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Mr. Casey,

You will be out of town.

REGRET ✓

**International  
Communication  
Agency**

United States of America

Washington, D. C. 20547

Director



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May 12, 1982

Dear Bill:

Axel Springer, the prestigious publisher of a newspaper chain which reaches more than 18 million Germans and other Europeans daily, will be in Washington next week.

He has been a strong supporter of the United States and President Reagan, and this is reflected in the editorial policies of his widely read newspapers.

We would be honored if you could attend a luncheon in Mr. Springer's honor on Tuesday, May 18, at 12:30 at the Watergate Restaurant, 2650 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Please R.S.V.P. at 724-9042.

Accompanying Mr. Springer will be his wife and two principal colleagues; Ernst Cramer, Chief Executive of the Springer Corporation, and Joachim Maitre, Senior Foreign Affairs Editor.

We look forward to hearing from you, and to the pleasure of introducing you to a gentleman who is doing all he can to strengthen the ties between the United States and Europe.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick

The Honorable  
William J. Casey  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency

## INTERNATIONAL WHO'S WHO

1981-82

SPY

SPR

Chair. Turbo Union Ltd.; Dir. Rolls Royce/Turbomeca Ltd., Dowty Group 1980-; Chair. Trustees, Royal Air Force Museum; Gov. Star and Garter Home; A.D.C. to H.M. The Queen 1957-61, Air A.D.C. to H.M. The Queen 1970-74; U.S. Legion of Merit. *Leisure interests:* shooting, bridge, rugby (spectator), golf. *Address:* c/o Williams and Glyn's Bank Ltd., Kirkland House, Whitehall, London. S.W.1, England.

**SPRAGUE, George F.**, PH.D., D.S.C.; American research agronomist; b. 3 Sept. 1902, Crete, Neb.; s. of E. E. Sprague and Lucy K. Manville; m. 1st Mary S. Whitworth 1926, 2nd Amy M. Millang 1945; two s. two d.; ed. Univ. of Nebraska and Cornell Univ.; Junior Agronomist, U.S. Dept. of Agric. 1924-28, Asst. Agronomist 1928-34, Assoc. Agronomist 1934-39, Agronomist 1939-42. Senior Agronomist 1942-58, Principal Agronomist 1958, Leader of Corn and Sorghum Investigations 1958-72; Prof. Univ. of Ill. 1973-; Fellow A.A.A.S., American Soc. of Agronomy; mem. Nat. Acad. of Sciences, Washington Acad. of Sciences; Crop Science Award, Superior Service Award of Dept. of Agric. 1960, Distinguished Service Award 1970. *Publications:* Corn and Corn Improvement 1956, Quantitative Genetics in Plant Improvement 1966; and over 100 research papers in scientific journals. *Address:* S 12 Turner Hall, Department of Agronomy, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 61801; 2212 S. Lynn, Urbana, Ill. 61801, U.S.A. (Home). *Telephone:* 333-4254 (Office); 344-6685 (Home).

**SPRINGER, Axel**; German publisher; b. 2 May 1912, Hamburg-Altona; s. of Hinrich and Ottilie Springer; m.; two s. (one deceased), one d.; ed. Realgymnasium, Hamburg-Altona; printing and publishing apprenticeships with provincial newspapers; received journalistic training with WTB news agency and on his father's paper Altonaer Nachrichten; founded own publishing company 1945; now sole proprietor Axel Springer Publishing Group, consisting of Axel Springer Verlag A.G., the Ullstein and Propyläen book publishing companies and Ullstein AV (production and distribution of audiovisual publications); Hon. Fellow, Weizmann Inst., Israel; Hon. D.Hum.Litt. (Temple Univ.); Dr.phil. h.c. (Bar-Ilan Univ., Israel and Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem); Grosses Bundesverdienstkreuz mit Stern und Schulterband, Bayerischer Verdienstorden; Friendship Medal of the American Freedoms Foundation, Leo-Baeck Medal; *Publications include:* Die Welt, Bild Zeitung, Hamburger Abendblatt, Berliner Morgenpost, BZ (daily papers); Bild am Sonntag, Welt am Sonntag (Sunday papers); Hör Zu, Funk Uhr (radio and television programme magazines). *Publications:* Von Berlin aus gesehen 1971, Aüs Sorge um Deutschland 1979 and numerous articles and speeches. *Address:* 1 Berlin 61, Kochstrasse 50, Germany.

