

PARIS

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#### THE 1980s WE DESERVE?

Let us start the twenty-third year of H. du B. Reports by reminding our readers that in November 1975, Mr. Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovakian Minister of Foreign Affairs, told his country's parliament: "The policy of peaceful coexistence does not consist, for us, in fake pacifism. It is an offensive policy. It excludes the slightest compromise, the slightest conciliation with bourgeois theories." That same year Mr. Marshall Shulman, today the State Department's adviser on Soviet affairs, told Americans: "Detente implies a long term plan which calls for the cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union in the installation of a world order." Who would dominate that world order should have been clear to an eighth grader in any school with honest teachers.

One year later, on November 4, 1976, Mr. Jimmy Carter was elected President of the United States and the first official voyage of the West's new leader was to Warsaw, where on March 28, 1928, Mr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the man given credit for choosing, electing and educating our President, was born. "We are living in a world where ideological labels have lost their significance," Mr. Carter told the Poles, to whom such talk was nonsense. Western Europeans asked themselves if America's new President was a fool, or an idealist ill-fitted for dealing with an adversary eternally looking for an advantage for himself or a limitation for his opponent. To those in the know it was tacitly understood that the words were not the President's but those of his principal adviser. From that moment, among our allies and enemies alike, full-time Brzezinski-watchers appeared.

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI WAS TEN YEARS OLD when his liberal, Catholic father, Tadeusz Brzezinski, was moved from his post as Polish consul-general in the pre-war Berlin of 1938 and sent to Montreal. Poland was not going to war but war was coming to Poland and Warsaw leaders saw the importance of increased representation in Canada. "Zbig," as he was called, was still in a Jesuit school when Hitler's tanks over-ran Poland and his father became representative of the London-backed Polish Government-in-Exile. The principal civilian adviser of General Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Government-in-Exile and commander-in-chief of Polish forces, was a man named Joseph Retinger who was surprisingly like Brzezinski in many ways. He was a Polish one-worlder who had spent most of his life putting words in the mouths of the great and the near great and living on political intrigue.

After Sikorsky's death in a plane crash, which the Russians most ardently desired, the Soviet-backed Lublin Committee took over Poland and Brzezinski père decided to remain in North America as a private citizen. In 1949, six years after the German emigrant, Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew acquired American citizenship and entered Harvard. There he met Kissinger and started upward. In 1961 he wormed his way into the Rockefeller Foundation as director of its Institute of Communist Problems. In that same year,

Bernard Fall, another emigrant writer and professor, was sent to Hanoi on a Rockefeller Foundation grant to meet Ho chi Minh and study his views. Until then, Fall had been for American victory in Vietnam. After his Rockefeller Foundation funding he advanced the theme that Hanoi's leaders had only a thin veneer of marxism, beneath which they were really motivated by a "profound nationalism." Other solutions than that sought by the Pentagon should be tried, he told Americans. Brzezinski, in the meantime, had only to follow the establishment line and he could not go any way but up. While making palatable the Rockefeller Foundation line on communism and its manifestations, he held a professorship at Columbia where he was able to meet such men as O. Edmund Clubb, the retired American consul whom Whittaker Chambers (and H. du B.) had denounced as a Soviet agent in China. Five years after getting his foot in the Rockefeller door, Brzezinski was made chief of another of the family foundation's offsprings, the Institute for Research on International Changes. In plain English, an Institute for selling the insiders' ideas as developments made inevitable by the current of history.

1966 found him in State Department, in President Johnson's center for political planning, and in '68 he became Hubert Humphrey's political adviser. Humphrey, the media, and those around Brzezinski were strident in their incitement of the public against the war in Vietnam, but Brzezinski himself was prudently silent, avoiding a clash with Hanoi's supporters while giving patriots nothing to hold against him when time was to prove them right.

Still riding on his books, "The Soviet Bloc," and "Unity in Conflict," published in 1960 and "Alternative to Partition," which appeared in 1965, followed by "Between Two Ages," Brezezinski began groping for big words which would impress bureaucrats and the university left as proof of intellectual depth. In 1970 he hit on "technetronic" and began expounding on America's role in the technetronic era, a new age of technology and electronics in which nations and peoples would be controlled from far-off computer centers manned by a new ruling class of specialists and technicians. Intellectual technology would direct the press and through the distribution of authority among themselves, men trained for that purpose would channel the world's economy. Brzezinski's thesis was both theoretical and dull, which helped perpetrate the fraud that it was too deep for the profane.

A nation of TV-watchers had no interest in the verbose Pole's ideas about a "technetronic society," consequently the contradictions of Brzezinski, the elitist and Brzezinski, the egalitarian - dedicated to equality from himself upward - passed unnoticed. International publications pushing egalitarianism and one-worldism took him up. Katharine Graham's NEWSWEEK began pushing him and the statement of Reginald Paget, the former British Laborite, that "the purpose of education is to promote inequality," was proven correct. "The world is becoming more egalitarian than libertarian," Brzezinski preached in those days before he met Jimmy Carter. Zbig, in his way, was agreeing with Alexis de Toqueville, that people will welcome a government that will promise everything and take away all pain, even though it takes away all freedom.

BRZEZINSKI'S NEW WORLD ORDER would see the triumph of an international, self-appointed elite dominating through what he called "functional relations and quantitative factors of equality," which may mean anything or nothing. The United States would be the center of his technetronic revolution, exporting it abroad just as Russia and Cuba export marxism. Only by becoming the power behind an ignorant but all-powerful man could the ambitious Pole lead nations to "merge into a single technetronic identity in spite of their differences of ideologies," as he expressed it. He reasoned that in time ideological differences would disappear, East-West tensions would diminish and the technomorphization of the Western bloc would take place.

From 1967 onward Brzezinski preached one-worldism in the form of a globe evolving towards cooperating communities which would replace our present nation states, considered by him incapable of handling international affairs. He had adopted the ideas of Cord Meyer, Jr., the world federalist high in CIA. In the future, international institutions

would replace nations in the game of world policies. The limitation of national sovereignties would mean the end of nationalist haggling, thus, the extinction of "national entity and of national governments as we know them," became a necessity. What a man to be entrusted with the education of a peanut farmer for the Presidency!

As regards America, Brezezinski never concealed his contempt for Congress or his desire to see a "republic of technicians," where politicians and lawyers would be replaced by men like himself, who would make "an objective study of social phenomena." Universities (which showed their power, as well as their slant, during the war in Vietnam) would become "reservoirs of ideas," with a monopoly on political planning and social innovation.

Under the system he foresaw. the President would be a figurehead, while a supragovernmental organ under the Vice-Presidency would handle world problems. Stability would be strenghthened by bringing the opposition into the government's initiatives, which is to say there would be no opposition.

THE CONTRADICTIONS IN BRZEZINSKI'S REASONING: President Carter, with his limited education and limited experience in foreign affairs, could not fail to be impressed by the high-sounding jargon of the man who hob-nobbed with foundation directors and the big names of academe. That Brzezinski was spouting drivel about equality and at the same time advocating a "republic of technicians" from which everyone unacceptable to the university elite in their "reservoirs of ideas" would be exempted as an oaf, never occurred to the man on whose coat-tails the elitists planned to ride.

Carter's weakness was his missionary conception of human rights, and Brzezinski played on it to further his theme of a one-world order. Any policy based on a balance of power between two forces, he argued, would be only a juggling act, for there could be no guarantee of peace without international institutions enforcing the guarantee. It was the same delusion that F.D.R. had about U.N. America had rejected "containment" for balance of power and Brzezinski was leading her to surrender of sovereignty and dismantling of defenses. His idea of courting the people was to use language above their heads. To achieve "humanitary egalitarianism, the greatest historical inevitability of our time," he declared, "the United States must henceforth fight for justice and equality more than for liberty." What he was saying was goodbye to freedom.

One of his arguments for one-worldism was that there was danger in the existence of a capitalist system in America and socialism in Russia, with the rest of the world fluctuating between the two. A new, egalitarian, internationalist society would be the solution. One-worldism with sugar coating. To court Blacks and the have-nots, he wrote that the justice of the new world order would insure good relations between the North and South and praised the "humanist objectives" of marxism. The threat of an East-West conflict between America and the Soviet bloc would be defused, according to him, by bringing the communist community into the ideal "technetronic" world. "Detente must be one of the principal aims of American foreign policy," he wrote, and if he remembered these lines when he went to Pakistan to observe the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, he did not show it.

THE IDEA OF THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION IS BORN. In 1970 Brzezinski went off on what some Americans would call his "Trilateral Commission kick." His new idea of a step towards utopia was a community of three nations with America forming the principal leg. A Washington-Moscow-Peking triangle was a possibility. Another could be formed by Washington, Peking and Tokyo. He wrote in NEWSWEEK, of June 28, 1971: "In a triangular relationship, it is advantageous to have better relations with the other two parties than they have with each other," meaning - to be in a position where the chosen can play divide and rule with the other two.

For a one-worlder, the ideal would be a Washington-Tokyo-Common Market triangle, which

would lead to a special relationship between the three and eventually full membership, with America at the center of the ever-expanding teeter-totter, and this is what Brzezinski opted for. Such a community would be cooperative rather than competitive, Brzezinski explained, and so it would not hesitate to let its international differences (he called them peculiarities) die. That would take care of the Japanese. Above all, he emphasized, it would not transform itself into a new anti-communist alliance, because that would only delay the new order of a single world.

In 1971 Zbig unfolded his idea of a Trilateral International Body devoted to "political and strategic reflection" before an imposing audience of Council on Foreign Relations members and one year later David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank and a central figure in the C.F.R. got on board. Rockefeller had the money and his new protege was going in his direction. David proceeded to finance conferences in Tokyo London, Brussels, Montreal and Paris.

In early 1973 the Trilateral Commission was formed and its first official conference was held in Tokyo on October 23. A few months later the select few met in London and there Zbig met Jimmy Carter. Zbig recognized at once the naive innocent he was looking for and a few months later he brought his find into the Trilateral Commission. In an operation worthy of Joseph Retinger, Brzezinski began teaching his common man to see world events through elitist eyes, retaining the while his religious and humble facade. The assistant Zbig selected to train the man through whom he would work was Richard N. Gardner, a Harvard product and a Rhodes scholar who had written "In Pursuit of World Order" and "Blueprint for Peace." Gardner co-authored a book on global partnership with Max Milliken, a former President of the leftist World Peace Foundation, a trustee of the pacifist Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and a member of Clarence Streit's International Movement for Atlantic Union, precursor of the United World Federalists.

Through Adlai Stevenson and Harlan Cleveland, Gardner got into the State Department in 1961 and from there into the United Nations. Throughout his career, Gardner's aims may be summed up: Cooperation with the Soviet Union and Red China, complete disarmament for America but a stand-by military force for U.N., and opportunities for Soviet leaders to address Americans regularly on TV in return for the same privilege in the Soviet Union.

In his climb upward, Gardner became a director of the leftist United Nations Association of the U.S. and of the anti-anti-communist Freedom House, to which CIA adviser Leo Cherne also belongs. (Through the late fifties, Cherne and his socialist associate, Joseph Buttinger, used all the organizations in which they had influence to blacken anyone who opposed the man they were backing in Vietnam and whom they began undermining in 1962, when it was too late). Gardner is also a member of the CFR and the pro-communist, one-world Foreign Policy Association.

At present there are approximately 250 members in the Trilateral Commission, which Brzezinski headed until he became President Carter's National Security chief, with his friend, Samuel Huntington, as an assistant.

Huntington wrote "Political Power - The USA-USSR" and "Changing Patterns of Political Power." He was an ideal team-mate for the man who declared (before the Russians invaded Afghanistan and the President learned that Brezhnev lied): "As the Russians continue to modernize their obnoxious obsessions will evaporate, and they will abandon their expansionist imperialism as they become more closely associated with the global community of advanced nations." (Read: Help the Russians increase their war potential, then they will become good neighbors.)

During the war in Vietnam Sam Huntington was assistant director of the Institute of War and Peace Studies, which misled America, and chairman of Harvard's Center for International Affairs. The war colleges of our air Force and Navy and the industrial college of the Armed Forces accepted him as an authority while Moscow was overtaking us. He became a consultant to the Secretary of Defense, the U. S. Air Force Academy and the Institute for Defense Analysis, with the results we know. So much for the Brzezinski team.

BRZEZINSKI'S GOAL WAS NEVER CONCEALED. In writings as frank as Mein Kampf, he declared: "By aiding the communist bloc to equip itself, the U. S. will encourage moderate Russians to work towards a sharing of leadership with America and permanent consultations for solving their rivalries."

The truth is, there are no moderate voices in the circle making the Kremlin's decisions. However, Brzezinski continued, "A convergence of the two political systems will inevitably follow and the Eastern bloc will become the fourth leg of the Trilateral Commission." This from our national security chief himself.

Headlines in the London SUNDAY TIMES, of December 19, 1976, told Europeans: CARTER GIVES ZBIG AND COMPANY A YEAR'S TRIAL." The accompanying story explained: "Zbig is more preoccupied with sociological trends than with history. He believes that developments in communications, transport and information have created the beginnings of a global community."

On June 5, 1977, the same paper headed a feature story: "ZBIG'S NEW, IMPROVED VIEW OF COMMUNISM." It was a defense of the President's statement - probably Brezezinski-inspired - before the NATO Council, in London, that "We have been freed from the inordinate fear of communism."

Evans and Novak, in their column of August 5, 1977, wrote of Brzezinski's march to a new world order: "President Carter late this week will be presented by his National Security advisers with a new defense strategy that secretly concedes one-third of West Germany to a Soviet invasion rather than seek increased defense spending which would provoke Moscow and divide Washington."

They explained: In PRM-10, the Administration's top secret strategic defense study, adopted by Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "this policy could be made acceptable to Western Europe by simply not admitting its implications."

While America followed a downward path, the blueprint for Russia's march towards the warm waters of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean took shape.

"BREZHNEV KEEN TO EXPLOIT CARTER WEAKNESS," went the London DAILY TELEGRAPH headline of April 13, 1978, adding: "Western diplomats in several capitals perceive that the Soviet leadership is in a confident, even cocky mood and wants 1978 to go down as Brezhnev's year.

The Kremlin's attitude has much to do with what it now senses as a weak Administration in Washington, after having thought it would be confronted with a strong one."

