented era.

Never before had a conflict between two irreconcilable ideologies – here between state socialism and party dictatorship on the one hand and free markets and representative democracy on the other – been carried out under the threat of mutual destruction, more precisely with weapons systems that had the potential to destroy all humanity. Never before had entire alliance systems made their own security dependent on the global propagation of their own economic model and the bankruptcy of the enemy. Never before had two superpowers labored to drive each other from the farthest corners of the earth. Never before had modern societies invested so many resources in their militaries, economies, science, education, propaganda and cultures for the sake of a single goal: to demonstrate their superiority in an over-engineered system rivalry. In a nutshell, never before had two major world powers and their allies behaved for decades as if they were at war, without actually waging war. It is therefore impossible to understand or study the history of the second half of the 20th century without considering the Cold War.

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For good reason, scholarly journals such as *Cold War History* and the *Journal of Cold War Studies* are thus devoted exclusively to the Cold War and related topics. Universities in the United States offer entire programs in this field of research, and well-known major think tanks, such as the "Cold War International History Project" at the Woodrow Wilson Center and the "National Security Archive" in Washington, D.C., devote themselves to this topic. In Europe, several Finnish universities, the London School of Economics and the Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies, supported jointly by the universities of Florence, Padua, Pavia, Perugia and Roma Tre, are breaking ground in the field. More money is being invested in Cold War study centers in China than in the United States or Great Britain.

Until recently, however, a similar research institute specializing in the study of the Cold War was lacking in Germany. The Berlin Center for Cold War Studies was founded in March 2015 in order to fill this gap in the scholarly landscape. It is dedicated to supporting Cold War research in Germany and beyond, especially by fostering domestic and international networks. As such an endeavor would surpass the resources of any single institute, however, four prestigious institutes have joined forces to sponsor the Center: the Hamburg Institute for Social Research (*Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung*), the Institute for Contemporary History Munich-Berlin (*Institut für Zeitgeschichte*), the Humboldt University Berlin and the Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in East Germany (*Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED* (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) – *Diktatur*). Since its founding, the Center has gone about fulfilling its mission in a variety of ways. Not only has it begun to support scholars from Germany and abroad with fellowships and sponsored conferences, lectures, lecture series[1] and exhibitions[2] for both specialist audiences and the wider public, but it has also been preparing to launch its own research projects. Additionally it has become a contact point for international scholars conducting research in Berlin's archives or working at the city's universities and academic institutions. The long-term objective is to firmly establish the Center as a leading hub for international scholarship on the history of the Cold War. After all, Berlin, like no other city, was a focal point of the Cold War for decades, and the fall of the Wall in November 1989 has come to symbolize its peaceful resolution all over the world.[3]

1 The lecture series at Humboldt University Berlin is conducted in collaboration with Prof. Dr. Gabriele Metzler, Professor of Western European History and Transatlantic Relations.

2 The exhibition "Der Kalte Krieg. Ursachen, Geschichte, Folgen" produced in cooperation with the "Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur" opened in March 2016, and it has since been translated into nine languages and displayed in nearly 500 venues worldwide.

3 For more on the latest activities of the "Berliner Kolleg Kalter Krieg" | Berlin Center for Cold War Studies, consult the website, www.berlinerkolleg.com, which is available in German and English.

The Cold War as Global History …

One of the most fundamental premises of the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies is that the history of the Cold War must be analyzed and portrayed as a global history of interconnectedness. As important as the chief protagonists – the United States and the Soviet Union – are for current and future research, newer scholarship has rightly challenged the idea of a world divided into center and periphery, together with the assumption that hegemonic powers could move others like chess pieces according to their whims.[4] Rather, in a somewhat ironic twist of fate, the farther the two rival northern blocs penetrated the Global South in their race to acquire allies, strategic bastions and economic resources, the more they risked overextending their own material and ideological resources. Willingly or not, they came to depend on the services of other, supposedly weaker, states and groups in Asia, Latin America and Africa, as well as quite motley and inconsistent "coalitions of the willing" on occasion. As a result, small and mid-sized states were able to profit in ways that would probably have remained beyond their reach in other contexts, be it through financing for projects to boost their economic prestige in advance or support for the expansion of their own intelligence and security services. This insight – that the Cold War fed off circumstances that its main protagonists could not control for long at the political level – underscores the need for a decentralized research approach. Or, put more precisely: scholarship should aim to incorporate as many actors as possible by giving differing perspectives their due while also shedding light on the self-perpetuating dynamic of reciprocal dependencies.[5]