**SPRINGER, Sir Hugh Worrell**, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A.; Barbadian barrister and educationist; b. 22 June 1913, Barbados; s. of Charles Wilkinson Springer and Florence Springer; m. Dorothy Drinan Gittens 1942; three s. one d.; ed. Harrison Coll., Barbados, Hertford Coll., Oxford and Inner Temple, London; practised at Bar of Barbados 1939-47; mem. House of Assembly, Barbados 1940-47; mem. Exec. Cttee., Barbados 1944-47; mem. Educ. Board, Barbados 1944-47; Gen. Sec. Barbados Labour Party 1940-47; Organizer and first Gen. Sec. Barbados Workers' Union 1940-47; Registrar, Univ. of West Indies 1947-63; mem. Educ. Authority of Jamaica 1950-56, ILO Cttee. of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories 1953-58, W. Indies Trade and Tariff Comm. 1957-58; Univ. Grants Cttee., Ghana 1959, Jamaica Public Service Comm. 1959-63, W. Indies Fed. Service Comm. 1960-61; Guggenheim Fellow and Fellow Harvard Centre for Int. Affairs 1961-62; Senior Visiting Fellow, All Souls Coll., Oxford 1962-63; Acting Gov. of Barbados 1964; Dir. Inst. of Educ. of Univ. of W. Indies 1963-66; Chair. Commonwealth Caribbean Medical Research Council 1965-; Sec. Commonwealth Educ. Liaison Cttee. and Commonwealth Asst. Sec.-Gen. (Educ.) 1966-70; mem. Council of Bernard van Leer Foundation 1967-78; Fellow, Royal Soc. of Arts 1968-; mem. of Bermuda Civil Disorders Comm. 1968; Sec.-Gen. Asscn. of Commonwealth Univs. 1970-80; Chair. Commonwealth Human Ecology Council 1971-; Commonwealth Foundation 1974-77; Trustee 1967-80; Chair. Joint Commonwealth Societies Council 1978-80, Tenth Anniversary Review Cttee., Univ. of the South Pacific 1979; Pres. Educ. Section of British Asscn. 1974-75; Vice-Pres. British Caribbean Asscn. 1974-; mem. Bd. of Dirs., United World Colls. 1978-; Bd. of Trustees, Sir Ernest Cassell Educ. Trust 1978-80; Hon. Fellow, Hertford Coll., Oxford 1974; Hon. D.Sc. Soc. (Laval Univ., Quebec) 1958; Hon. LL.D. (Victoria Univ., British Columbia, Univs. of West Indies, St. Andrew's, Manchester, Univ. of New Brunswick, Univ. of York, Ont. Univ. of Zimbabwe), Hon. D.Litt. (Warwick, Ulster, Heriot-Watt, Hong Kong, City (London) Univs.), D.C.L. (Oxford, Univ. of East Anglia) 1980; Silver Medal of Royal Soc. of Arts 1970. *Publications:* Reflections on the Failure of the

First West Indian Federation 1962, Problems of National Development in the West Indies 1965, Barbados as a Sovereign State, University Government Relations in the West Indies 1967, Relevance or Respectability in Education—The Rural Problem 1970, Educational Aspects of Human Ecology and Development 1971, and articles in journals. *Leisure interests:* walking, reading and conversation. *Address:* Gibbes, St. Peter, Barbados. W.I. *Telephone:* 22591.

**SPRINGER, Konrad Ferdinand**, DR.PHIL.; German publisher; b. 23 Sept. 1925, Berlin; s. of Ferdinand Springer and Elisabeth Szavozd; m.; one s. one d.; ed. Staatliches Kaiserin-Augusta-Gymnasium, Berlin, Staatliches Kant-Gymnasium, Berlin, and Univ. of Zürich; Partner Springer Verlag, Berlin, Heidelberg and New York 1963-; J. F. Bergmanns Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1963-; Springer-Lange and Springer Scientific Bookshop, Berlin 1963-; Springer-Verlag, Minerva Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung, Vienna 1965. *Leisure interest:* minerals. *Address:* Von-der-Tann-Strasse 17, 69 Heidelberg 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

**SPÜHLER, Willy**; Swiss economist and politician; b. 31 Jan. 1902; ed. Gymnasium of Zürich and Univs. of Zürich and Paris; Statistician, Zürich 1931-34; Head of Employment Bureau, Zürich 1935-42; Head, Cen. Office of War Economy 1939-48; mem. Zürich Town Council 1942-59; mem. Nat. Council Fed. Assembly 1938-55, mem. Fed. Council 1959-70, Pres. Jan.-Dec. 1963, Jan.-Dec. 1968, Vice-Pres. Jan.-Dec. 1967; Head of Transport, Communications and Power Dept. 1959-65; Head of Fed. Political (Foreign Affairs) Dept. 1966-70; Pres. of Foundations "Pro Helvetia" 1971-78. *Address:* Hirschengraben 20, Zürich, Switzerland. *Telephone:* 01-471133.