A year and a half had passed since "Zbig and Company" were given their one year's trial but they were still calling the moves. Moscow's victory in Ethiopia had been easy and Iran a gift on a silver tray. For domestic black votes, or out of bleeding-heart stupidity, America was hastening the war of color in South Africa, and "President Carter's decision to defer production of neutron weapons and await signs of Soviet 'restraint' has also elated the politburo, the DAILY TELEGRAPH story of April 13, 1978, continued.

As the end of 1979 approached, military and political leaders in Europe began predicting

that Russia's showdown with America would come sometime in the 80s. The lead editorial of the DAILY TELEGRAPH of December 31, 1979, was headed with a question: "THE 1980s WE DESERVE?" Richard Beeston reported from Moscow, in the same paper, on April 8, 1980: "KREMLIN CONFIDENT IT HAS GOT AWAY WITH INVASION. The Soviet Union, three months after the invasion of Afghanistan, is in a smug and confident mood and fast forgetting the anxieties it felt during the early days of the intervention. 'Things are doing exactly as we predicted they would,' a senior Soviet official told a Western envoy recently. 'We said we just had to keep calm and it would all fizzle out.'"

Mr. Robert Moss wrote in his superb TELEGRAPH column of April 14, 1980: "President Carter has not replaced the clutch of middle echelon advisers in State Department, the National Security Council and on the White House staff whose radical sympathies and readiness to preach accommodation with Moscow's strategic designs have been largely responsible (in the view of knowledgeable West European observers) for the disasters of the Carter Administration's first years in office."

Put all the above together and Americans can have an idea why our allies are dragging their feet. That is also why General Pyotr Grigorenko, the most senior Soviet Army officer to have taken refuge in the West, recently predicted Soviet military action in Europe before the end of this year - action which America's next Administration will have to face.

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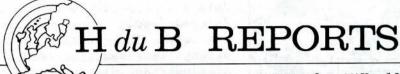
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# After Tito, a struggle

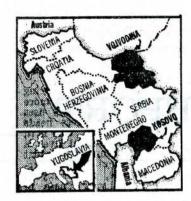
The Peshawar correspondent of the London DAILY TELEGRAPH wrote, on May 15, that young Russian conscripts from Eastern Europe were astonished to find themselves in Afghanistan. They had been camping on the Russian side of the Oxus river since early October, then, on Christmas eve, they were herded into huge transports and flown to a snow-covered airfield from which they could see snow-capped mountains in the distance. They thought they were still in Central Europe until a commissar called them together and told them they had been brought to Afghanistan to repel American forces advancing through Pakistan to invade their homeland.

We are living in an age when our officials think nothing of meeting regularly and shaking hands with the leaders who tell such lies to their soldiers and their people. The anomaly is that while the Russians are building up hatred and preparing military fervor for a war against us, our leaders and media work equally hard to destroy morale and convince the public that anti-communism is extremism.

TODAY THE WORLD'S BEST AUTHORITIES ARE PREDICTING THAT 1980 WILL BE THE YEAR OF CONFRONTATION. General Pyotr Grigorenko, the most senior Soviet officer living abroad, declared in mid-March that the West will see Soviet action before the end of the year. In early May he stated: "The West is complying with its (the Helsinki Agreement's) provisions while the Soviet Union, under cover of the agreement, has - in my estimation - pocketed twenty countries since it was signed. Most of these were in Africa, South Asia, and Central America." A London INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CONFLICT survey, published in January 1980, predicted that the "The Soviet Empire" is set to expand in the mid-80s. It has already expanded to Angola, Ethiopia, the Sahara, Yemen, Afghanistan and Cambodia. Libya is financing her terrorists, Iran is in a state of chaos and black Africa is set for the war of color which Moscow, with no discouragement from the West, is preparing to incite against the republic in the south.

Such is the Russian keyboard as the west wonders and waits, after the orgy of hypocritical emotion in which it wallowed following the death of Josep Broz Tito on May 4, 1980. Perhaps now is an appropriate time to tell how Yugoslav reds killed more Yugoslavs than the Germans that a communist might replace their King.

MUCH OF THE TITO STORY WILL NEVER BE KNOWN. The official version is that Josep Broz Tito was born in the village of Kumrovec, near the border of Slovenia and Croatia, on May 7, 1892, of a Croatian drunkard father and a Slovakian peasant mother. Among the aliases he used in his climb upward as a revolutionary were Kostanjek, Tomanek and Walter. As a student he was a failure and after an apprenticeship with a locksmith he became a metal worker, more interested in labor agitation than job advancement. In 1913 he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Army and 1914 found him in the attack on Serbia, following the assassination of the Archduke Franz-Ferdinand of Sarajevo. A year later he was captured by the Russians and sent to the Siberian camp which was to be his commu-



nist university. 1917 found him in the thick of the insurrection in Saint Petersburg. When the illegal, Russian-directed communist party was set up in Vienna, Comrade Broz returned to Croatia to organize its Yugoslav arm, and the papers he signed during that period bore the initials T.I.T.O, for Tajna Internacionalna Terroristica Organizacija. Thus the name Tito was born. The organization was dissolved in 1921 after an attempt to assassinate the regent, who was to become King Alexander and die in Marseille in 1934. Tito was working in shipyards and organizing labor cells when he was arrested on April 4, 1928, and sentenced to five years in Lepoglava prison where he was to later lock up his former friends.

When he got out of prison Tito went to Russia for advanced training in the *Ecole Superieure* of the communist party and emerged as agent No. 135 in the European branch of the Komintern. For a time, in 1935, he was teaching in Russia before being assigned a mission to Austria under the name of Ivan Velchik, with a job as a traveling salesman as a cover. August 1936 found him in Paris passing Yugoslav and Bulgarian volunteers on to the Civil War in Spain. By then his name was Tomanek and he was a Czechoslovakian engineer with letter drops on rue La Fayette, rue de Chabrol and Avenue Mathurin-Moreau. Among the future red leaders with him at the time were Clement Gottwald, the German, Palmiro Togliatti, Luigi Longo and Pietri Nenni, the Italians. In 1937 Stalin called him back to Moscow to help in the bloody purges of four former secretary-generals of the Yugoslav Communist Party and 150 Yugoslav party officials who had taken shelter in Russia. That accomplished, the way was clear for Tito to become head of the Yugoslav Communist Party under the name of Walter.

With the signing of the Russo-German pact on August 23, 1939, Hitler's wehrmacht needed communist help in staving off the Serbian nationalists and Stalin sent Tito home with explicit orders to co-operate with the Germans. There was nothing rebellious about Tito then. From April 1940 onward he condemned the imperialistic British and French attacks on Germany. And when the Germans invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941, Tito still did not lift a hand. Instead, he killed 280,000 of his fellow Croatians and from his HQ in Zagreb continued to work with the Italian High Command, denouncing the "chauvinistic Yugoslavs who wanted to oppose their Axis friends." Until the German invasion of Russia in June 1941, Hitler had no more faithful ally than Tito. Then orders came from Stalin to fight, but Tito was told to talk only of national liberation. The western camp had to be wooed back and "proletarian revolution" was not to be mentioned. By the end of June, 1941, the Germans had surrounded Serbia and driven 12,000 communists into the former Turkish Sandjac and Bosnia where General Draza Mihailovich had been uncontested ruler since the previous spring. Everywhere Mihailovich was acclaimed as a hero, the man who refused to surrender and abandoned his useless tanks to fight in the Ujidce and Cacak hills. Tito hid in Belgrade for a time, in the home of Yvan Ribar, the former minister, but in late July he appealed to Mihailovich and pretended to rally to the resistance. What Mihailovich did not know was that since June 22 Tito had been setting up a Communist General Staff which would cover Croatia, Bosnia and Montenegro and follow Moscow's orders, while Mihailovich was following London's.

December 1, 1941, was a big day in the Yugoslav camp. It was the anniversary of the 1918 proclamation of Yugoslav unity and as they celebrated it, Mihailovich's "chetniks" (members of his band) stacked their arms. At a given signal, Tito's partisans rushed for the chetniks' arms and tried to wipe them out. After a short fight the chetniks regained control and prevented Tito from taking over the Sandjac of Montenegro. From that moment Mihailovich was fighting against both the communists and the Germans.

A short time later two mysterious Russians appeared at Tito's HQ. One of them, Feodor Mahin, had passed for a white Russian in Yugoslavia and published the anti-communist paper, "Ruskis Bornik," which King Alexander had financed. But in 1940 Mahin established

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contact with the Soviet embassy in Belgrade and began working openly with the Germans. With him, when he joined Tito, was another former Czarist officer named Wladimir Lebedev, who had passed as a white Russian journalist on the Belgrade daily, "Politika." Lebedev was a cultured man with dark glasses and a heavy beard which covered two-thirds of his face. His manners were aristocratic and he professed to be a monarchist, but as soon as the Russians re-established their embassy in Belgrade he was appointed press attaché and Tass correspondent on the Greek-Italian front. After the Germans invaded Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, he disappeared and was not seen until a year later when he presented himself at Tito's camp near Foca. It was a period of complete confusion with Serbs fighting Croats, chetniks fighting Tito's partisans and all four being harassed by the Scattered groups of partisans straggling back to their hide-out noticed that a change had come over Tito. Gone was the sloppily-dressed man without polish or culture. The leader of the partisans took to wearing a smart uniform, he seemed slightly larger than before and his hair was lighter. His Croatian accent had disappeared and he spoke Stranger still, he had five fingers on his left hand, while the Tito they had known had lost one in an accident.

One of the first to notice this was Tito's personal guard, Micha Popovich, who in 1943 carried his suspicions to Mihailovich. Two Montenegran students observed that their chief spoke several languages, that he had developed a passion for uniforms and decorations and lost his rude, peasant metal-worker manners. A few days later they were Some did not dare to talk about it and others did not want to, but a rumor began circulating that while the confused fighting of April 1942 was going on the old Josep Broz with nine fingers had disappeared or been liquidated and Lebedev, minus beard and dark glasses, had taken his place. Captain Hudson, of the British Army, later recalled that he had landed on a Montenegran beach about ten miles south of the village of Budua on the night of October 25, 1941, accompanied by Colonel Zacharie Ostojich of the Royal Yugoslav Army. On their way northward to a rendezvous with Mihailovich, they were intercepted by Peko Dajcevic, Tito's commander in Montenegro. Dajcevic immediately reported to Tito and arranged for the British officer to meet him in late January 1942. Captain Hudson never forgot Tito's admission that he dared not cooperate too closely with the British, after the liquidation of four Yugoslav communist leaders who had made that mistake. It was a few days after the meeting with Captain Hudson that Lebedev appeared at Tito's HQ as an emissary from Moscow. Stalin was taking no chances that his man and the Britisher might make an arrangement between them. About a month later the change appeared to take place and the battle between the partisans and Mihailovich's chetniks for the conquest of Yugoslavia took precedence over the war against the Germans.

THE DISHONEST ACCOUNT GIVEN THE WORLD. A broadcasting station within Russia began flooding the air with stories of the victories of Tito's partisans and the West took them up. So successful was the campaign to smear Mihailovich, R. Harris Smith perpetuated the anti-Mihailovich theme in his shockingly slanted book: "OSS - THE SECRET HISTORY OF AMERICA'S FIRST CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY." Smith wrote: "Shortly after the German invasion and subjugation of Yugoslavia in April 1941, the allied propaganda services began to manufacture a legend, a heroic tale of a bearded and bespectacled colonel named Draza Mihailovich, Chief of staff of a Yugoslav army unit at the time of his country's capitulation, he had refused to surrender. Taking to the hills in the wake of the Nazi victory, he formed a guerrilla army against the invaders." Smith, the CIA leftist who quit Langley to lecture in the university at Berkeley, California, sneered at reports of Mihailovich's lone battle for his country and King.

GENERAL DRAGOLJUB-DRAZA MIHAILOVICH was 48 years old when a message reached him in the Bosnian town of Doboj, on April 16, 1941, ordering him to surrender the motorized unit of the IV Yugoslav Army. Disregarding the order, Mihailovich and his aide-de-camp, Miodrag Palosevich sabotaged the matériel they could not take with them and led their followers into the hills of Upper Serbia. On April 19 he planted his flag on the plateau of Ravna Gora and launched what was to be his war cry: "With faith in God, for King and Country!" Again and again Mihailovich and Captain Hudson tried to establish

a common front against the Germans, but the aim of the partisans was to survive the war, to let the Germans exterminate the royalists and hold Yugoslavia when the war was over.

TOWARDS THE END OF 1942 Generals Glaise and Globotschnik, the German commanders in Yugoslavia, established a permanent arrangement with Tito and his partisans. Regularly they exchanged prisoners and information, and Tito's former comrade, Milovan Djilas, tells in his book, "Wartime," how Tito arranged a truce with the Germans in early 1943. The partisan leader was to be recognized as supreme chief of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, his partisan groups were permitted to leave areas where they were encircled and the Germans would be free to concentrate on the British while the partisans were destroying Mihailovich. The truce lasted until the end of 1943 when the German High Command assured Hitler they could wipe out Tito's 12,000 guerrillas and 130,000 supporters anytime he gave the order. Still, the British tried to bring Tito into a unified war effort. Sir Fitzroy Maclean and Randolph Churchill, the son of the Prime Minister, were sent to plead with the partisans but Tito continued to take orders from Moscow and as the flow of duped Americans assured him of Washington's support he was less inclined than ever to listen to the British. Milton Katz, the man to whom Averill Harriman turned for the green light on Jimmy Carter, gave all the assistance he could from his OSS base in Caserta. Colonel Henry Mays was to earn Tito's eternal friendship and a decoration and Colonel Richard Weil, Jr., the son of the owner of Macey's Department Store, was invaluable to Tito and his reds. It was easy for a young American during the years when Stalin was Roosevelt's "Good Old Joe" to be taken in, but others in that list too long to name were out-and-out communists.