From the late 1950s onward, when East and West pursued their global interests with ever greater vehemence and, for good measure, the USSR began competing with the People's Republic of China for the favor of the developing world, the particular interests of "peripheral" actors became all the more significant. As

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4 See Melvyn P. Leffler/Odd Arne Westad (eds.), Cambridge History of the Cold War, 3 vols., Cambridge 2010; Odd Arne Westad, The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times, New York 2005; Bernd Greiner/Christian Th. Müller/Dierk Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege im Kalten Krieg, Hamburg 2006; on Cold War Historiography see Konrad H. Jarausch/Christian F. Ostermann/Andreas Etges (eds.), The Cold War. Historiography, Memory, Representation, Berlin/Boston (MA) 2017.

5 See Robert J. McMahon (ed.), The Cold War in the Third World, New York 2013; Jürgen Dinkel, Die Bewegung bündnisfreier Staaten. Genese, Organisation und Politik (1927–1992), Berlin/Munich/Boston (MA) 2015; Zhihua Shen/Yafeng Xia, Mao and the Sino-Soviet Partnership, 1945–1959, Lanham/MD 2015; Lorenz Lüthi (ed.), The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East. Crucial Periods and Turning Points, Washington, D.C./Palo Alto (CA) 2015.

they were committed to the maxims of rapid development and modernization, an astonishing number of “Third World” elites almost willingly became caught up in the superpower rivalry, especially once it became clear what the reward would be for real or feigned loyalty. In many cases, mere threats by “weaker” actors to switch camps or expose the unreliability of their respective benefactors sufficed to successfully “blackmail” one of the superpowers. Precisely because credibility was so essential for the superpowers, charismatic leaders of “lesser” states came to enjoy a disproportionate measure of visibility and esteem. Such figures who cunningly played the primary East-West powers against each other included Fidel Castro, Norodom Sihanouk, Pol Pot, Haji Mohamed Suharto, Mobutu Sese Seko, Saddam Hussein, Jonas Savimbi, Julius Nyerere and Nguyen Van Thieu.[6] Thus, in order to properly locate the history of the Cold War, scholarship must finally part company with the illusion of the hegemonic power of the major Cold War players.[7]

… and as *histoire totale*

Secondly, since the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies works from the premise that the Cold War infiltrated all parts of life, its approach draws on research agendas and methodologies from a wide variety of historical subdisciplines: economic history, cultural history, the history of knowledge, and last, but not least, social history. Military and diplomatic history have outlined important aspects of the superpower conflict, but a broader approach is needed in order to truly assess the totality of the Cold War. Such a *histoire totale* of the rivalry between the systems not only investigates the interdependence of foreign and domestic policy, but also explores how and with what consequences the resources of entire societies were mobilized – with an eye to economics, science and technology, education, media and culture, class, gender and ethnicity.[8] The goal of the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies is thus to further foster this kind of “total” approach that, thanks to

6 See Greiner/Müller/Walter (eds.), Heiße Kriege.
7 On U.S. interventions see Klaas Voß, Washingtons Söldner. Verdeckte US-Interventionen im Kalten Krieg und ihre Folgen, Hamburg 2014.
8 See Stephen J. Whitfield, The Culture of the Cold War, 2nd ed., Baltimore (MD)/London 1996; J. R. McNeill/Corinna R. Unger (eds.), Environmental Histories of the Cold War, New York 2010; Annette Vowinckel/Marcus M. Payk/Thomas Lindenberger (eds.), Cold War Cultures. Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies, New York/Oxford 2012.

its inherent complexity, will likely continue to present an intellectual challenge for the foreseeable future.[9]