**SPULER, Bertold**, DR. PHIL.; German orientalist (retd.); b. 5 Dec. 1911, Karlsruhe, Baden; s. of Dr. Rudolf and Natalena (née Lindner) Spuler; m. Gerda Roehrig 1937; two s. one d.; ed. Univs. of Heidelberg, Munich, Hamburg and Breslau; Collaborator Soc. for Silesian History 1934-35; Asst. Dept. of East European History, Univ. of Berlin and Co-editor Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 1935-37; Asst. Dept. of Near Eastern Studies, Univ. of Göttingen 1937-38, Dozent 1938-42; Full Prof. Univ. of Munich 1942, Göttingen 1945, Hamburg 1948-80; Ed. Der Islam 1949-; Handbuch der Orientalistik 1952-; Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients, 1965-; Co-editor Das Historische-Politische Buch 1953-79; Hon. Dr. Theol. (Berne), Hon. D. ès Lettres (Bordeaux). *Publications include:* Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis 1739 1935, Die Minderheitenschulen der europäischen Türkei von der Reformzeit bis zum Weltkrieg 1936, Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350 (Turkish edn. 1956, Persian edn. 1972), Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1302 1943, Die Gegenwartsfrage der Ostkirchen in ihrer staatlichen und völklichen Umwelt 1948, Geschichte der islamischen Länder im Überblick I: Chalifenzeit; II: Mongolenzeit 1952-53, Iran in frühislamischer Zeit: Politik, Kultur, Verwaltung und öffentliches Leben 633-1055 1952 (Persian edn. 1970), Regenten und Regierungen der Welt 1953, 1962-66, 1971 (English edn. 1977), Wissenschaftlicher Forschungsbericht: Der vordere Orient in islamischer Zeit 1954, The Age of the Caliphs 1960, 1968, The Age of the Mongols 1960 (twice), Geschichte der morgenländischen Kirchen 1961, Innerasien seit dem Aufkommen der Türken 1966, Les Mongols et l'Europe 1961 (Spanish edn. 1966, English edn. 1971), Wüstenfeld-Mahlersche Vergleichungstabellen der muslimischen, iranischen und orient-christlichen Zeitrechnung, Die islamische Welt (Saeculum orthodoxen Kirchen Nos. 1-82 1939-80, Geschichte der Mongolen nach östlichen und europäischen Zeugnissen 1968 (English edn. 1970), Die historische und geographische Literatur in persischer Sprache 1968, Kulturgeschichte des Islams (östlicher Teil) 1971, Die Kunst der Islam (with J. Sourdel-Thomine) 1973, Wirtschafts Geschichte Irans und Mittelasiens im Mittelalter 1977, Krimgeschichte 1977, Gesammelte Aufsätze 1980. *Leisure interests:* participation in church work, hiking. *Address:* Mittelweg 90, 2 Hamburg 13; Rothenbaumchaussee 1936, 2 Hamburg 13, Federal Republic of Germany. *Telephone:* 4123-3182.

**SPYROPOULOS, Jannis**; Greek artist; b. 12 March 1912, Pylos, Peloponnese; s. of Georges J. Spyropoulos and Phigalia G. J. Spyropoulos; m. Zoe Margaritis 1954; ed. School of Fine Arts, Athens, and Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris; numerous one-man exhbns. in Europe, U.S.A. and Australia 1950-; on touring exhbns. of Greek Art, Rome 1953, Belgrade 1954, Malmö and Gothenburg 1959, Canada 1959, Cyprus 1960, Helsinki 1961; participated in Alexandria Biennale 1955, São Paulo Bienal 1957, Venice Biennale 1960, Carnegie Internationals 1961, 1964; Documenta III (Kassel) 1964, etc.; represented in Guggenheim Museum, New York.