Tito's attacks on isolated German groups, after the Germans broke their truce, became heroic battles when recounted to the Americans attached to the Tito camp. What they never realized was the frightfulness of the German reprisals on helpless civilians. Over 7,000 Serbs were massacred to avenge Tito's killing of 123 Germans. When Mihailovich tried to take the German strong point at Kraljevo, Tito remained in his camp and let the Germans encircle Mihailovich's 4,000 attackers. Not only did Tito kill more Yugoslavs than the Germans but because of him the Germans killed more Yugoslav hostages than Hitler ever lost to Tito. Shortly after the Germans broke their truce and in so doing forced Tito to look like a patriot, an attractive communist agent named Vera Posic gained the confidence of the British mission to Tito, with the assistance of two known communists on the inside. From that moment the partisans were given credit for Mihailovich's victories and London was conditioned for a change in alliances. General Albert Seitz, one of the Americans who had no delusions about the reds, protested with all his might, but he was up against Vera Posic's recruits and Americans such as Major Louis Huot, the Minnesota OSS officer who joined the reds on his own initiative.

THE TEHERAN CONFERENCE OF DECEMBER 1943 DECIDED MIHAILOVICH'S FATE. Abandonment of Mihailovich meant the death of 500,000 loyal Yugoslavs. Between September and December 1944 Tito executed over 30,000 of Mihailovich's soldiers under the approving eyes of General Tolboukhine of the Soviet Army. Between 200,000 and 300,000 more were handed over to Tito by the British after the German surrender in May 1945. All were executed. Of the 3,677,777 Yugoslavs who entered Tito's prisons between October 1944 and May 1951, there is no record as to how many came out. Churchill always maintained that he hoped to limit Russian expansion in the Balkans but that Stalin and Roosevelt lined up against him at Teheran and forced the signing of an accord with Tito in June 1944, which was violated clause by clause. Shortly after the June 1944 agreement, Tito was wounded and had to be transferred to Rome for treatment. There Churchill met him in the Grand Hotel and British authorities later agreed that the man who charmed Churchill was not the original Tito but his substitute, the polished Lebedev whom Tito's mother refused to recognize as her son. Churchill left Rome filled with enthusiasm for the man who had promised eternal gratitude and friendship for Britain. Where he had anticipated meeting an awkward Balkan peasant, he thought he had found a gentleman on whom he could count. "That man isn't a communist," he told his friends, who opposed forcing King Peter II to make the famous broadcast of September 1944 in which he called on all Yugoslavs to rally to Tito. Tito showed his gratitude by refusing to let the King

return to his country. Years later, at the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, Churchill saluted King Peter and confided in an undertone: "Forgive me, Your Majesty. I was shamefully deceived."

MIHAILOVICH CONTINUED TO FIGHT ON. Licutenant-Colonel Robert MacDowell, the American assigned to him, was probably Mihailovich's closest friend among the allies. Yet, Mihailovich continued to believe that America would see what was going on and send him supplies. The Serbs were loyal to him to a man and he was still successfully blocking German passage of the Danube when Tito-Lebedev received orders from Stalin to invade Serbia at all costs and link up with Marshal Malinovsky, the Russian commander in Romania. Lieut-Colonel MacDowell told Mihailovich to stand firm, that American aid was coming, and twenty-four hours later Tito proclaimed himself head of the government of Yugoslavia. As head of government and commander-in-chief of the Yugoslav Army, he called on Russian forces to come to his aid. It was a move that has since become classic and may soon be repeated in most of the states in the Yugoslav federation.

THE FIRST REACTION OF BRITHSH COMMANDERS was to go to Mihailovich's aid, but a telegram from Churchill called them back and the red army entered Serbia. Still believing in America, Mihailovich withdrew to the mountains of Upper-Serbia and Bosnia for a last stand. Before flying out on November 15, 1944, MacDowell begged him to go with him, to live out his life in exile, in America. Mihailovich refused. Sacrificed by the accords of Teheran and Yalta he continued to hold off Tito and the Russians until his capture by the head of the Yugoslav GPU (Military Intelligence) in April 1946. The official version states that Mihailovich was executed by firing squad at the camp of Jajinci, 8 miles south of Belgrade, on July 17, 1946. Reliable witnesses state that he was thrown to savage police dogs in the prison courtyard, under the eyes of Milovan Djilas's wife, who was known as the Yugoslav "Passionaria," before her husband himself went to prison.

THE STORY OF TITO'S SUBSTITUTION BY A DOUBLE could be verified if any nation found it in its interests to do so. On September 28, 1948, the Berlin editor of the FLENSBURGER TAGBLATT received a report from Belgrade on the Tito-Lebedev mystery. As late as 1971 a Belgrade woman who knew the original Tito wrote a confidential report stating that the Head of State was not the Tito she had known. Your correspondent has talked to people who knew both the nine-fingered Tito and the Tito with ten. The London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, of October 29, 1978, suggested that Mr. Norris McWhirter write a book on the Tito-Lebedev exchange. An abundance of papers and letters exist providing reasonable doubt as to the true identity of the man in the coffin before which the estranged Jovanka wept in the great hall of the Parliament in Belgrade. The question that remains is: Why did the man who was placed in power by the Kremlin defy Stalin in 1948?

One explanation is that the man we knew as Tito was a Stalinist by ambition, Djilas by imagination, Rankovitch by passion and Kardelj by conviction. The Stalinist Tito with a missing finger would have been willing to follow Moscow's orders at the head of a Balkan federation, but he had seen too many men disappear to be willing to put himself completely at Stalin's mercy. The medal-bedecked ex-czarist knew how determined Stalin was not to tolerate any Yugoslav leader with too many friends in the Italian, Albanian and Bulgarian communist parties. His break with Moscow came at a period when Stalin was unleashing another purge. Old comrades from the International Brigade in Spain were disappearing for knowing too much and Jewish communists who refused to forget the pact with Hitler were poor insurance risks. The final break came in early 1948 when Stalin installed the new Komintern in Belgrade. To a man who knew Stalin's methods it was time to break ranks and arrange for a fall-out of secrets that would shake the world if anything were to happen to him, and this is what Tito did.

Twenty-one days after Stalin died, Tito sent his trusted lieutenant, Josipovic, to Moscow on a secret mission and the same sort of truce that had been arranged with the Germans in 1942 was ironed out. It has held until this day. But now Tito is gone.

THERE WAS NO THREAT OF AN OPEN ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA over the years, but as in all the other communist countries, men waiting for Moscow's orders wormed their way into ministries and key services in the communist parties of Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous regions. And America has guaranteed the independence of this mosaic of infiltrated nations! There are two alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, eleven minorities and at least nine languages, including Serbia, Croatian and Slovenian-Macedonian in the Yugoslav package of peoples. There are four religions: Islam, Orthodox Christian, Catholic and Judaism. Nationalist break-away movements have kept the Serbs, Croatians, Slovenians, Montenegrans and Macedonians plotting for years, and surrounding the lot are seven neighbors, four of them communist, Italy, communist in all but name, Austria, neutral, and Greece unstable.

The politically astute Carter dodged any formal commitment when Yugoslav Defense Minister Nikola Ljubicic went to Washington to purchase arms in September 1978, but U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown declared: "Any aggression against Yugoslavia, any violation of its territorial integrity or its independence will be considered a serious menace by Washington." Certainly it will, but what will Washington do if Yugoslav communists invoke the Brezhnev doctrine and call on Moscow for aid? European consensus is that Afghanistan was a test case, to see how far America will go. The conclusion is that America is weak and Europe afraid.

FOR AN IDEA WHY AMERICA DID NOT MAKE VICTORY AN OBJECTIVE IN VIETNAM and is not expected to do so against a Moscow adventure anywhere, Americans should study the pattern of communist propaganda in Western Europe prior to and after the Molotov-von Ribbentrop pact. French communist leader Maurice Thorez declared on June 15 and again on September 26, 1934: "We are determined and ferocious enemies of national defense!" "Revolutionary defeatism" was necessary for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. After the signing of the German-Russian pact on August 23, 1939, the propaganda became more strident. Preachers, lawyers, teachers and students helped spread the line that workers and soldiers were being sacrificed in a capitalistic war. "Our government is the enemy!" Thorez shouted. Tracts flooded the army stating: "The enemy is not on the other side of the Seigfried line but in your own country!" The Communist Youth Movement followed their Jane Fondas of the day shouting: "Peace now!" It was a fore-runner of Vietnam.

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was not lying when he told the Yugoslav ambassador to Moscow on May 5, 1980, that the Soviet Union would not attack his country. Communization of Yugoslavia when it comes will be an expression of the will of Yugoslavia already in place and if the Russians come it will be by invitation.

The last chapter of the Tito-Lebedev story is not going to be changed by America unless a great strengthening of will takes place.

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### CHILDISH AND RIDICULOUS CONDUCT

"The true world today is an America which is weakening and a Europe which is afraid," Mr. Malcolm Rutherford wrote in the London FINANCIAL TIMES, in mid-May. Like water in two connecting tubes, Europe's fears rose with America's decline in power and will, and part of the change in the balance of power has been the world's territorial change since World War II. Mr. Colin R. Coote wrote in the London DAILY TELEGRAPH twelve years ago: "The answer, alas, is America's anti-colonialism," which was premature in the fury of its leftists "over Portugal's refusal to chuck independence into unschooled hands, to create undeveloped states which, because of their very immaturity, would claim the status of privileged nations and pretend to be uncommitted, but, in reality, like cuckoo chicks in befouled nests, would keep their beaks open for anything that could be obtained by playing the Free World and the Communist World against each other."

IN CRUSADING FOR PREMATURE INDEPENDENCE AMERICA CLEARED THE GROUND FOR RUSSIA, and Mr. Coote chose Portugal as an example because for years Portugal had been picked on as a principal culprit. Her African departments had never been regarded as colonies and Goa, when over-run by Indian armies in a pure war of aggression would never have voted to trade Portuguese rule for Indian. In Angola and Mozambique encouragement of black terrorism was raised to the dignity of American policy and we shall return to Portugal when we examine phase two of our press and labor union-created compulsion to drive allies from areas which expansionist Russia has taken over.

Mr. A. L. Rowse declared in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of February 5, 1980, that it was because he wished the Americans well that he diagnosed how foolish their hostility to the British Empire (and the empires of her allies) was when placed beside her own interests. "How badly the Americans have managed, sabotaged by their liberal illusions," he reflected as he studied the result of the crumbling of the West's positions in the Middle East, the Soviet foothold in Aden, the Indian Ocean, Africa and on the march toward the Persian Gulf. The classic pattern was America's roving labor "ambassador" arriving to organize colonial disorder, while State Department sent its man to the mother country to urge surrender.

IN 1956 WASHINGTON ANNOUNCED THAT SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE ALLEN was being sent to Africa "to sound out the will to independence of the native population." To the natives, independence meant inheriting the white man's house, wife and car, so it should not have been necessary to send George Allen to get the answer. A year later, George Meany, filled with revolutionary fervor by his two top meddlers in other nations' affairs, Irving Brown and former secretary-general of the Communist Party-USA, Mr. Jay Lovestone, went to Ghana to spread labor revolution. Men to whom a spear was as common as a wrist-watch was to Mr. Meany, jumped with joy as he told them the Algerian department of France was as badly treated as the oppressed people of Hungary. He called on Africa to come to the aid of "Algerian patriots deprived of liberty, locked in a final, and I am sure, victorious struggle for independence from the clutches of French

colonialism, the most degrading of an outworn and declining imperialism." In retrospect many Algerians see it as paradise today. America lost her NATO bases in France, every Algerian able to do so left home to work for his former "oppressors," and Algeria's Berber minority lost rights they had always enjoyed. Today Algeria is waging an expansionist war against Morocco and Mauretania for the sulphate-rich sands of the Sahara and an Atlantic port at Villa Cisneros from which to threaten the Azores and deprive America of her refueling base in any future conflict.

AMERICA WAS THE STRONGEST POWER ON EARTH when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949, uniting Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Belgium, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey and the U.S. On May 8, 1955, West Germany was admitted to the alliance. Six days later, on May 14, 1955, the Soviet Union and her satellites met in Warsaw and formed the opposing Warsaw Pact bloc which bound seven "popular democracies" (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania) in a treaty of "friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance." Article 4 of the Warsaw Pact Accord stated that in the event of any act which Moscow might interpret as an "aggression," each member state would exercise its right of self-defense by coming to the aid of the victim "with all necessary means, including the use of armed force, in a manner that would guarantee the integrity of the frontiers established by World War II and outlined by article 5 of the treaty."

Only Warsaw Pact bloc frontiers were considered sacred and invasion of a non-communist country by Soviet forces answering a call for aid from a communist party able to seize government offices long enough to make a broadcast is not considered aggression. Under the theory of "limited sovereignty" no satellite nation possesses the right to self-determination and Moscow regards intervention as a duty when there is a threat to the solid front which communist nations present to the world. No succeeding government in a satellite state has the right to reverse a previous government's decision of entry. This was the forerunner of the Brezhnev doctrine which holds that the fate of socialism in any single country is a concern of all and if the system is threatened in one, the rest are obligated to extend their brotherly help.

HOW ELASTIC THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IS was brought home in Afghanistan. An overwhelmingly anti-communist and anti-Russian country may be taken over by a man placed in power by Russian-trained officers and Soviet advisers. Moscow immediately recognizes the new government and any subsequent act is justifiable as comradely aid. A small island or mini-state may find itself in the communist camp if six communist-trained natives slip home with enough fire power to seize the government palace and call themselves a government. This is also a possibility to which we will return. zation of the Warsaw Pact military machine is based on a Russian chain of command centered in Moscow. The present commander-in-chief is Marshal Koulikov, whose forces operate independently in nations where they are based, though since 1952 Warsaw Pact equipment has been gradually standardized. The T-72 tanks reserved for Russian units are armored with a sandwich-type layer of metals vulnerable only to neutron bombs. Due to President Carter's opposition, the 572 land-based Cruise missiles and Pershing-2s Europe has been promised will not be deployable until late 1983. With Russia putting a new SS-20 mobile missile, able to cover targets anywhere in Europe, in service every five days, by the time our Cruise missiles and Pershing-2s are available, over 400 of the new SS-20 missiles with their three warheads, longer range, extreme mobility and weight-accuracy will be in place. Moscow's objective is expansion of territory and influence through intimidation.

Against the constant indoctrination of hatred and aggression in the Warsaw Pact countries, countless "peace" organizations preach conscientious objection and anti-militarism in the West. The two men most responsible, however, for President Carter's disastrous defense decisions have been Cyrus Vance, who resigned as Secretary of State over the attempt to liberate our embassy staff in Iran, and Mr. Paul Warnke, who as Director of the Arms Control Agency in State Department, turned the President against the

Cruise missile on the argument that it would have a destabilizing effect on arms control.