At its core, this is a history full of paradoxes and seemingly contradictory dynamics. For example, the decades of preparation for a great war – one that could not be allowed to actually occur because it would risk destroying the world – consumed immense resources. Calling this an unparalleled diversion of state energies would hardly be an exaggeration. Ironically, moreover, expenditures rose fastest when political tensions were comparatively low and the prospects for putting a lid on the ideological conflict seemed to be good, such as between 1953 and 1958, and again between 1969 and 1976. Whether or to what extent these expenditures related causally to the Soviet Union's collapse remains a matter of debate among economists. Undisputed is the fact that Soviet military spending cemented weaknesses in the country's economy and society.[10] At the same time, however, these funds did have stimulating effects, such as the two-billion-dollar annual supplement to the U.S. education budget within the framework of the 1958 National Defense Education Act and the infrastructure development programs known as "military remapping" in previously neglected regions of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom. When we include those social groups on both sides of the divide whose incomes, social mobility and political careers relied on a flourishing arms industry, it becomes clear that, far from being exclusively state-driven, the era's economics of violence was very much a product of private initiative as well.

The interplay of top-down and bottom-up also offers a heuristic approach for identifying the longer-term effects of the Cold War extending beyond the upheavals of 1989/91.[11] Whether in technology, the natural sciences, or the social sciences, institutional structures everywhere were reconfigured to meet the demands of a never-ending system rivalry. The Cold War gave rise to new epistemic impulses: concepts of scientific rationality were reconsidered; certain kinds of knowledge, especially those relating to technology, gained significance; and technologies of processing and transmitting knowledge evolved rapidly. Tropes such as "vulnerability," "security" and "deterrence" were greatly overused in political discourses – one more sign of the growing influence of so-called "defense intel-

9 See Bernd Greiner/Tim B. Müller/Claudia Weber (eds.), Macht und Geist im Kalten Krieg, Hamburg 2011.

10 See Stephan Merl, Von Chruschtschows Konsumkonzeption zur Politik des "Little Deal" unter Breschnew, in: Bernd Greiner/Christian Th. Müller/Claudia Weber (eds.), Ökonomie im Kalten Krieg, Hamburg 2010, pp. 279–311.

11 See Bernd Greiner/Tim B. Müller/Klaas Voß (eds.), Erbe des Kalten Krieges, Hamburg 2013.

lectuals": advisors in West and East who wielded a substantial but as yet sparsely researched influence on policy. Without a doubt structures of knowledge were created or remodeled during the Cold War that still impact our lives today.[12]

Limits, Borders and "Border Crossers"

In keeping with this kind of approach, the research interests of the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies focus on ambiguities, contradictions and ruptures between 1945 and 1990, i.e. those pivotal points where patterns of thought and action during the Cold War reached their limits, and where the limits of what could be said and done were tested, circumvented or ignored entirely. Its research agenda rests on the *Grenzen des Kalten Kriegs* ("limits of the Cold War"), taking the dynamics of this conflict and the factors behind it into account. This notion of limits not only refers to borders on the political map, but also to the limits of social perceptions of order. What could be said and done under the conditions of the Cold War? When, why and under what circumstances were these perceived frontiers crossed, undermined or suspended entirely? When and where did the "Iron Curtain" become permeable? What exchange processes emerged that transcended the blocs in terms of trade, science, politics and culture? What obstacles could be overcome, and which ones proved insurmountable?

One such untapped topic within scholarship is the role of the Cold War's so-called "border crossers": people from practically every political and social background who refused to accept the prevailing self-isolation, exclusion and censorship of the time and, within the scope of what was possible, questioned things that were considered to be irreconcilable and non-negotiable. These people were entrepreneurs, bankers, academics and scientists, representatives of parties and churches, environmentalists, disarmament experts and jurists, human rights activists, members of the opposition and dissidents. Eclectic as this spectrum appears at first glance, it was united by the universal desire to make compromise possible again in the political language of the time. It was a parallel world of diplomacy underneath the state level, driven by globally networked private citizens, non-governmental organizations and think tanks.[13]

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12 See Naomi Oreskes/John Krige (eds.), Science and Technology in the Global Cold War, Cambridge (MA)/London 2014; Elena Aronova/Simone Turchetti (eds.), Science Studies During the Cold War and Beyond. Paradigms Defected, New York 2016.