WASHINGTON POST  
22 APR 1973

# Axel Springer:

## Germany's Luce

By John M. Goshko

**B**ERLIN — The view from Axel Springer's window is one that no other big-time capitalist would deliberately choose for his daily perspective on the world. Yet it tells a lot about why visitors to Springer's office come away with the feeling that "Citizen Kane" is alive and well and living in West Berlin.

The interior has all the spacious luxury—the handsome woods, the art works bathed in soft lighting, the logs blazing in a fireplace—that one expects from a man who began with little more than a typewriter on an orange crate and who wound up owning Germany's biggest newspaper chain. But this executive suite ambience ends with chilling abruptness at the window.

Outside, a scant few yards away, stands the ugly, brick-and-mortar scar of the Berlin Wall, with its barbed wire, its barren "death strip" and its guard towers bristling with guns and searchlights.

To Springer, and to those of his 12,000 employees who work in the West Berlin command post of his publishing empire, the wall is a constant exhortation to renewal of his long crusade against the division of Germany. Every glance out the window conveys a reminder that the "enemy"—the system of Soviet-led communism—is dug in on the other side.

When the wall went up in 1961, Springer's friends say he stood there, trembling with rage, and vowed: "I'm big enough to fight those new-style storm troopers over there." To symbolize the totality of his commitment, he then built his 22-story, \$20 million headquarters flush against the wall.

### The Battle With Brandt

**S**PRINGER MAY NOT be able to sell his newspapers in East Germany or even send his reporters into the Communist half of the country. But he still has the satisfaction of knowing that one can stand almost anywhere in East Berlin and see looming over the wall the starkly functional building with the words "Axel Springer" inscribed defiantly across its tower.

Such flamboyance, and the price of supporting it, is extremely rare in this day when most publishers

watch the balance sheet with the practiced eye of a cost accountant. Yet Springer, for all his renowned financial acumen, has never been a man to put his purse ahead of his passions.

One of his fellow publishers offers the wry comment that "Axel will spend millions to keep the German people from going into the red." Springer himself says: "When my business interests and the interests of Germany come into conflict, then for me the German interests are more important than my own."

The unconsciously imperious tone that Springer manages to inject in such remarks explains why his enemies delight in pointing out that his middle name is Caesar. And, while he doesn't normally use it himself, the Caesar does fit neatly into the larger-than-life image Springer projects on the German stage.

On the eve of his 61st birthday, he retains the trim good looks of a gracefully aging matinee idol. In personal contacts, he radiates the low-key but spellbinding charm that women and political foes find equally seductive. But his most remarkable attribute, as any contact with him immediately makes clear, is an almost mystical belief in the moral certitude of his own ideas.

Because he will not be deflected from his vision of what best serves German interests, Springer dwells amid constant controversy. Five years ago, Germany's university students, charging that his papers fostered a climate of intolerance toward leftist ideas, made him the target of spectacular riots that even included an attempt to burn down his Berlin publishing house. A gang of left-wing anarchists had better luck last spring when they succeeded in bombing his Hamburg plant.

But all of Springer's earlier battles now seem like tea parties compared with his no-holds-barred fight against Chancellor Willy Brandt's pursuit of improved relations with Communist Eastern Europe. Springer's newspapers threw everything they had into unsuccessful campaigns to frustrate Brandt's goodwill treaties with the East bloc and to defeat the chancellor's govern-

ment in last November's national elections.

Even though Springer lost those fights, he is still regarded by the Brandt government as its most dangerous adversary. In fact, some factions of Brandt's Social Democratic Party are advocating a "national press law" that is ostensibly aimed at "democratizing" the press but whose real purpose is to restrict Springer's power to dictate the editorial policy of his papers.

### Obligation to the Jews

**E**VER SINCE HE declared war on Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, Springer has been branded a "right-winger" and "revanchist" with such shrill frequency that many foreigners, mindful of Germany's recent history, have formed a hazy but disquieting picture of a man who must be some kind of neo-fascist.

However, anyone who looks into Springer's record soon learns that he cannot be classified so easily. As a young man in Hitler's Germany, he gave the Nazis a wide berth; and today, the radical right fringe of the German political spectrum gets cuffed around just as hard in the Springer press as do Communists and student "New Leftists."

In addition, no one in Germany is more ardently outspoken than Springer in championing the cause of Israel and the "special obligation" of Germany toward the Jews. Indeed, Israel is one of the few subjects capable of bringing an emotional throb to his voice.