MR. CYRUS VANCE, who helped negotiate our dishonorable peace in Vietnam, received many of his ideas from Leslie Gelb, who had been Morton Halperin's assistant in the Defense Department. Gelb was a compiler of the Pentagon Papers and had discussed the necessity of their being made public, with Daniel Ellsberg. As President Carter's director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Gelb was the man behind Warnke when Cyrus Vance was pressured into making his concessions to the Soviets. The range of the Cruise missile was limited to 385 miles on light bombers, instead of the 1,560 we had demanded. Many senators opposed Warnke's appointment by the President in early 1977, remembering his role as Senator McGovern's foreign policy adviser and realizing that he had only been made disarmament chief as a sop to America's liberals. That Moscow wanted Warnke became evident when a Tass broadcast on February 3 denounced the "reactionary forces" opposing the man who wanted peace.

In the New York Times of September 18, 1979 and the Paris-based International Herald-Tribune the following day, Gelb denounced "the Rightist Brigade" which he claimed was spreading fears about Soviet superiority. "One reason for the panic," he wrote, "is the climate of near hysteria about the Soviet Union's military capability and international designs that has been created by rightists and abetted and magnified by the news media." On January 26, 1976, Gelb lamented in the Herald-Tribune that campaign pressures were putting "U.S. backers of détente on the defensive." Through stringpulling by Gelb and Warnke and cooperation from Vance, almost every decision the President made was one the enemy wanted. The Soviet mobile nuclear warhead SS-20 missile, capable of destroying the strategic deterrents in any country of Western Europe, was not included in the Salt II treaty. Yet, President Carter, on April 7, 1978, rejected the production of neutron warheads. The Soviet version of the cruise missile was tested eleven months ago, but the campaign to frighten Western Europe out of "provoking" Moscow by accepting ours is still beamed at every NATO nation. At present no missile capable of hitting the Soviet Union is based in Western Europe. That this has not been brought home to Americans is due to the illness in NATO and the bias of our press. Though NATO was designed to defend the West against Soviet attack, no civilian secretary-general to the right of socialism has ever headed our military alliance. Paul-Henry Spaak, the Belgian one-worlder known as Mr. Socialist who all his life had been an enemy of national sovereignty, was NATO's civilian leader during the 1960 period when native Lumumbas were clearing the way for Russians, Cubans and East Germans in Africa.

NATO's present Secretary-General is Mr. Joseph Luns, the Dutch socialist who has stated: "The slowly but steadily advancing unity of Europe is the most promising guarantee of our ideals of one-world government." What he is admitting is that the objective of NATO's civilian leaders is a one-world government, under which NATO would be merged with the force it was organized to fight, and national armies will be replaced by a world police. TIME magazine of February 18, 1980, referred to "France's cute line" in a story on plans to form a Common Market Defense organization which will replace NATO. TIME added that this "exasperates the State Department." It should not, for surrender of American leadership to the Common Market is what the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations are all about. Neither should Cyrus Vance's replacement by Edmund Muskie lend any more credence to what the President threatens to do if Pussian aggression continues. Ralph de Toledano's column in the Manchester Union Leader of February 9, 1972, carried Muskie's statement that a communist takeover of South Vietnam would not bother him. He added, "there are different types of communism and some are better than others."

PRESIDENT CARTER TOLD AMERICA IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE of January 24, 1980, that America would use force if necessary to oppose any Russian attempt to seize control of the Persian Gulf. The London DAILY TELEGRAPH reported on January 11, 1980: "America has warned Russia that she will bear 'a very heavy cost,' if she follows her seizure of Afghanistan by moving to take over Iran." Telling Russia she can have Afghanistan was a poor way to start the year in which a surprising number of world

authorities foresee a confrontation. And in our present state of defense, what will the President do if Moscow moves to the Persian Gulf? When Cyrus Sulzberger wrote on January 4, 1971: "Every President since Truman has accepted the Wilsonian credo of peace without victory," he was writing as an insider who has been let in on the secret and was fulfilling his obligation to those according him preeminence by preparing the public for the day when they too can be informed that no-winism is our accepted policy. The story of the chronology of America's descent to her present position would fill a very great book which is yet to be written.

THE SCRAMBLING OF OUR ALLIES' EMPIRES AFTER WORLD WAR II had long been President Roosevelt's dream. Europeans credit him and his fellow utopians with more practical sense than they had. Most Europeans think that America was after their markets. Actually, Roosevelt wanted to break-up the existing mosaic of maps and turn our allies' colonies into inviolable states which would have to enter his United Nations. The mother countries would have no choice but to sacrifice sovereignty, first to U.N. and then to a European parliament, because they had been amputated from their colonies. The argument used to make surrender of sovereignty palatable was "the day of the small nation is past." There was nothing as sensible as markets about the conspiracy of the one-worlders entrenched in every agency and level of the U.S. government, including CIA, as a chapter on Cord Meyer, Jr. and his World Federalist pipedream would make clear. Meyer's last big job was to see that Britain entered the Common Market. American labor bosses were out for one-worldism also, not from idealism but for power. Men like Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone latched onto the Marshall Plan faucet and organized labor unions in mother countries and colonies alike. After a union had been organized in one of our allies' colonies, a leader was selected and taken to the United States for "labor union training." Then he was sent home to lead his union in the fight for independence. Unions in the mother country rose to defend the "just revindications of workers" if the government moved to protect national interests.

Millions of American dollars were spent to organize a monster union-of-unions, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Brussels. It brought the combined pressure of labor unions in over a hundred countries down on the head of any government which obstructed an independence movement led by an American-trained labor leader marked to be the future president. The idea behind all this was that, once independent, the native union leader become President would be loyal to the American boss - in this case Walter Reuther - who selected, trained, financed and installed him. Tunisia's Bourguiba, who was selected at a labor conference in San Francisco in 1952, is one of the President-for-life tyrants still alive who came up by the above-mentioned Thomas Braden, the CIA leftist to whom Nelson Rockefeller later loaned money to buy a newspaper, gave Irving Brown the money with which to organize the FORCE OUVRIERE union in France. On March 29, 1962, Irving Brown became the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations' (AFL-CIO) representative to the ICFTU in Brussels and ICFTU representative to the United Nations. With this immense power in his irresponsible hands, Brown announced that he "hoped to be able to make the ICFTU the real voice of the workers of the world." To Brown and those working to form a labor empire, unions have no borders. Americans knew nothing about all this when CIA gave power to Brown and his ilk by using unions, which are loyal to unions instead of nations.

AT THE TIME OF WALTER REUTHER'S DEATH IN AN AIRPLANE ACCIDENT, in 1970, he had been plotting for six years to set up a global labor union with its headquarters in Frankfurt. It was purely political. Reuther was working for one-worldism with a labor boss at the top and no remaining obstacle to the dream of an America merged with Russia. By the time Reuther died, the ICFTU which American union dues had set up, was under communist control and the worn out line that it was organized to fight communism had been swept under the rug. Also, by that time the promoters of one-worldism through no winism had nothing to fear from the American Army. Through the late 40s a powerful press campaign harped on the line that civilian control must be strengthened over the military, lest trigger-happy generals involve us in a war. Where a small civilian staff had been

sufficient to run the Defense Department under James Forrestal, by 1977 twentysix civilian executives had over 2,000 employees under them, tightening the control
which civilians had always had. This was not to prevent war but to enable civilians
in a Defense Department thousands of miles away to make even tactical decisions on the
field of battle. America's invisible government was at work in area after area, making
small countries out of our allies and their lost colonies and at the same time preaching that the day of the small country is past. The answer was to package them all in
a superstate, but first the army had to be made docile enough - and demoralized by
defeat in a war that could be won - to make patriots accept the packaging. This is
the story of America's post-war decline. In each case the action was governmental,
even to the sowing of colonial revolts by labor unions, which were supported by State
Department and government agencies. Comedy entered the picture when individual Americans with money and global ignorance decided to become founders of sovereign states
on their own.

THE PHOENIX FOUNDATION, RUN FROM POST OFFICE BOX NO. 5084 IN AMSTERDAM, was unknown to most of the men who attended the economic seminar in the South of France, a few days before Christmas in 1977. It was one of those usual seminars where moneyed men pay to be told the obvious – that no one has confidence in paper money and nine-tenths of the world have confidence only in gold. In this case, Mr. Robert Doorn, the 32-year old secretary of the Phoenix Foundation and President of a firm known as the World Gold Association, based in Switzerland, flew down from Holland in search of backing from harassed Americans looking for a tax haven. Mr. Doorn was not impressive and what he was offering was so clearly either a pipedream or a con game it is difficult to imagine successful business men at a sound-money seminar being innocent enough to think they could finance territorial takeovers and establish sovereignty, and hold it.

Briefly, Mr. Doorn and Phoenix Foundation were backing the FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE AZORES, the semi-autonomous Portuguese islands four hours flight from the United States, and seat of America's Lajes airforce base. Russia so badly wants the Azores that submarines, fake fishing boats and "archeological ships in search of lost Atlantis," have been casing the islands for years. "Islands fear Russia's bare-faced greed" ran a London DAILY TELEGRAPH headline on the Azores, on November 1, 1979. Any student should know that years of American attacks on previous Portuguese governments have ruled out any chance of a government to the right of socialism ever coming to power in Lisbon again. If the present government were to grant the Azores independence, it would be toppled by a communist one which would immediately call for "comradely aid" and the Azores would cease to be a haven for either American forces or numbered bank accounts.

"Moscow sets up spy base in Lisbon," ran the London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH headline of April 13, 1975. So much for the islands which have permitted executives of Phoenix Foundation to live well on gullible Americans. (The threat to the Azores was mentioned in the OVERSEAS column of REVIEW OF THE NEWS, of July 5, 1978) Now the Foundation serving as a front has gone further afield.

THERE ARE 74 ISLANDS IN THE NEW HEBRIDES GROUP, which, taken together, cover some 5,700 square miles with a population of around 113,000 inhabitants, Melanesian, Polynesian, French, British, Chinese and Eurasians. French outnumber British ten to one. Since 1906 a French-British condominium represented by two high commissioners has governed the islands from the capital city, Vila, on the Island of Efate. The group is due to be granted independence on July 30, and in an election held last November 37-year-old Father Walter Lini was elected First Minister. But the pro-British Father Lini has leftist tendencies and one of his first acts was to announce that plantations owned by French coconut planters would be retained on a 30-year lease after independence.

Until then the illiterate bulldozer-driver, Jimmy Stevens, a Eurasian with 25 wives,

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was regarded as a nut whose head had been filled with nonsense by the Phoenix Foundation, which had lots of American money behind it but only a post office box number for an address, in permissive Holland. Suddenly the coconut planters with their shotguns joined forces with Jimmy Stevens' natives armed with spears and bows and arrows. They were ready to try anything if it would save them from dispossession by Walter Lini. According to the London Daily Telegraph of June 6, Mr. Stevens flew to Carson City, Nevada, in mid-May to see his American backer, Mr. Michael Oliver. After talks with Oliver, he went to Los Angeles to see John Hospers, the philosophy professor who ran for the Presidency of the U.S. on a Libertarian ticket in 1972. Hospers, according to the London paper, admitted, after Stevens and his loin-cloth-uniformed army seized the island of Esperitu Santo on the night of June 28, that Phoenix Foundation had given the rebels \$200,000, their constitution and a transport plane.

As of this writing, they are still holding Espiritu Santo, some 500 miles west of Fiji, and a Franco-British crisis is in the making. France is facing elections and no French politician is anxious to push French planters into the hands of an Anglican priest who has vowed to strip them of their property. On the other hand, neither the French commissioner nor the British will agree to Jimmy Stevens' demand that he and his 2,000 bow and arrow-armed warriors be permitted to form a government with a full cabinet of ministers and two "advisers" from Phoenix Foundation, who will help set up embassies abroad and gain recognition in U.N.

Two British papers have described the Phoenix Foundation as sinister and twice the organization has been referred to as "extreme right wing." Aside from the tax haven motive, there has been mention in the British press of plans for opening casinos and turning the islands into free-wheeling paradises for tourists. French reports on the whole have been reserved. The island of Tana, 350 miles away, has joined the revolt and at date of this report, one opposition politician has been killed. With 5,000 French citizens in the islands to Britian's 500, Jimmy Stevens' cry of defiance: "Let them send soldiers, we got bow and arrow" is being taken seriously.

What is incredible about the whole farce is that in a world where no weak island state is secure from Russia's wide-ranging, base-seeking fleets and ruthless agents, men with enough intelligence to amass fortunes should have tried to take over the Azores, Abaco in the Bahamas, one of the islands of the Tonga Archipelago, an island in the Maldives — and now the largest island in the New Hebrides.

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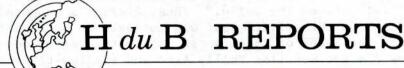
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PARIS

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## HATRED AND ENVY IN POLITICS

Mr. Paul Deheme, the eminent French political writer, observed that "The Socialist Party and the Communist Party have the same objectives but not the same methods. Both fight capitalism but not in the same way. The Socialist Party takes advantage of disorder it does not create, while the Communist Party sows disorder and then accelerates it." To James Crossbow, the British authority: "Socialism, popularly regarded as the creed of the working man, is of course nothing of the kind. Essentially a creation of middle class intellectuals, it seeks the votes rather than the welfare of the working man." Marx's aim was to make politics cease to be an arena in which people were seen as individuals and make it a field for class war, pitting bourgoisie against proletariat and class against class, destroying their shared love of country in the process and leading a lower class without frontiers to rule the world. All socialists accept this basic analysis but forget that in playing lower against upper they are making the growth of extremism and violence inevitable. The only difference between democratic socialism and leftist is that the former would tear down existing society without revolutionary violence and the latter accept it as necessary.

That is why the incredulous refuse to believe that bankers such as David Rockefeller and the foundations, which such families as the Rockefellers, the Fords, the Carnegies, the Kennedys and the Sterns established, are working for the advancement of Marxism. That the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and Trilateral Commission are manipulated by millionaires advancing politicians and fellow conspirators for creation of a one-world state to which American sovereignty will be surrendered is too awful for a press-lulled public to accept. And in this lies proof that all that is necessary to make a socialist world a reality is that a few wealthy liberals secure a controlling interest in a handful of broadcasting corporations capable of infecting millions of people simultaneously with the same spiritual poison.