13 See Stefan Rohdewald/Klaus Gestwa, Verflechtungsstudien. Naturwissenschaft und Technik im Kalten Krieg, in: Osteuropa 59 (2009), pp. 5–14; on the parallel diplomacy of the International

Whether and to what extent these border crossing experts actually helped soften up the rigid barriers of the Cold War is a question that is both difficult to answer and poorly explored. What we do know is that, despite all efforts to indoctrinate populations and ensure their emotional mobilization, Cold War policies encountered substantial dissent on both sides. The longer the confrontation of systems lasted, the more protest and criticism it aroused, and the more difficult the struggle for people's hearts and minds became. "Border crossers" in East and West had various ways of capitalizing on the resulting opportunities, some of which they had indeed created themselves. When communicating with each other on issues such as peace, human rights, or environmental protection, they exchanged specialist knowledge while encouraging activism within civil society. And, the moment they put alternative political constructs up for discussion, they were also advancing visions of a future beyond the Cold War, be it in the guise of cooperative security architectures liberated from the strictures of military doctrine or democratic models of participation that defied the logic of discipline within the monochrome views of officially sanctioned ideologies.[14]

Although "border crossers" in the East operated under far more onerous conditions than their Western counterparts and, unlike the latter, could not rely on the backing of politicized civil societies, a history of the Cold War told through both perspectives is nonetheless an instructive exercise. It not only reveals encounters, reciprocal influences and alienation processes, but also, first and foremost, it demonstrates how stable and durable the concepts offered as alternatives to the Cold War actually were. Questioning whether and how such impulses found purchase in the political discourse of the time, moreover, allows us to draw conclusions regarding the flexibility and adaptability of state actors. Finally, we can also gain further insights into a controversy that has been raging since 1989: What circumstances were responsible for the galloping decay of the state socialist regime and why did the Cold War come to a surprisingly sudden yet bloodless end? The role that "border crossers" played in its demise definitely merits further attention within Cold War historiography.

Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, see Claudia Kemper, Medizin gegen den Kalten Krieg. Ärzte in der anti-atomaren Friedensbewegung der 1980er Jahre, Göttingen 2016.

14 On notions of the future advanced during and at the end of the Cold War, see Elke Seefried's pioneering study: Zukünfte. Aufstieg und Krise der Zukunftsforschung, 1945–1980, Berlin/Boston (MA) 2015.

Conflict Moderation During the Cold War

From the perspective of the scholars and institutes involved in the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies, those who portray the Cold War as an epoch of crises on the brink of war are telling only half the story – one, incidentally, that has already been illuminated all the way into its farthest corners. The other half tells of attempts to contain and moderate this global conflict. Thus, yet another point on the research agenda of the Berlin Center for Cold War Studies is to examine the possibilities for conflict moderation during the Cold War. Rather than searching for superficial parallels between escalation patterns in the past and a supposedly new Cold War today, we should be assessing the role of these dynamic spaces both yesterday and today.

When considering the factors limiting, moderating, and containing the Cold War, diplomats played a key role. Who among them were the key mediators? What tools and resources did they use? How should the success or failure of diplomatic initiatives be measured? As has been emphasized for some time now, such questions can be fruitfully discussed using intermediate-level and regional powers as examples – all the more since the history of diplomacy has begun to adopt the methodologies and insights of cultural and social history.

As modest as their powers and possibilities may have been, the dealings of the "minor players" yield insight into the forces abetting or obstructing a rapprochement between the "big powers." For instance, as an analysis of the temporarily opened archives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact has revealed, relations between Moscow and its chief allies in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest and East Berlin were surprisingly contentious.[15] Moreover, such a perspective suggests a need to revise the assumption that the Soviet leadership always used international tensions and crises as welcome opportunities to enforce alliance discipline. In many cases it was actually the second-tier allies in Eastern Europe, and chiefly East Germany, that regarded any kind of agreement between Moscow and the class enemy in the West as a threat to domestic stability and therefore did all that they could in order to subvert such impulses. Likewise, the United States could not necessarily rely on the complete fidelity of its own allies. The unilateral moves of Britain and France are widely known, especially in terms of the role they played in the "little thaw" of the mid-1950s. Yet Canada and the Scandinavian NATO states also pushed repeatedly for alternatives to a "policy of strength" in the internal meetings of the alliance. No matter what the details were, whether familiar