"I can't say I didn't know what was happening," Springer recalls. "In 1933, I stood on the Kurfuerstendamm in Berlin and watched Nazi storm troopers beating up old Jews. I was a young man, and I couldn't do anything about it. But I never forgot it.

"Now I think it is vitally important that my sons and all young Germans know what happened—that they are taught about it in school and read about it in the press and know why the survival of Israel is so important for Germany and the world."

As with all subjects about which Springer feels deeply, he does more than just talk about it. His critics have never been shy about pointing out that he employs quite a few editors who

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faithfully served Dr. Goebbels in hymning the praises of the Third Reich. What is less well known is that he also has induced a sizable number of German-Jewish journalists, who were forced to flee during the Nazi era, to come back and work for him.

In fact, it has been said with only slight exaggeration that half the executives in the Springer organization are Jews who hold American citizenship. As an American newsman sympathetic to Springer remarks, "That's rather odd for an outfit that's supposed to be a hotbed of German revanchism and nationalism."

### Echoes of Luce

PERHAPS THERE IS only one thing that can be said with any certainty about Springer: He is an authentic throwback to the age of the messianic (some might say "megalomaniac") press lords—those men who combined a genius for coining money out of the printed word with a missionary's zeal for remaking the world in their own image.

But now, such men have largely become anachronisms. In America and Britain, the Hearsts and Pulitzers, the Northcliffes and Beaverbrooks all are gone. Since the death of Henry Luce, it could almost be said that the breed has become extinct in the English-speaking world. But the debate that rages here constantly about Springer proves that the type is not gone completely. Indeed, an American listening to Germans talk about Springer gets the feeling that he is hearing 20-year-old echoes from Luce's heyday in American publishing.

Like Luce, Springer is an authentic innovator who has profoundly influenced the state of journalism in his country. What's more, the charges leveled against Springer—that his publications engage in slanting and outright distortion, that they are anti-intellectual, even that they have corrupted the German language—sound remarkably like what used to be said about Luce in the days when *Time* was the publication that every good American liberal loved to hate.

Nor were Luce, the son of Protestant missionaries, and Springer, who calls his deeply religious mother "perhaps the strongest influence on my life," followers of divergent philosophies. The way *Time* used to push Luce's staunch belief in Christianity, free enterprise, anti-communism and the Republican Party has an eerie echo today in the "four principles" Springer has laid down for his publications. They are: (1) to struggle for the reunification of Germany; (2) reconciliation between Germans and Jews; (3) opposition to any form of totalitarianism, and (4)

It is a philosophy to which all of Springer's editorial employees are expected to subscribe without reservation.

### "Be Nice to One Another"

THE ROAD SPRINGER has followed in preaching this ethic began in 1945 when he found himself in Hamburg with the bombed-out remnants of a printing business inherited from his family. Springer used it to start a small weekly listing of radio programs called *Hoer Zu* (Listen). Eventually, it grew into the fat and glossy German equivalent of *TV Guide*; with a current circulation of more than 3.7 million, it remains the biggest money maker of all Springer's publications. *Hoer Zu* was also the springboard from which he launched himself into daily journalism.

His first newspaper was the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, and Springer talks about his struggles in getting it started with a zeal that betrays the instinctive newspaperman still lurking beneath the man of business and public affairs.

"There were six newspapers in Hamburg then, and the competition was fierce. But I knew we could make a success if we offered a paper geared to the underdog and the little man. We tried to summarize what we were doing by picking the motto 'Be Nice to One Another.' It was right after the war when people were trying to forget and start anew, and the motto put into words what they were yearning for instinctively."

*Abendblatt* became the laboratory in which he perfected the techniques for his climb to the top. These included skillful use of the latest technological advances and lavish resort to public service gimmicks built around the "Be Nice to One Another" theme. To this day, *Abendblatt's* motto is illustrated perfectly by the little buckets hanging outside its offices in summertime—full of water for thirsty dogs.

But Springer's biggest asset was his uncanny feel for the public pulse. "No minister can tell me what the people think," he has said. "I've got a sixth sense, plus the letters to the editor column." Repeatedly, his editors and reporters are exhorted to remember the basic Springer formula: "Write about people and for people—and keep it short."