THE ARROGANT ADMISSION OF MR. ROWAN GAITHER, the Ford Foundation's president, in his talk with Norman Dodd, during Mr. Dodd's investigation of foundations for a congressional committee, has been reprinted again and again, yet with Mr. Gaither's words before them America's providers of information remain silent on the conspiracy and smear its denouncers. All but the most uninformed readers will recall Mr. Gaither's boast that most of his foundation's personnel had worked for the OSS, the State Department or the European Economic Administration and that under directives from the White House their aim was to so alter life in the United States as to make possible a comfortable merger with Soviet Russia. Mr. Gaither would commit what British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin called the cardinal error of letting communists into a government in the vain hope that they would play the game according to Westminster rules. An explanation for such thinking is provided by Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne's lines: "The present appeal of socialism is not to the masses to whom it offers slavery, but to the ruling class to whom it promises power."

MR. WHITTAKER CHAMBERS DESCRIBED SOCIALISM as communism with the claws retracted. Others have described communism as "socialism in a hurry." R. Harris Smith, in OSS - THE SECRET HISTORY OF AMERICA'S FIRST CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, praised Thomas Braden for initiating the doctrine by which CIA would work with and for only "the non-communist political left around the world." Thus, America's supposed watch-dogs barred communism's enemies from the service that was supposed to be fighting communism and placed America's fate in the hands of those whose interests overlap communism's in area after area. That is how CIA got men like Philip Agee and shallow-thinking Americans were conned into believing that non-communist is synonymous with anti-communist. There is no constant non-communist left; it is a term embracing socialists due to become communists and covering communists until the mask can be taken off.

Mr. Smith paid tribute to Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian who deposed his King and who had never known any loyalty in the world save to the Socialist International. When Senator William Knowland opposed Spaak's use of OSS to advance socialism, Allen Dulles is quoted as replying: "You don't know Europe as I do, Bill. In many European countries a socialist is roughly equivalent to a republican." To a republican like Jacob Javits, perhaps. Whether Allen Dulles was a sincere dupe or a supporter of Marxism, an exposure of socialism's background is in order.

BRITAIN'S LABOUR PARTY is the political arm of the unions which have ruined England. Labour (to give it its English spelling) and socialists are interchangeable. Each Labour member of Parliament is a delegate to the Socialist International, which is socialism's international government. In many countries, notably West Germany, leftist politicians seek respectability by calling themselves social democrats. What is essential to remember is that socialism, like labor unions, has no borders and whether its call is for labor solidarity or for a "peace" movement — in which "peace" is a synonym for the anti-marxist side's surrender, anti-patriotism is as much a socialist goal as it is communism's. "Workers of the world, Unite!" is Moscow's war-cry. Unionized Americans are told: "International labor solidarity is a trade union obligation." The only difference is verbosity and sugar-coating. Both are calls for allegiance to unions elsewhere rather than allegiance to a nation. What is trade union solidarity united against if not management, capital and all non-labor governments in power?

MR. JAMES CROSSBOW WROTE IN "ON TARGET," of June 4, 1977: "Specialists in the study of the one-world conspiracy differ in their view of the relationship between the American financial elite and the Soviet Union. Some see it as a partnership, others as a straightforward attempt to seek Soviet victory. My view is that the financial elite seek to advance the Soviet Union to a position where its predominance is not so great that it will demand total victory rather than a merger, yet its strength is sufficient for the American people to be bamboozled and threatened into compliance." But that was before Afghanistan. While Russia's military force increased and America's declined before their eyes supposedly intelligent socialists were still foolish enough to think that by playing America and Russia against each other they could rule the world. Mr. R.H.S. Crossman, a member of the Fabian Executive and spokesman for Britain's Labour Party, wrote in his "New Fabian Essays": "We are members of the Atlantic Alliance. But this does not mean that we are enemies of every communist revolution. We are opposed to Russian expansion but also to American victory (in Vietnam)....If Freedom is to survive it is essential that neither the U.S.A. nor the Soviet Union should win. We must realize that a victory for either side would be a defeat for socialism." And the author of this drivel was spokesman for the party that was our NATO ally during most of the war in Vietnam! For an idea of the structure of the international subversive force for which Mr. Crossman was speaking, a study of the Socialist International, which H. du B. Report covered in detail in September 1973, is in order.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL has fifty-four parties in thirty-five countries that we know of. Most of them have reciprocal voting agreements with communists in which one will abstain from races in which the other has a candidate. In some countries, such as France, they form common fronts at election time. It is the duty of each Socialist

Party in power to help socialists to victory elsewhere. The center of the Socialist International is above a grocery store on St. John's Wood High Street, in London N.W., from which its lines span the world with Germany's Willy Brandt serving as President and the heads of Socialist Parties in other countries enjoying Vice President status. This London center represents the second phase of Marxism's development and gradual spread around the world but we must bear in mind that the lines between phases are not clear and all internationals unite against Marxism's common enemies.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL was a trial run launched by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in London in 1847. This was when Marx, who had never done a day's work in his life and was losing half the contributions of his supporters on the stock market, made his call: "Workers of the world, Unite!" It took the two Germans until 1962 to get their movement implanted on the Continent.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL was a re-designed thrust for power, introduced at a congress in Paris in 1889 after Marx realized that it would take something more violent than workers' unity to take over the governments of nations. When he held his next Paris congress in 1900 he had his new doctrine polished and ready. The new line was: "In a modern democratic state the conquest of power by the proletariat cannot be realized by sudden action but only through long and careful organizing of the proletariat, economically and politically." The period of sapping of governments through a politics of hate and envy was about to start. Municipalities and legislative assemblies were to be infiltrated and then taken over. "But," the manifesto continued, "in countries where governing power is centralized, it cannot be taken in fragments." Read: In such cases armed mobs must be thrown into the streets.

Out of this 1900 Congress came today's Socialist Party. In post-war France it supported the war in Indo-China until 1951 - proclaiming its patriotism in word and print - until it was safe to take off the mask. Then orders were issued to sabotage the war effort in which France's finest sons were dying, while pressure was put on the government at home to surrender in the war which could have been won. It was identical to the later American experience, from the "Showcase of Democracy" ranting until the anti-war demonstrations of the 60s which had as their objective nothing less than American defeat. Yet, this Socialist Party is the "non-socialist left" with which CIA, the U.S. Information Agency, American Cultural Attaches, labor representatives and State Department elected to work to the exclusion of all others, on the specious argument that anti-communists are extremists.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, known as the Communist International, was founded by Lenin in March 1919. French socialists held a congress at Tours, France, in December 1920, at which a Vietnamese named Nguyen Ai Quoc (later to become Ho chi Minh) made a speech, and most of the members present went through a metamorphosis which has become as natural to socialists as a caterpillar's evolution to butterfly society. They threw in with Lenin and the French Communist Party was born. In country after country the process was repeated. To make communists you first make socialists and university professors do the rest. From the words KOMunist INTERNational the name Comintern was formed for the organization of world subversion which Stalin pretended to dissolve in 1943. It was nothing but a move to dupe Roosevelt and those skeptical of an alliance with Moscow. By 1947 the old subversion apparatus was at work under its new name, Cominform.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL was Leon Trotsky's own, set up in exile in 1938 to perpetuate his idea of permanent revolution. Today many of its offspring movements in the U.S., Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Latin America and the Far East have swung further to the left than Stalin's communism and are out and out terrorist organizations. A few examples are enlightening, besides the Red Brigades of which readers already know.

IN FRANCE AN ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS LA TAUPE ROUGE, "The Red Mole," directed a strike in CREDIT LYONNAIS, one of the biggest banking institutions in Europe, in March 1974. It lasted twenty weeks and cost CREDIT LYONNAIS over \$125 million. Twice in less than a

year "The Red Moles," which the Communist League had organized during the student disorders of 1968, showed how deeply they had infiltrated the bank employees' branch of French labor unions.

All France to the right of socialism was shocked because bank clients regarded bank employees as well-bred members of their own class, thoroughly worthy of trust. The person who suddenly showed herself able to bring French foreign exchange transactions to a halt and paralyze the banking system again in February, 1975, was a slight girl named Arlette Laguiller, the labor union delegate in CREDIT LYONNAIS. Arlette was a member of Force Ouvrière, the union CIA official Thomas Braden financed in 1948 with American money which he handed to American labor's roving trouble-maker, Irving Brown, famous for his fomentation of revolutions from Portugal to Aden.

Arlette Laguiller, hard as nails and with the combined cunning of France's most violent revolutionaries behind her, entered the race for the presidency of France in 1974. She and her cohorts realized early in the game that information centers and computer rooms are the Achilles heels of banks and banks are the vulnerable spots of nations. Playing on envy and hatred the reds concentrated on workers handling large sums of money. Through the network of bank traitors they were able to recruit, daily reports on the financial transactions of those they regarded as class enemies poured into a red information center to be stored until the day when they could be used. From banks the Red Moles spread into the post, telephone and telegraph system.

MINUTE, the French weekly, reported on February 5, 1975, that one of the greatest banks in France (meaning CREDIT LYONNAIS) had discovered it had nursed a viper in the form of a woman who was blackmailing them. They dared not discharge her because she threatened to produce photo copies of all the accounts and transactions of their principal clients. The full extent of socialist penetration of France's banking system and her postal sorting centers was never reported on the other side of the Atlantic, anymore than the similar infiltration of banks in Portugal, lest the public demand what leftist editors refer to as a "witch hunt."

REVOLUTION SHOOK PORTUGAL ON APRIL 25, 1974, as we reported in detail in the June and Nov-Dec. issues of H. du B. Reports of that year. The world left was ready and waiting. In a matter of days an estimated 10,000 revolutionaries poured into Portugal aboard "revolutionary charters," most of them on false passports and some on none at all. From all over Europe and America they came. One of the first to show up under his own name was Irving Brown, America's ubiquitous "labor ambassador," who had worked for years to undermine the Lisbon government through support of rebels in Portugal's African territories where Cubans, East Germans and Russians are entrenched today.

Only the communist defeat on November 25, 1975, permitted the Lisbon government to clamp down on the revolutionaries who had set up three clandestine training camps to teach young leftists how to turn peaceful demonstrations into violent ones.

The most surprising and the least reported development of the whole Portuguese revolution in the first, heady days of leftist power was the terrorizing of the wealthy by formerly polite bank employees who had been communism's sleeping cells. With the arrival of communism's M-Day, bank clients discovered that the self-effacing employees they had regarded as friends had been making copies of all their transactions for years and were producing them as justification for expropriations and seizures of accounts. As in France, employees with access to the books were push-overs for those preaching hate and envy.

This is something Americans who poured money into the Amsterdam-based Phoenix Foundation never considered. They thought they could launch independence movements in tiny islands of the Azores, the Bahamas or the New Hebrides and establish their own tax havens with banking secrecy and security guaranteed. Had they done their homework they would have

known they were spreading revolution in islands that would be sitting ducks in Russian-coveted sealanes. A story in the London TIMES of April 17, 1978, was headlined: "The Azores, which enjoy regional autonomy under a social democrat administration, are troubled by strife between socialists and social democrats." The Red Moles were already there.

Elsewhere the colonies in which the socialist one-worlders financed and supported independence movements had already become known as Third World Nations. Professor Robert Heilbroner in his book, "An Inquiry into the Human Prospect," warned the industrial world which permitted the premature dismanteling of empires that they are destined to face inevitable wars of re-distribution, challenged by the have-not nations they have created while the softened West is prevented from defending itself. Professor Heilbroner foresees the rise of "military-socialist" governments in nations incapable of growth and racked with over-population. He predicts that enemies of the West which specialize in sowing trouble will provide nuclear weapons for the re-distribution war, and nuclear weaponry will make possible nuclear terrorism. This will be communism's war against the West from within and some readers of the Washington Post may remember Senator Frank Church's declaration, during the Watergate investigations, that there was no connection between foreign communist organizations and the anti-war demonstrations of the 60s.

There was no outcry, because those who would have protested had no press. Senator Church's statement was as absurd as the Paris-based International Herald Tribune's story of June 8, 1961, which not a supposedly intelligent American challenged. The Herald-Tribune, owned by the New York Times and the Washington Post, ran a feature article praising Colonel Albert Pham ngoc Thao, Ho chi Minh's former intelligence chief in Cochin-China, who had infiltrated the government America installed. Why was the American press praising him? Because he had released 1200 to 1500 prisoners who had been arrested for aiding Hanoi guerrillas. And he had let captured soldiers walk out of prison with their weapons "to show the enemy we are not afraid of them!" What kind of press floods a nation with this sort of poison? And what has happened to America that neither in Congress nor among the public was a single voice of protest heard?

TO MAKE A COMMUNIST WORLD leftwing politicians and editors first dupe anti-communists into thinking they are fighting communism by helping socialists take over nations. The socialist candidate for the Presidency of France in next year's coming elections is Mr. Francois Mitterand, who maintains that there is no danger in his forming an alliance with Communists, because, says he, his socialists are stronger than the communists. Because Mitterand, who is using the strategy of Lenin to put over the tactics of Trotsky, may be the French leader America will have to deal with as our Trilateral Commission leads us deeper and deeper into the world federalist mire, a brief biography sketch is in order. H. du B. Report of April 1976 bore a detailed warning against Mitterand's "Federation of the Left," yet Francois Mitterand, Vice-President of the Socialist International, is being backed by the same Americans who told us: "When Italian Communists drive to work in their own cars they will cease to be communists."

Marshal Petain decorated him but when it was clear that de Gaulle was going to win he rallied to de Gaulle until 1943. Pierre Vincent Ponté wrote of Mitterand in his "Open letter to Politicians,": "If he (de Gaulle) had made you a minister, if you had had the slightest chance of being considered for a position with even the appearance of power, you would have got down on your knees like so many others and rendered hommage to the dispenser of all favors. It was because he did not want you that you denounced him for the illegality of his return to power, the fascist tendency of his regime, the turnabouts and hesitations of his policies and the ravages of old age on his person....You went out for revenge because the other way was closed to you. This is the only reason for your opposition. You were meant for power, you who loved being a minister eleven times in the IV Republic -- you, the ambitious, who are yourself a bourgeois and self-indulgent. You have neither principles nor convictions, only an appetite for power."