15 See Vojtech Mastny/Malcolm Byrne (eds.), A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955–1991, Budapest/New York 2005.

paradigms of the time were affirmed, undermined or simply ignored depended on volatile circumstances and interests whose actual effects could hardly be predicted.[16]

In terms of the internal dynamics within the alliances, the two Germanies played a pivotal role that merits further scholarly attention. On the one hand, the complexity of relations between East and West Germany extends beyond the framework of the Cold War, not least because regional structures established before 1945 proved to be more durable at times than the demands of the global rivalry of the systems.[17] On the other hand, the "alienated entanglement" of East and West Germany can be grasped simultaneously as a barometer of both the escalation and containment of the East-West conflict. The impulses for the Cold War emanating from the German "central front" could be felt – positively and negatively – across the world, as evidenced during the succession of Berlin crises between 1948 and 1961 and the negotiations preceding the Four Power Agreement on Berlin and the Basic Treaty between the "two Germanys" in the early 1970s.[18]

Furthermore, reflections on conflict moderation in the Cold War must also consider the significance of non-aligned states. Leaders in Egypt, India and Yugoslavia often lagged well behind the standards they demanded of others when it came to the running of their own countries by violating human rights, accepting military aid from the superpowers to enhance their own international prestige or, in the case of India and Pakistan, even waging war against one another. Yet it cannot be denied that, time and again, they sought to mediate international conflicts and foster systems of regional security. Josip Broz Tito's speech on "active peaceful coexistence," for instance, was the epitome of a series of patient efforts to disrupt the Cold War's logic of confrontation.[19] In a similar vein, the United

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16 See Oliver Bange/Poul Villaume (eds.) The Long Détente. Changing Concepts of Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1950s–1980s, Budapest/New York 2017.

17 See Heinrich Potthoff, Im Schatten der Mauer. Deutschlandpolitik 1961 bis 1990, Berlin 1999; Hermann Wentker, Außenpolitik in engen Grenzen. Die DDR im internationalen System 1949–1989, Munich 2007; Udo Wengst/Hermann Wentker (eds.), Das doppelte Deutschland. 40 Jahre Systemkonkurrenz, Berlin 2008; Frank Bösch (ed.), Geteilte Geschichte. Ost- und Westdeutschland 1970–2000, Göttingen 2015.

18 See also the series Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, published by the Institute for Contemporary History on behalf of the Auswärtiges Amt, Munich, since 1989.

19 See Jovan Čavoški, Distant Countries, Closest Allies. Josip Broz Tito and Jawaharlal Nehru and the Rise of Global Nonalignment, New Delhi 2015; Jovan Cavoski, On the Road to Belgrade. Yugoslavia's Contribution to the Defining of the Concept of European Security and Cooperation 1975–1977, in: Vladimir Bilandžić/Dittmar Dahlmann/Milan Kosanović (eds.), From Helsinki to Belgrade. The First CSCE Follow-Up Meeting and the Crisis of Détente, Göttingen 2012, pp. 83–106.

Nations, as the main forum for non-aligned states, was the place where the prevailing dynamics of the time – globalization, decolonization and the Cold War – could be discussed politically. Indeed, taking a look at the dynamics of the UN promises to shed light on the mediating potential of the "Global South," which is yet another Cold War topic worthy of investigation.

Predictability, Reliability and Trust

In the Northern Hemisphere, this international moderation of crises and conflicts is known collectively as détente. Launched in the late 1960s, it revived some of the classic principles of diplomacy: divergent values and seemingly irreconcilable interests should not be an obstacle to negotiation; personal discussion can ease persistent hostility; during quieter times, regular contacts bring policies into motion, and they can help calm things down when storms are brewing. The core of the matter was trust, which was nothing less than the gold standard for both bilateral and multilateral relations. If the classic politics of the Cold War involved keeping your rival guessing about your actual intentions while unsettling him with a succession of minor blows – i.e. by deliberately sowing mistrust – the defining mark of détente was a reciprocal renunciation of these tactics of psychological attrition. This new phase of diplomacy rested upon a long-established principle: as soon as rivals speak less about one other and start speaking more with one another, they make it possible to see things from both sides. It set into motion a learning process with an unknown outcome, cushioned by a resolve to defuse ideological flashpoints. Predictability and reliability became political virtues once again, and empathy, once a sign of weakness, became a hallmark of enlightened clout.