Over the ensuing two decades, he used these techniques to branch out and build an empire whose value is conservatively estimated in financial circles at approximately \$150 million. It used to be even bigger, but four years ago Springer, sensing the first rumblings of legislation to clip his wings, sold off four popular illustrated magazines to reduce his holdings.

empire includes *Hoer Zu* and a sheaf of specialty magazines, the prestigious Ullstein book publishing concern and assorted printing and technical enterprises. But its major importance derives from Springer's five daily and two Sunday newspapers. The size of this stable may not seem unduly large for a country with almost 150 newspapers. Still, Springer manages to put one of his papers in the hands of almost 1 out of every 3 Germans who buys a daily paper.

In Germany's biggest cities, West Berlin and Hamburg, the local Springer papers (*Berliner Morgenpost*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *Hamburger Abendblatt*) hold such a lopsided share of their respective markets that they come close to being monopolies. And, through his two chief instruments of power and influence—the mass-circulation *Bild Zeitung* and the quality national daily *Die Welt*—Springer reaches into every corner of West Germany. What's more, both have separate Sunday editions that are the country's only national Sunday papers.

*Bild Zeitung's* present circulation of 3.7 million is down substantially from its mid-1960s high of 4.5 million, but it is still the biggest selling paper on the continent. It is the classic Springer creation, offering a diet of light-hearted sex, juicy crime and detailed sports coverage, leavened with horoscopes, consumer features and stories about two-headed calves. All this is put together in an eight-page package of racy writing, gimmicky headlines and eye-arresting color.

*Die Welt*, originally a postwar British occupation paper that Springer took over in 1953, also has been having circulation troubles. Present daily sales are about 233,000 copies, down from 280,000 a few years ago. Springer himself concedes that it loses money, saying: "I deliberately built my publishing house so that it is able to stand on many legs. This enables us to put out publications that are important but that bring no profit."

He does this gladly because *Die Welt* is one of the three national dailies of serious news and commentary—together with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the Munich-based *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*—that compete for the readership of Germany's political, financial and professional establishments.

Although it is totally unlike any of his other papers, *Die Welt* also bears the distinctive Springer touch, and not just in its hard sell of the boss' political ideas. In a country that tends to equate seriousness with dullness, *Die Welt* stands out for its handsome makeup, high-quality writing and imaginative news display.

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Its readability is a potent weapon in the struggle against its two rivals. The Frankfurter Allgemeine in particular persists in hiding its comprehensive coverage under a format reminiscent of The New York Times around the time of Lincoln's assassination. The Sueddeutsche is much more sprightly, and with its liberal outlook it offers a clear alternative to Die Welt. But while it has made inroads among former Welt readers, it is handicapped by having to fight Die Welt's bigger staff and the superior distribution that Springer gets from printing at separate plants in Hamburg, Berlin and the Ruhr.

### Toning Down?

UNQUESTIONABLY, Springer has the resources to influence public opinion, and despite his disclaimers, he uses them. For years, Bonn's cabinet ministers began their day by combing Die Welt for signs of whether Springer was smiling or frowning on them.

Now, however, the declining circulation of his two flagship papers—and the rout of his campaigns against Brandt—have raised questions about whether he still retains his "sixth sense" about the public's mood. Increasingly, publishing circles here speculate about how much longer he can afford to wage his stubborn battle to be the political tutor to people who aren't listening.

In this respect, Springer watchers note that he has eased one of his personal favorites, Peter Boenisch, out of his long tenure as Bild's editor. Many suspect that the move was connected to Boenisch's tendency to give too much exposure to ultra-conservative political ideas. That had alienated thousands of the blue-collar workers who form the hard core of Bild readership but who also vote Social Democrat. Since Boenisch's departure, Bild has quietly played down its political coverage and moved back more toward its old formula of folksy trivia.

Similarly, Springer recently parted company with his most controversial columnist, William Schlamm. From his pulpit in the Sunday Welt, Schlamm had attacked Brandt's policies and every other vestige of liberalism with such unbridled savagery that someone reading his column for the first time might think he was an unreconstructed Nazi. Actually, William (originally "Willi") Schlamm is a Jew and a former Austrian Communist who fled to America in the 1930s and became a U.S. citizen. There, he made a 180-degree turn to the right, spent several years as an influential adviser to Luce at Time-Life and eventually returned to Europe to join the Springer fold.

His column has now been assigned to another of the "house Americans," Hans Habe, author of several very re-

spectable novels with anti-Nazi themes. More recently, Habe has trained his fire on the "radical chic" leftism of many German intellectuals (his favorite target is the sometimes naive political activism of Nobel Prize-winning novelist Heinrich Boell). But Habe at least employs a quieter and more thoughtful tone than did the strident Schlamm.