Each time, before making a play for power in France, this man who called for abolition of the North Atlantic Treaty and socialism's alliance with communism, has made a trip to America. On the night of October 16, 1959, he set up a fake machine-gun attack on himself, on deserted rue Guynemer, in Paris, so that leftists would think that the Right was trying to kill him. In mid-November 1967 Mitterand crossed the Atlantic to tell his backers in America what was afoot and secure their approval before taking the steps he had planned in France. Bobby Kennedy and Nelson Rockefeller regimented publicity for him and themselves by being seen with him. McGeorge Bundy - who two years later, as President of Ford Foundation, gave travel and study grants to eight of Bobby Kennedy's former aides - fawned over him as often as he could. For three weeks editors and students praised him for being pro-American because he was pro the policies of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Washington Post and the New York Times. On December 5, 1967, our leftist Foreign Policy Association assembled what the Washington Post and New York Times called "200 of the most important financial and political figures in America to hear the man who someday might be President of France." On December 7, 1967, Mitterand flew home with the blessings of his American backers in his pocket, to attend the December 20th conference of the Federation of the Left, which he had founded the year before. Three and a half months later revolutionary students commanded by experienced communists with walkie-talkies failed to bring down the French government only because the army agreed to be loyal to de Gaulle if he would release the generals he had imprisoned and those who had followed them in their refusal to accept no-winism in Algeria. NEWSWEEK of December 25, 1972, hailed Mitterand as "The man who could be President," and the campaign of socialists, communists and radicals was on. It was a bitter pill for France's socialist leader to swallow when, four days before the second round of the 1974 Presidential elections, Russia's Ambassador Stephan Chervenenko, told Mitterand that Russia was not yet ready to put a socialist government with communist participation in power in Western Europe. Russia needed a few more years in which to sell the idea of détente to the rest of the world, particularly America, and until her position was consolidated it would be dangerous to frighten the West with a too sudden change in the balance of power. Therefore, a Giscard d'Estaing victory was prefered by the Soviet Union.

WHETHER MOSCOW WILL STILL BE OF THAT OPINION IN 1981 remains to be seen. Other trips to America followed whenever Mitterand was ready to make a move, and in each case all of the American forces of socialist one-worldism was mobilized to give the French socialist world leader status and lead Frenchmen to believe that America was behind him. triumphal visit has been a repetition of Willy Brandt's March 1961 trip to Washington. Just one month Chancellor Conrad Adenauer was to arrive, the leftist leaders of CIA's International Rescue Committee, Leo Cherne, and his Austrian socialist associate, Joseph Buttinger (alias Gustav Richter), gave Brandt the phoney award they had created in 1957 to bolster Ngo dinh Diem. Perhaps there is a lesson to be learned in the fact that in 1962, when it was too late, Buttinger was circulating pamphlets in South Vietnam calling on the Vietnamese to pull Diem down. What better way of making a communist country than by keeping an unacceptable despot in power until the suppressed opposition has been pushed into the arms of the reds, and then getting out from under? Also, what better way of bringing socialists into America than through a "Rescue Committee" sold to the public as an organization set up to help refugees escape from communist countries? Brandt, with his American support, became chancellor of West Germany and was swept out by a wave of indignation over the number of East German spies he carried upward with him in his rise. Today he is stronger than ever. He is president of the Socialist International and in 1977 Robert McNamara appointed him head of the "Committee of Wise Men," to study the development of the Third World. A diplomatic way of saying he is overseeing the rise of voracious military-socialists and helping prepare their war of re-distribution. He is a step ahead of Mitterand.

Pacifist elements in the Germany Brandt left behind him will recognize no enemy, and his socialists will have no enemy on the left. The result is a collapse of morale under pacifist propaganda and Russian intimidation which led Mr. R.H.C. Steed to ask in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of June 9, 1980: "Will Germany still fight?

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PARIS

# Shah Pahlavi Blamed Himself For Blind Reliance on U.S.

It reads like a book by Allen Drury. The dying emperor went over in his mind the things that had happened since January 16, 1979, when, clutching a handful of soil from his native land, the land he had tried to bring against its will into the 20th century, he passed beneath the Koran - el Kitab, the holy book - held above his head by a subject who still dared to be loyal. With the beautiful empress he mounted the ramp to the plane that was to bear him to Egypt. Did not Mohammed, the seal of the prophets, say: "Who dies in a strange land dies the death of a martyr?" Mohammed Pahlavi's martyrdom started and ended beside the Nile.

Under the dying monarch's windows on the second floor of the Maedi military hospital in Cairo flowed the ageless river as through his mind passed the story that might have been imagined by Allen Drury. Only nine years before, the great and the mighty of the world had scrambled to be his guests in the rich tents he erected for them in Persepolis, the ancient capital of Darius. Now, in all the world, there was only one leader brave enough to be his friend.

One cannot but wonder if another picture went through his thoughts: The great Darius, driven across Central Asia by the armies of Alexander and himself about to be betrayed and killed by his trusted general, Bessus, the Satrap of Bactria. Slowly the fugitive Darius read the message from Alexander. The Persian king's mother, taken prisoner at Persepolis, had died in Alexander's arms, treated with all the consideration due a queen, with the kindness Alexander would have shown his own mother.

Darius, who had been King of Kings and was now a hunted exile, went out under the stars and prayed: "Oh gods of my dynasty and my people, grant that I may leave the affairs of Persia in the good estate in which I found them. But if through the laws of change and the jealousy of the gods this be impossible, grant that none other than Alexander may sit on the throne of Persia."

Reza Mohammed Pahlavi could have had no such charitable thoughts for the cruel and bigoted Ayatollah, whose tape-recorded calls to violence, sent through the complacence of the French President who was sheltering him, had set an ignorant and volatile people aflame. It was a repetition of what had happened to Afghanistan's Ammanulla Khan when he tried to modernize his country over half a century before. Only the Afghan King had lived in more civilized times when principles and compassion dictated the decisions of Heads of State. No country refused him shelter.

Like an unending film the past with its betrayals, the lack of comprehension, the works he had planned, filed through the doomed man's mind. Both communist agitation and the

meddling of Americans who acted with the self-righteousness of ignorance or the knowing fervor of subversion were involved. Surely some knew that they were playing with fire when they whipped up the passions of a sect so fanatical that during the holy period of mourning over the death of the Caliph Hussein they mutilated themselves and each other in their frenzy.

ALL WAS CALM IN THE SECOND FLOOR HOSPITAL ROOM OVERLOOKING THE NILE as the story, tailor—made for Allen Drury, unfolded. Through the weary head on the damp pillow ran memories of the unbelievable reports that poured into Teheran. A man named Henry Precht, as fanatical in his way as the Shi-ites themselves, sat at his desk in the Iranian section of the State Department, composing papers to prove that the Ayatollah Khomeini was not anti-American. A single purpose drove Precht - the destruction of the Shah. But how did he get at that desk? Who put him there? Is he still there after all that has happened?

A similar man, Viron Vaky, sat at a similar desk at the height of the Nicaraguan crisis. "No end to the Nicaraguan conflict is possible which does not start with the departure of Somoza from power and the end of his regime," was Vaky's credo. He also was successful, and now a pro-Cuban band runs Nicaragua.

Patricia Derian, the wife of Hodding Carter, used her position as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Human Rights to block tear-gas shipments to Teheran which would have held off the "humanists" now executing twenty to fifty people a day. Always the victims are America's allies.

In his mind the sick man went over his flight to Egypt on January 16, leaving his loyal military leaders to be put before a firing squad, one by one, because a foreign and uncomprehending President had sent an airforce general named Robert Huyser to order them not to defend themselves. Thus Iran was served on a platter to the mob.

There was a reaction of lassitude as six peaceful days drifted by on the little island in the Nile, near Aswan. The day after his arrival the Shah received a message from President Carter informing him that he would be welcome in the United States "at a later date." All of the news that followed was heartbreaking.

"How could you think of going there after what they did to you?" one of the small circle surrounding him asked. "My greatest mistake was in listening to the Americans on matters concerning the internal affairs of my kingdom," the Shah admitted. Every succeeding news report brought the names of more friends summarily put to death. He recalled that while he let American advice sway him he knew that a conflict was raging among far-off men who had no real knowledge of what he was facing. Cyrus Vance, he was told, was fighting to impose leftist views for political advantages in America. Ignorant of the violence, the repression, the executions that would follow if law and order were not maintained, Vance repeated the same reasoning he used when he doomed three million Cambodians to massacre and hundreds of thousand of Vietnamese to reeducation camps, refugee centers or death at sea, in the Peace Treaty he negotiated in Paris. He was for preventing the imperial government from defending itself, as was the U. S. Ambassador to Iran, William Sullivan, who as Averell Harriman's protege toppled the anticommunist Phoumi Nosovan government in Laos, almost twenty years before.

Brzezinski, Carter's National Security adviser, the Shah was told, was for supporting him, but solely for Iran's stratetic importance to the United States. In the end, President Carter, on the insistence of Egypt's Sadat, telephoned Teheran shortly before the collapse to say that Iran could have American support if His Majesty would show some proof of leniency towards his adversaries. The difference between democratic opposition and merciless adversaries, in a nation like Iran, was something Carter never understood. This is how the prison doors were opened, how word swept through the ranks of organized revolutionaries that American support was behind them and there would be no more arrests.

All this passed through Reza Mohammed Pahlavi's mind during his six days of irresolution on the island in the middle of the Nile. Any move, even a bad one, seemed preferable to doing nothing, so in a sudden burst of energy the Emperor and Empress prepared to move on rather than endanger still further Sadat's relations with the states that were threatening him. They flew to Morocco. King Hassan had been a loyal friend when the Shah's throne seemed more secure than his own, so for 68 days, while door after door was being closed to them, the haven-seekers paused in one of King Hassan's palaces.

As it became daily more apparent that the long arm of the Ayatollah Khomeini was about to be turned against the Moroccan monarch a message arrived from President Carter, informing the Shah that his presence in the United States would not be desirable. Rather than endanger his host any further, and barred by the nation that had prided itself on offering shelter to the oppressed, the Emperor thought of his sister's property in Acapulco. The reply he received from the Mexican Government was far from hospitable. The European governments of which he requested asylum replied that they could not assure his security. Nation after nation admitted its helplessness against terrorism. When he requested permission to take up residence in his sister's villa in Majorca, the Spanish government was cool. He turned to his own villa in Saint Moritz and was informed by the Swiss government that he could remain for a short vacation.

Had he read Saki he must have remembered the lines: "A King that has fallen must see strange sights, so bitter a thing is the heart of man."

In the end, Mr. Zahedi, the former Iranian ambassador to Washington, obtained permission for him to remain for three months on Paradise Island, in the Bahamas. Whatever went through the head of the betrayed man who was seeking only a place to die, he kept to himself.

At the end of seventy days of constantly deteriorating health he was permitted to enter Mexico for another medical examination. David Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger are credited with his being admitted to a New York hospital for an operation that could not be put off any longer.

Then came more trouble. Mexico refused to let him return. A hurriedly-prepared plane flew the Shah to the Lackland Airforce base in Texas, for convalescence under the guns of military guards while Washington looked for a country - any country - that would take him off America's hands.

What President Carter promised the Panamanian government is not known but the Shah was assured that he could always return to the United States for further medical treatment and the Shabanou, the Empress, could come as often as she wished to see her children. On those terms he went to Panama but when another operation became imperative, obstructions were put in his way.

LIFE IN PANAMA BECAME A NIGHTMARE. No sooner had a helicopter deposited the sick man on the island of Contadora than Washington, fearful that he might try to return to Egypt, sent Hamilton Jordan to tell him that the Camp David agreement on Palestine would be a dead letter and President Sadat would find the Arab world lined up against him if his hospitality were abused any further. Wherever the hunted man turned the net was being drawn tighter. Most alarming was when word reached his bedside that a French lawyer was about to be received by Panama's strong man, General Torrijos, to start extradition proceedings.

The venality of the Panamanians preyed on the Shah's mind as he realized that the Contadora villa, which Hamilton Jordan had selected, was in reality a trap. The Shah studied the faces of the twenty-five policemen assigned to guard him and wondered how many were thinking of what could be gained. With every visit from a doctor fear mounted that he might find himself in an operating room with a chloroform mask on his face and

wake up in Teheran.

The Empress Farah remembered that her friend, Jihan, Sadat's beautiful wife, had often told her their door would always be open to her and her husband. Without a word to the distrusted State Department, the Empress asked Mr. Ghorbal, Egypt's ambassador to Washington, to find out if the offer still held. The answer was yes.

Preparations for the escape from Panama were already completed when Mr. Brzezinski got wind that something was afoot and asked the Egyptian ambassador point blank if the Shah was planning to go to Egypt. Mr. Ghorbal was proud to say that his country was preparing to welcome the Shah and his suite.

Hamilton Jordan, the President's chief of staff, rushed to the airport where a plane for Panama was waiting. The Shah died still wondering if Jordan was party to an agreement to hand him over to the executioners in Teheran. Every argument was used to prevent his departure from Panama. Teheran never promised the liberation of the hostages if America would go through with the betrayal. All Teheran offered was that the hostages would be taken away from the "Islamic students" and placed in the hands of the Revolutionary Council. When General Torrijos gave Iran's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ghotbzadeh, twenty-four hours to make the transfer, the suspicion that Reza Pahlavi was about to be delivered, with America's blessing, to the fanatics who had executed his generals seemed confirmed.

TEN MINUTES BEFORE THE DEADLINE EXPIRED the plane bearing the Emperor and Empress took off for Cairo. Teheran was kept informed of what was happening and moved to prevent the plane's refueling in the Azores. The Ayatollah offered \$140,000 to any pilot or government that would deliver the Shah. "Thank God, you are safe!" President Sadat exclaimed as he embraced his friend at the foot of the ramp at the door of the Evergreen International Airlines' DC-8 chartered for the trip.

Worn out by the flight and the days and nights of worry, Reza Pahlavi was rushed by helicopter to the Maedi military hospital where Dr. de Bakey and a team of specialists from Texas were waiting with equipment which had been flown in on a Boeing 707. "The operation may prolong your husband's life for a few months or for a few years," the Empress was told by the doctor who took her aside. She nodded. There was nothing else she could do. Sadat knew that the man for whom he was risking his mortal and political life was dying. Already he had started preparing a resting place beside Egypt's Kings at Al Rifae Mosque. The Shah knew it, the Empress knew it and so did members of the family. Letters to those close to the Shah in Paris, begging that a congressman sympathetic to the Shah's cause be granted an audience, went unanswered. They knew that time had run out.