Accordingly, any history of détente needs to focus on these tedious negotiating processes and the sherpa's take on diplomacy. The grand concluding documents – from West Germany's treaties with various Warsaw Pact states and the arms control arrangements between the U.S. and USSR to the accords of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe – reveal less about the easing of East-West relations than do the years of preparation under the table at the intermediate and lower levels. Behind the scenes, and occasionally along secret channels, fears were dismantled and distortions corrected. These gray areas account for the history of an improbable success that by and large took place behind closed doors, not counting the exceptional directional changes undertaken by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev on the public stage. Essentially, détente thrived on dialogues institutionalized at several levels and long-term discourses

that were profitable even when they failed to yield ready-to-sign dividends. We might call it conflict resolution from the shadows, which was remarkably immune to sudden cold snaps in international politics.[20]

In particular, the follow-up meetings of the CSCE (Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe) in Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna illustrate the subtle effects of this long-term, behind-the-scenes diplomacy. The fact that the ruffled feathers stemming from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the stationing of medium-range missiles in Europe and Poland's declaration of martial law did not get completely out of hand, and that differences between Europe and the United States regarding the spirit and purpose of détente could be kept at manageable levels was, to a great degree, a byproduct of the institutionalized process of de-escalation. Not only the inclusion of small and mid-level states but also the training of a generation of diplomats who regarded the defusing of the Cold War as their vocation served to cool the situation without freezing anyone out. How to evaluate the sum of these efforts will surely remain controversial among historians for a long time to come.[21]

To be sure, the experiences of de-escalation gained during the Cold War can only marginally help our understanding of present-day conflicts. As Willy Brandt keenly observed in 1992, every age demands its own answers.[22] This is undoubtedly true when it comes to global politics today, as we have long passed the age of bipolarity and must now come to terms with a multipolar world. Yet re-examining what once unblocked situations that seemed hopelessly snarled, and teased trickles, then torrents, from fronts believed to be frozen, remains a fruitful scholarly exercise. It lays bare long-concealed strata masked by black-and-white perceptions of the Cold War. In doing so, it has the potential to provide arguments that can be used to counter the imbalance in political thought that has taken hold in the past two decades in which calls for military security are chipping away at the power of diplomacy. The Berlin Center for Cold War Studies commits itself to the goal of writing such a multivalent history of the Cold War, replete with the potential to speak to the past and the present as well as the future.

20 This argument is advanced in detail by Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf, Frieden durch Kommunikation. Das System Genscher und die Entspannungspolitik im Zweiten Kalten Krieg 1979–1982/83, Berlin/Boston (MA) 2015.

21 See Matthias Peter, Die Bundesrepublik im KSZE-Prozess 1975–1983. Die Umkehrung der Diplomatie, Berlin/Munich/Boston (MA) 2015.

22 Willy Brandt, Grußwort an den Kongress der Sozialistischen Internationale, verlesen von Hans-Jochen Vogel, Berlin, 15.9.1992, in: Willy Brandt, Über Europa hinaus. Dritte Welt und Sozialistische Internationale, ed. by Bernd Rother/Wolfgang Schmidt, Bonn 2006, pp. 515–16.

About the Contributions to this Yearbook

The articles by William Glenn Gray, Bernd Greiner and Kiran Klaus Patel were written specifically for this volume and have not appeared previously.

Frank Bösch's article was published previously as Zwischen Schah und Khomeini. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die islamische Revolution im Iran, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 63 (2015), pp. 319–49.

Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf's article was published previously as Die unterschätzte Herausforderung. Afghanistan 1979, das Krisenmanagement der NATO-Staaten und der Islam als Faktor der internationalen Beziehungen, in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 64 (2016), pp. 665–99.

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Tim Szatkowski's article was published previously as Von Sihanouk bis Pol Pot. Diplomatie und Menschenrechte in den Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik zu Kambodscha (1967–1979), in: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 61 (2013), pp. 1–34.

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