### "I Haven't Changed"

HOWEVER, WHILE these changes imply some trimming of the sails, Springer literally bridles at the suggestion that he would ever allow profit-and-loss motives to mitigate his hostility toward Brandt's Ostpolitik. "If we believe we are on the right road, we stay on it and we will not change course no matter how much money it costs me."

Seated in the living room of his vast, antique-laden house in West Berlin's fashionable Grunewald district, Springer explains why he opposes the current movement toward detente and reconciliation with the Communist bloc:

"I hate every kind of totalitarianism. What Germany did under Hitler was terrible, and we were destined to suffer for it. The division of Germany was our own fault—the result of our own criminal action. Still, no one can deny that the results of that division have produced a situation in which all Germans are not treated equally.

"In one part of Germany, there is a country where people are free to vote for whom they please, to read the newspapers and the books, to go to the films and plays of their own choosing. They have had the chance to begin anew; to rehabilitate themselves and to again become part of the decent, civilized world.

"But the people in the other part of Germany were no more guilty than those of us over here. They should not have to go on bearing the full burden of the past when it has been spared to those of us in West Germany. What Axel Springer wants is that those poor people on the other side of the wall should have something like the same kind of chance that we have had."

Slapping his chair for emphasis, he adds: "I do not have the right to sit here on an elegant sofa in a comfortable house and turn my back on those who are in East Germany sitting amidst misfortune. I cannot agree to any policy that says some Germans will be free while others are written off and forgotten. And, if that's nationalism, then I am a nationalist."

Although Springer makes no apologies for this attitude, he clearly resents the "right-wing" label it has earned for him. "There was a time when many who now attack me said exactly the same things that I am say-

ing. I haven't changed. My line has always been clear and straight. Can they say the same?"

### Where Is the Center?

ERNST J. CRAMER, yet another American citizen who heads up Springer's personal palace guard, puts it another way. When The Washington Post recently carried an article referring to "the right-wing Axel Springer group," Cramer protested that this was "as wrong and misleading as is the label 'left-wing' for The Washington Post."

His complaint was not without justification, since Springer is certainly not a right-winger in the conventional sense. He thinks of himself as a man of the center, and there is no doubt that he is sincere in this belief.

However, Springer's view of the "center" was forged when the Cold War was at its most frigid. That was a time when many others—among them Willy Brandt, who was then mayor of

West Berlin—stood on much the same ground. By now, though, Brandt and the others have responded to what they perceive as changing times, and they have moved in directions that Springer adamantly refuses to follow.

Brandt contends that his policies of detente and a mild pragmatic socialism represent "the new German political center." To Springer, such ideas, however well-intentioned, are a desertion of "the true center" and could deliver West Germany into the hands of those who want to supplant democracy with neutralism and radical Marxism.

As Cramer remarks, "Axel Springer sees extremism of the left posing the same dangers to contemporary German democracy as did extremism of the right in the 1930s. He sees Brandt and the government dealing with the Communists on the theory that they can 'handle' the Russians and East Germans, and he remembers how the politicians of the Weimar Republic believed they could 'handle' Hitler."

### The Moscow Trip

SPRINGER HAS FELT this way ever since a 1958 trip to Moscow to talk with then-Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev about the chances for German reunification. Khrushchev, who apparently didn't think Springer very important, let him cool his heels for 16 days before giving him a brief, brush-off interview. Springer came home convinced that Germany could never do business with the Soviets except on terms that would suck it into the Communist orbit.

It's a point of view for which persuasive arguments can be made, and Springer certainly has made them. What angers his critics is their conten-

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tion that this is the only view of West Germany's policy options, that he will allow into his publications.

Springer dismisses this charge of news slanting as "nonsense" and insists: "It is our absolute policy to see that the readers are fully informed about all sides of an issue. If they thought my papers were unreliable, they wouldn't buy them."

Despite these protestations, it doesn't require a very detailed reading of the Springer press to establish a prima facie case in support of Springer's foes. Where matters like Brandt's *Ostpolitik* are concerned, Springer's editors give short shrift to anyone not in agreement with the Springer line. This is perhaps best illustrated by the changes that have taken place over the years in *Die Welt*. When Springer acquired the paper, it had a clearly liberal orientation and was open to a broad spectrum of opinions. For a long time, he kept it that way.