When President Sadat was informed of Iranian protests over his lodging the Shah in Egypt's hundred-room Kubbeh Palace he replied, "let them cry till the end of time! We have welcomed this man in the true spirit of Islam, not the sort of Islam they practice there." In Teheran the prisons were full, scaffolds and firing squads were taking their toll. President Carter's delusions about human rights had brought no justice, no religion, only terrorism.

IN THE LAST INTERVIEW HE GAVE BEFORE HIS DEATH the King, who had wanted history to remember him as the "light of the Aryans," told an Egyptian editor: "I have always been a mystic, and I accept that which has happened to me as the will of God. This does not prevent me from weeping for what my country is suffering."

Addressing America and the Europeans who had helped undermine his regime, he added: "Now you have your Islamic Republic. You should be content. You have your rights of man, your democracy, your liberalization. From the moment when those who are now in power began ruining my country and assassinating my people, the occidentals almost

excused them and accorded them a sort of respectability."

As an afterthought he added: "If the patriots do not win the communists will." By patriots he meant the resistance forces under General Oviessy. Hundreds of these were executed in the massacre of suspects which followed President Carter's attempt to alleviate criticism of his ill-fated liberation venture by telling the world - and the Ayatollahs - that Iranians were waiting in Teheran to help us.

At 9:30 on the morning of July 27, the fifteenth day of Ramadan, the Moslem Holy Month, the life-preserving tubes were turned off and the Shah was permitted to die. It was by his own request. He did not want to linger on, like Tito.

AN EXCELLENT REPORT ON THE LAST DAYS OF THE SHAH was compiled by Monsieur Jean Grandmougin, one of the foreign affairs editors of the reliable French weekly, VALEURS ACTUELLES. According to Mr. Grandmougin, President Carter betrayed "the wandering King" twice; once in forcing his abdication and again in making sure that no safe haven was open to receive him, either in the United States or in the Carribean.

WE ARE ABOUT TO SEE A NEW KIND OF WARFARE, a war in which terrorists, hitherto glamorized as "young idealists," will destabilize nations from within while Russian threats immobilize our allies from without.

Israeli colonization of the occupied territories and all of Jerusalem has served as a crystalizing agent for the movement which Moscow is riding, while practicing genocide against Moslems in Afghanistan. What is of particular interest is that one of the objectives of the one-worlders and aims of the Common Market was an uprooted labor force, at home in all countries but bound by loyalty to none.

Now that the European Economic Community, or Common Market, is asserting itself against American control of nuclear arms in matters of defense, military men and politicians alike must consider the situation which socialist one-worldism has created.

SOME SIX MILLION MOSLEMS ARE EMPLOYED IN THE COMMON MARKET. For the most part they are of Turkish, Arab, Pakistani and North African origin. Turkey herself, on the West's front line of defense against Soviet Russia, is gripped in a wave of terrorism beyond government control. It was caused in part by a small group of American politicians headed by Congressman Brademas, of Indiana, who were buying Greek votes in the United States.

Next to Catholicism, the second most powerful religion in France is Islam. Over two million Moslems are at work in French industry. The Moslem population of Britain has soared. Some two hundred Imams of a resurgent Islam have been brought into West Germany to educate the children of Moslem workers in schools and social centers.

America, by destruction of files and weakening of security organizations, has made it all but impossible for subversive movements to be watched. Yet, the Iranian call for a *jehad* - a holy war - against America, has been brushed off as a sensational news item.

President Carter has pointed to the \$2.9 billion in military and economic aid requested for Israel in the fiscal year of 1982 as an argument for his re-election. Voters likely to be influenced by such an appropriation are reminded that aid to Israel is the highest America has paid to any country in the world, amounting to \$1,785 billion since 1977.

It may get President Carter re-elected, but it may get President Sadat killed and every Arab government friendly to America toppled.

The Palestine Liberation Organization and Libya's Muammar el-Qaddafi hold up the same appropriation figures as an argument why Sadat, the Saudi Arabian royal family and any other Moslem who rejects the call of a *jehad* against America should be destroyed.

Add the threat of a terrorist war within western countries to the threat of Russian maneuvers turning into a drive north or south from Aden, westward from Afghanistan, or from East Germany across the Rhine. In the end it is likely that hundreds of millions of people will pay for the human rights delusions of a man from a little town in Georgia.

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A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER



PARIS

## BALANCE OF POWER CHANGED

September 1980 brought three events, the end of which no man can predict and any one, or a combination, of which may set in motion a train of crises which can change the course of the world. All one can say of these separate but related developments is that with the leadership America has shown to date there is no reason to believe that they will be turned to our, or the West's, advantage.

ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1980, Libya's erratic Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi and Syria's desperate General Hafez el-Assad announced that in one month they would form a political, economic and cultural union. Qaddafi called it a union of defiance. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat called it a union of children. For Syria's Assad, whose brother heads his secret police and who is regarded by the 70% Sunni majority of his country's 8 million people as an Alouite heretic, it was a union of two leaders ruling on borrowed time, a movement to save themselves.

ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1980, two days after Qaddafi's latest attempt to buy expansion through merger with a country in need of money, Turkey's General Kenan Evren gave the West its best news in months. Fed up with the senseless violence which brought Turkey 5,241 assassinations in two years while 33 Russian Divisions stood poised on the border, General Evren and the army seized power in Turkey.

ON SEPTEMBER 17, FIVE DAYS AFTER THE TURKISH COUP D'ETAT, President Siddam Hussein, of Iraq, declared his 1975 treaty with Iran null and void and stepped up the sporadic attacks he had been making for over a year against Iran. So much for the events. Now let us bring them into proper perspective.

LIBYA'S MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI, born in a nomad tent in the desert, deposed King Idriss on September 1, 1969, and, at the head of a 12-man Revolutionary Command Council, made himself master of Libya's 679,358 square miles of oil-soaked desert and 2,600,000 people. Some claim the population averages 4 people per square mile. Qaddafi saw himself as predestined to form a socialist Arab empire. In 1970, less than a year after he took over, he confiscated "all land and everything on it" owned by the country's 25,000 Italians and a handful of Jews. A special Ministry of the Interior department was set up to watch foreigners. Libyans employed by foreign embassies or firms were forced to report on their employers. It was no longer safe for Libyans to go abroad or send or receive mail from other countries.

In 1971 Qaddafi proposed that Egypt and Syria merge their manpower and technology with Libya's oil wealth and form a single nation with the presidency rotating every two years. light aircraft bearing Libyan markings arrived unannounced at Cairo's international airport one hot afternoon and a surprised passport control officer looked up to see Qaddafi standing before him. The merger plan was advancing too slowly so Qaddafi flew to Cairo to hurry it along. Since Sadat was away, he took a taxi to a cheap hotel beside

the Nile to await the President's return. Sadat was as taken aback as his immigration officer but he invited the Libyan to his home and listened as Qaddafi announced that he had resigned from the presidency of the Revolutionary Council and would take second place in a greater Arab state if Sadat would bring his 37 million Egyptians into the 3-nation union.

Privately, Sadat decided the Libyan was immature and the Egypt-Syria-Libya state which Qaddafi had been talking about since October 1971 was not to be taken seriously. Still, there was no point in offending his visitor. He set September 1, 1973 as the date when the merger might take place. Behind Sadat's back, Qaddafi told Bourguiba and a French diplomat: "Egypt is a country in search of a leader and I am a leader in search of a country."

Qaddafi also saw Libya as the Switzerland of North Africa and in 1972 he opened the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, empowered to accept deposits in any currency. In a sudden turnabout he began courting the Italians he had stripped and the foreigners he had insulted a year before. Through agents abroad he grabbed up the Ubaf Arab Italian Bank in Rome, Ubaf of Paris, Ubaf Arab American Bank in New York, Ubaf Limited of London and Banco Arabo Espanol in Madrid.

By mid-1972 some 200,000 Egyptians were working as administrators and technicians in Libya and currency controls had ceased. Still things were not moving fast enough and in July 1973 the crazy Libyan packed a mob of twenty thousand loafers in cars and trucks and headed them for Cairo bearing a petition signed in blood, lest Sadat back out of their deal. The holiday-seekers enjoying food and a free ride at Qaddafi's expense were called "Unity Marchers" and told to sit in front of President Sadat's palace until the agreement was signed. Sadat blocked the route, to avoid trouble, and from that moment Qaddafi regarded him as a man to be destroyed. Egyptians were run out of Libya with all the indignities Qaddafi could heap on them and the Russians were given port facilities in return for protection against an imaginary Egyptian attack. On March 3, 1973, Qaddafi-backed killers assassinated U. S. Ambassador Cleo Noel and Chargé d'Affaires George Moore in Kartoum.

QADDAFI NEXT TURNED TO THE SENILE BOURGUIBA whom Walter Reuther's sowers of revolt in the colonies of our allies had trained, backed and installed as President of Tunisia. Habib Bourguiba's true story is unlikely to ever be published by the Washington Post or New York Times. In Mussolini's secret service he had a number - 13120 - instead of a name. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan was public relations man for the International Rescue Committee - a CIA front - when U. S. labor leaders and eager-beaver agents were making Bourguiba President of Tunisia. There he proceeded to install a one-party system and make himself President for life, all in the name of democracy. Almost a year after Bourguiba had Salah Ben Youssef, the comrade of his early days, assassinated in room 53 of the Royal Hotel, in Frankfurt, Victor Riesel was still calling him the lonely man who once sighed over a cup of tea but became "President of Tunisia, a democratic land, a land of freedom." (Riesel's column of Nov. 1, 1962)

Tunisia was firmly in Bourguiba's grip when, on January 12, 1974, he embraced Qaddafi and went through the merger agreement that had become Qaddifi's obsession. The Qaddafi-Bourguiba honeymoon lasted less than a week. Tunisian Foreign Minister Mohammed Masmoudi had to get out of the country for having promoted it and Bourguiba returned to Geneva for cell-grafting and serum injections which he claimed would make him immortal.

STILL UNDETERRED, BY FEBRUARY 1976 Qaddafi was negotiating an alliance with Algeria's equally tricky Boumedienne. At the same time he was buying up Fiat stock and trying to convince Dom Mintoff, the socialist leader of Malta, that Malta and its two sister islands lying 200 miles off the Tunisian coast, were part of North Africa rather than Europe. Behind the scenes, secret camps were springing up in Tripoli, and the 2,500 Russians, East Germans and Cubans who were to train Qaddafi's forces and build up an arms supply depot sufficient to arm all North Africa were pouring into Libya.

DECEMBER 10, 1976, found Qaddafi and Fiat president, Giovanni Agnelli (member of the Trilateral Commission) in Moscow to negotiate an enlargement of the Fiat plant in Togliattigrad with funds provided by Qaddafi's purchase of 10% of Fiat. The plant was already turning out 680,000 cars and trucks a year, 50% for export and 13% for conversion into missile and artillery carriers for the Soviet Army. Two Libyans were on the board of Fiat and Qaddafi had bought up part of the Island of Pantelaria from where he was financing a breakaway movement in Sicily.

MALTA, HOWEVER, WAS STILL HIGH ON THE ACQUISITION LIST. Libyan agents infiltrated every branch of Dom Mintoff's government and services through Qaddafi's agreement to finance the three islands for five years. The break-up came when Qaddafi claimed all seabed oil and mineral deposits up to a point just south of Malta's territorial limit and drove the workers off an oil rig in Maltese waters. Despite the split, Dom Mintoff dared not expell the 5,000 Libyans, many of them agents and potential assassins, still in Malta.

BY THEN QADDAFI HAD HIS EYES ON SOMETHING INFINITELY BIGGER: An arm which he could hold over the heads of the Moslem and non-Moslem world. It reads like fiction but it is not. A Pakistani named Dr. Abel Qader Khan, with no security check whatever, got himself a job in Holland's FDO nuclear researching laboratory in 1972. FDO then loaned him to the Urenco Nuclear Consortium operated by Holland, Germany and Britain. Urenco sent him to its secret uranium enrichment plant at Almelo where he proceeded to photocopy every classified paper and blueprint he wished. The Almelo centrifuge process was one of the most important secrets in the West. Western scientists had taken decades to develop it and Dutch laxity permitted Abel Qader Khan to steal the works for Pakistan's new processing plant at Kahuta. By 1975 the whole multi-stage program for enriching uranium had passed through his briefcase and Dr. Qader Khan quit his job to go to Pakistan where a dummy company had been buying minor components for an enriching plant with the explanation that this country, one of the poorest and least stable in the world, was going to build a nuclear-powered textile mill.

THE TRUTH WAS, QADDAFI WAS WORKING THROUGH PAKISTAN. All over Europe fake companies owned by Pakistanis who have since disappeared were buying inverters and special links with Libyan money while Qaddafi was annexing strips of northern Chad and Niger which hold the fifth richest uranium deposits in the world.

No expense was spared in rushing completion of the Kahuta plant and when the centrifuge process was ready to start spinning, in 1978, a truck carrying twenty tons of orange powder known as di-uranate, otherwise uranium ore milled to remove its impurities, was hijacked near the Niger mining town of Arlit. By the time the overturned truck was found near the Libyan border, the ore was on its way to Pakistan. Syria is supporting Iran in the present conflict because of the longstanding fight for supremacy between the Syrian and Iraqi wings of the Ba'ath Party, as well as through the new merger with Libya. Thus Syria's General Hafez el-Assad also has atomic weapons within his grasp. So much for Qaddafi's war in the open.

QADDAFI DISCLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANYTHING TERRORIST GROUPS MIGHT DO. He says he is no longer Chief of State and that Libya is governed by the people through a 1000-man General People's Congress in which smaller congresses, people's committees, professional organizations and labor unions make laws and decide on all questions as to war, peace and treaties. This is part of Qaddafi's "Third Universal Theory of Government" which bans all political parties. Every Libyan embassy is now known as a "People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya." The London embassy is run by a 5-man "Popular Committee" which claims diplomatic privileges of an embassy but rejects responsibility if an agent posing as a student assassinates Qaddafi enemies who refuse to go home. Between March and June 1980 Qaddafi killers wiped out ten Libyans in London, Rome and West Germany. Ahmed Shahati, the 53-year-old director of Libya's Office of Foreign Relations, is the boss of Qaddafi's assassins and foreign terrorists.