The changes began after his 1958 Moscow trip. From then on, *Die Welt* became less an instrument of prestige than one for expounding his anti-Communist views. The old veneer of professionalism remained, but the staff that had made the paper so respected in the 1950s was gradually replaced by men whose chief virtue to Springer lay in their dogmatism and talent for polemicizing.

### Coverage of America

ONE EXAMPLE can be seen in how *Die Welt's* coverage of the United States has changed. Until the mid-1960s, the paper was represented in Washington by Herbert von Borch, probably the most perceptive German newsman writing on American affairs. But he finally walked out, complaining that he was "fed up with the way they edited me." (Borch now does his Washington reporting for the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*.)

Today, *Die Welt's* man in Washington is Heinz Barth, an urbane journalist who understands the Washington scene quite clearly. However, Barth devotes most of his time to interviewing hard-core anti-Communists in Congress—his current favorites are Sens. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and Edward Gurney (R-Fla.)—and filing brooding reports about the alarm with which Brandt supposedly is viewed along the Potomac.

Barth honed this technique to perfection during last year's fight in the German parliament over ratification of Brandt's Eastern treaties. A rightist opposition deputy, Walter Becher, showed up in Washington and, with Barth's apparent assistance, induced several sympathetic congressmen to insert speeches attacking the treaties in the Congressional Record. In Washing-

ton, it all passed without notice. But the maneuver supplied Barth with copious ammunition for a barrage of articles about "fear" of the treaties in Congress.

Going Barth one better was a Washington correspondent for the *Sunday Welt* who filed a front-page story reporting that Egon Bahr, Brandt's chief diplomatic troubleshooter, had been attacked as a "pro-Communist" on the House floor. It was true enough; such a speech had been made by Rep. John Rousselot (R-Calif.). What the story failed to add was that Rousselot is a member of the John Birch Society. Since that wasn't in the article, there was no need to explain to German readers what the John Birch Society is.

This kind of reporting reached its height during the final days of last fall's election campaign here. On successive days, readers of *Die Welt* were informed that a disaffected Brandt cabinet minister, Karl Schiller, was about to join the opposition Christian Democrats' party (he didn't) and that Bundesbank President Karl Klasen was resigning from the Social Democrats to protest Brandt's economic policies (he didn't). On election Sunday, the *Sunday Welt* carried three campaign stories on its front page for the last-minute edification of voters. One was the standard campaign wrapup. But flanking it were reports that "Red Rudi" Dutschke, a "New Left" radical leader much feared by the German middle class, was supporting Brandt, and that the West German Communist Party had ordered its followers to vote for the Brandt ticket.

### The Press Law Threat

WHAT'S WHY POWERFUL forces among the Social Democrats are now calling for a "press law" that is aimed squarely at Springer. The proposed legislation would, in effect, take away a newspaper owner's right to set editorial policy and make this a matter to be determined by majority vote of the staff.

It clearly has Springer worried. "With a law like that they could well succeed in bringing me down," he says. "If they do, I'm not going to cry for myself. But, at the same time, they'll accomplish the downfall of a free press in Germany. We would be heading for the same end that befell the press under the Nazis."

His analysis is right on the mark. The law, instead of fulfilling its stated aim of giving the individual journalist more independence, would more likely turn the staffs of German newspapers into politicized factions susceptible to influence by the government and political parties.

Fortunately, this has been recognized by many of Germany's more thoughtful and influential journalists—including many who detest Springer personally. One, Klaus Besser, who has close ties to the Social Democrats, recently put it in chilling perspective with an article entitled "In the Footsteps of Dr. Goebbels," which came to the same conclusions as Springer.

In Besser's view, the best solution is for everyone to simply stop worrying about "the devil Springer" since "it has become clear what an impotent opinion-former the alleged almighty tycoon is: roughly 60 per cent of his readers voted for the Social Democrats."

Others simply wish that Springer would keep quiet or at least show a little more sensitivity to the effects that his actions could have on the entire German press. One editor, who is among the many who once worked for Springer and left in protest, says:

"If you're talking about pure journalistic genius, Axel is the *primer inter pares* on the German publishing scene. Even today, when his politics have gotten the better of his journalistic instincts, you can still read some of the most brilliant and incisive reporting around in *Die Welt*. If he'd stop trying to make policy and concentrate on being a newspaperman, *Die Welt* would very quickly become the best newspaper in Germany again. That's the real service he could perform for this country."

But Springer himself seems determined to keep marching to the sound of his different drummer. He says succinctly: "I do what I think is right. And, if it's right, I don't give a damn about the consequences."