In Paris a Franco-Libyan Friendship Association, directed by the head of the Foreign Affairs Section of the French Communist Party, serves as a sort of sub-bureau. These are a few bits of mosaic which fitted together provide a picture of Qaddafi the puritan who punishes unmercifully a humble Libyan for drinking but provided cases of liquor and scores of women for Billy Carter. This is the Qaddafi who in 1977 executed 22 officers on suspicion of plotting against him and a year later ordered pocket submarines from the Czechs for the introduction of terrorism at sea.

To date, Qaddafi has bought more arms per capita than the Shah ever did from America. What he may do with them is unpredictable. In May 1979 an attempt to assassinate General Numeiry of the Sudan was followed by a series of killings by Libyan agents and allies that shocked Europe. Then Qaddafi announced that he was opposed to killings. By September 1980 he had changed his mind again was ordering "executions" in Britain, West Germany and France. On August 8, 1980, his East Germans with their listening devices in every military office and barracks in Libya saved him from a revolt led by a commander from the Senoussi tribe, still loyal to the exiled King who is living in Egypt. An estimated 5,500 Soviet advisers are running Libya. Cubans are in posts at every level and pilots trained by Pakistan and the Soviet bloc man Qaddafi's 400 Russian combat planes, 3,000 tanks and patrol boats armed with Soviet missiles. Patricia Derian, America's Assistant Secretary of State in charge of human rights, prevented the Shah from receiving the tear gas which may have saved his regime and saved the Middle East from war. Qaddafi had no difficulty, however, in buying half a million detonators from America, despite the murder of our diplomats in Kartoum.

Daily it becomes evident that anything may come from the Libyan-Syrian federation. At least, in Turkey the terrorists financed by Qaddafi have suffered a set-back.

THE COUP IN TURKEY WAS HANDLED IN A MOST GENTLEMANLY MANNER. The disciplined army had had enough and at 3:00 A.M. on Friday morning, September 12, 1980, a colonel telephoned Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and told him that the army was taking over in half an hour. A similar call was made to the principal opposition leader, Mr. Bulent Ecevit. Both were asked to prepare a few belongings for temporary banishment. The representative of General Kenan Evren, the Turkish Chief of Staff who was directing the coup, added politely: "If you wish, your wives may be our guests as well." At the appointed time black limousines drove the two civilian leaders and their wives to an airport from where they were flown to a comfortable seaside camp near Istanbul and the job to bring order back to a country plagued by anarchy began.

General Evren was courageous in taking the action he did. On his border, the largest common border with Russia of any country in NATO, 33 Russian Divisions were in position. Internally, his country was in a shambles. America's vital bases sheltering top-secret missile-sites, tracking stations and early warning systems invite trouble with Russia, yet American support is uncertain. What kind of democracy is it when three congressmen (John Brademas and Ray Madden of Indiana and Paul Sarbanes of Maryland) can buy votes they need for re-election by cutting Turkey's 500,000-man army -- the largest standing force in NATO! -- off from arms, to please a Greek minority motivated by past hatred rather than loyalty to America? Russia's Black Sea fleet threatens Turkey from the North. On the northeast are Russian tanks and missiles. To the east is unstable Iran and on Turkey's southern flank is the Russian-dominated Mediterranean, an Iraq that has signed a new treaty with Russia and a Syria merged with Libya. It is small wonder that Turkey heads the list of nations both threatened and courted by Moscow. Turkey has fought on 13 occasions to deny Russia control of the Dardenelles, and 5241 political assassinations have taken place in Turkey in the past two years, fomented by Russian agents or opponents taking it into their own hands to save Turkey from communism because their civilian leaders wouldn't.

IRAN'S QUARREL WITH IRAQ IS RELIGIOUS AS WELL AS POLITICAL. In early 1980, Iraq's 220,000-man army was on full alert along the 700-mile border separating the two countries and clashes were occurring daily. Some 60% of Iraq's 13 million people are Shia Moslems,

related by religion to Iran. But the Iranians, like the Turks, are Aryans, and the raqi's are Arabs. Iraq's 43-year-old President, General Siddam Hussein, like most of Iraq's ruling class, is a Sunni Moslem. 65% of his soldiers are Shi'ites but to date they have remained deaf to calls that they knife Siddam in the back and establish a Shia Islamic Republic. Iraq retaliates by calling on the Arab oil workers of Iranian Khuzistar to rebel and form a Khuzistan nation. King Hussein of Jordan is with Iraq because he does not want Iran to control the Persian Gulf and the 125-mile waterway at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates known as the Shatt al-Arab.



Libya and Syria are with Iran because of their hatred of America, Iraq and Jordan. And Syria's newly-signed treaty with Moscow is not to be overlooked. Never since World War II have so many elements combined to make a global war a possibility. The two most conducive factors are America's weakness and Russia's strength. Professors, reporters and TV men defeated us in Vietnam and demoralized America. Soon all the wheels of government-by-TV will be calling on Americans to join the line-up supported by Walter Cronkite and Barbara Walters.

GENERAL SIDDAM HUSSEIN NEVER FORGAVE THE SHAH for drawing up the 1975 treaty which gave Iran control of the Shatt al-Arab and the three islands of Abu Moussa and the Greater and Lesser Tomb, in return for Iran's withdrawal of support from Iraq's rebellious Kurds. The Shah's aim was to replace the British in policing the

waterway through which 90% of Iran's oil, refined in the installations at Abadan and Khoramsharh, have to pass. When Iran tore herself to pieces, Siddam tore up the treaty, and, to show the revolutionaries that he could strike them abroad, he engineered a raid by Khuzistan Arabs against the Iranian embassy in London in May, 1980. For the first time the Iraq-Iran feud hit television screens and the border fighting became serious. Saboteurs brought Iranian oil exportation down from 5 million barrels a day to some 750,000. Members of the Iranian liberation movement flocked to Iraq, whereupon, Washington, which had had no diplomatic relations with Baghdad since 1967, is reported to have sent White House Chief of Staff, Hamilton Jordan - as experienced as Billy Carter in dealing with Arabs - to talk to Siddam Hussein.

It has not been easy going for Siddam. Last year Israeli agents sabotaged his first two atomic reactors in their factory near Toulon. Then in June 1980 an Israeli team entered the Paris hotel of Dr. Yahia el-Mashad, Siddam's Egyptian physicist, and killed him on the spot. It was only a temporary setback. Iraq's first A-bomb will soon come out of the plant, an hour's drive from Baghdad, which French and Italian physicists have completed, as part of Siddam's attempt to move away from the Russians. He has already weeded communists out of the army, executing some 20 in the process. Realizing he was at Moscow's mercy, Siddam offered oil to France in return for 110 jet bombers and fighters 15 helicopters and 100 armored cars. Italy received an order for four frigates and six corvettes and West Germany agreed to supply a hundred carriers for tanks. Siddam told the Arab states he was preparing for war.

ON SEPTEMBER 17 it started with sporadic air-raids and ground-probings. King Hussein, of Jordan, warned that the threat was serious and on Friday, September 19, Under-Secretary of State Warren Christopher left for talks with Helmut Schmidt, Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Margaret Thatcher. On the evening of Sunday, September 21, the American ambassador to Israel assured Prime Minister Begin that Iraqi fighters and bombers assembling at Jordan airbases had nothing to do with Israel. This was probably true. They were taking shelter from the Iranians, but Begin was already preparing for Israeli bombers to destroy Iraq's nuclear installation under cover of an Iranian raid.

ALL THROUGH SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, and the following day, Bani Sadr was having second thoughts in Teheran. The airforce that was the pride of the Shah had been destroyed by a group of hate-filled old men. Half of Iran's 166 F-5s and less than half of her 188

F-4s could take to the air. Of the 70 F-14 fighter-intercepters capable of knocking Migs out of the sky, only 7 were operational, and these not a single non-com knew how to fly, much less fire their Phoenix missiles. Most of the non-coms put at the controls of F-4s and F-5s crashed while trying to take off. Since February 1979 every American-trained officer, the elite of the airforce, had been shot or placed among the 455 still rotting in prison, waiting to be hauled out with Khalkhaly's weekly ration of victims. When the fighting started only 270 were alive and fit to fly. Bani Sadr selected a hundred colonels whose families could be held as hostages and offered to spare them if they would fight. The answer had to be yes or no at once. Most accepted, out of hatred of Iraq or desire to live and fight another day. After 19 months awaiting execution, it took 48 hours of training at a secret camp in the desert to prepare them for action. On the morning of September 23 Phantoms and F-14 Tomcats still bearing the markings of Imperial Iran took off to halt the threat to Abadan and Khoramshahr. At the same time messages went out to Iranian embassies ordering diplomats to offer amnesty and promotions to officers, pilots and mechanics if they would come home. Only 60 in Western Europe accepted the offer. Most were packing to join General Gholam Oveissy's headquarters in Baghdad. When General Oveissy selected oil installations, pipelines and the 21 huge dams providing Iran's electricity for initial targets he was counting on mastery of the air. From the moment the old pilots appeared, on Tuesday, September 23, the Iraqi offensive lost its momentum and the Arab world knew that the war is going to be drawn out. General Oveissy's Iranian Liberation Army is marking time. Unless some foreign nation supplies spare parts for Iran's American planes, the Ayatollah's airforce will soon be out of service. Oveissy has plenty of American-trained men in Iraq who want to fight but they have had no experience with Iraq's Russian planes and tanks. General Palizban has a force of Kurdish rebels waiting to join Oveissy as soon as he can march. Reports in Europe state that Oveissy flew to Washington in late September to beg the Pentagon, Brzezinski, the State Department - anyone! - to do something for him. The answer was: This is an election year. For the moment the war appears to be a stalemate, but this is not going to last. Siddam Hussein has thrown only 3 of his 13 divisions into the fight, holding his best troops in the rear to cope with a possible Shia fifth column. On his way back from Washington General Oveissy stopped in Ankara to explain to his old friend, General Kenan Evren, his plan to restore the monarchy in Iran supported by a junta of 7 generals. Turkey's new leader has been his friend for over 30 years. They were lieutenant-colonels together at the time of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 and together they became commanders of their respective armies. Oveissy is closer to Evren than he is to the Arabs. Oveissy begged: "Give me some of your American planes and tanks that my men know how to use. Let me open a second front in the northwest. There is no time to lose." The Turkish general agreed. With every day that the stalemate lasts, other nations are choosing sides and the possibility of a Russian deal to save Iran in return for control of the vital waterway and a free hand in Afghanistan increases. It would mean a Western defeat. The Turkish general is still hesitating. Turkey's political enemies courting Greek votes in America will react if he makes a move to save the West. And he has not forgotten how hundreds of liberation army men were trapped and executed in Teheran in mid-July because Washington boasting let the Ayatollahs know they were there and waiting.

AS THIS IS WRITTEN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THE FULCRUM and the world is balanced between war and defeat by stages. The American hostages are remembered only by their parents. Afghanistan and Pakistan are on Russian planning tables and Russian warships are outside Gdansk. A decisive move by the Carter Administration, even through a third party, could make General Gholam Oveissy victorious, but the move will not be forthcoming and our allies dare not act without America. The result is a slow but certain drift towards a greater war.

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Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER



PARIS

### Newsmen as Spies

The first question Europeans to the right of those whom the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) wines and dines on their junkets to America, asked was: "Will Reagan clean up the CIA?" The more informed the questioner, the more explicit his queries. In the upper levels of counterpart services disillusioned patriots wondered: "How long will the Reagan Administration put up with the Soviet embassy's fake minister counsellor, Mr. Pavel Bessmertnik, actually the superior KGB rezident chief in Washington, taking morning rides through Rock Creek Park with the well-known American journalist who specializes in articles on intelligence agencies?"

Why America has tolerated a man sent by the Politburo to recruit journalists, professors and officials at policy-making level is something intelligence services of at least two of our allies have never understood. Their misgivings soared still higher when Admiral Stanfield Turner suggested the use of newsmen in intelligence. It was not the practice they deplored, it was the newsmen America to date has used.

IF FORD FOUNDATION, ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, CARNEGIE FUND FOR PEACE, the Stern Family Foundation or any other of the tax-evading money repositories of the left were to fund one honest writer and researcher for every ten supporters of subversive causes, the bottom shelves of bookstores would be filled with concealed books exposing journalists who have used Washington agency connections and their jobs to push their own ideas and ideologies. The public reaction of journalists themselves as to whether they should go on using the agency, which too many leftists and one-worlders have infiltrated, as a pipeline to shapers of policy is also worth a book.

NEWSMEN AS U.S. SPIES went the heading of an indignant article by James Reston in the New York Times of April 28, 1976, though he himself had rushed to the defense of Hanoi when American forces hit the sanctuaries in Cambodia. On September 13, 1977, the London Daily Telegraph headed a feature story: "400 U.S. Journalists helped CIA Says Carl Bernstein." Bernstein had just made himself a millionaire by subverting a State Department official he called "Deep Throat," when he and his partner, Bob Woodward, were putting over America's first coup d'etat by press, under the code name: Watergate.

The story the Daily Telegraph was quoting had been printed in an American publication called "Rolling Stones," which specializes in exposing CIA agents not sufficiently to the left, and Bernstein, surprisingly enough, wrote: "The Agency's most valuable assets among the news organizations are the New York Times, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and Time Incorporated." Later he included his own paper, the Washington Post.

THE BRITISH PRESS TOOK A DIFFERENT ATTITUDE, perhaps because it was looking at itself. When a Marxist slips into the British anti-communist press or intelligence service it is by accident. In America it has all but become the rule.

The Daily Telegraph of March 26, 1980, headed a story out of Washington: "Patriot-Duty to Help the CIA." Then the London editor showed that he was conservative where British news is concerned but a babe in the woods when reporting on America. He wrote: "Congreshould not deny the clergy, journalists or missionaries the 'patriotic duty' of providing information to the CIA, Dr. Ernest Lefever, President of the Washington-based Ethics and Public Policy Center, said yesterday." What clergymen, journalists or missionaries? Those chosen by Ernest W. Lefever, former international affairs specialist of the leftist National Council of Churches, former research associate of the leftist-orientated Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research of Johns Hopkins University, one-time consultant to the leftist Council on Religion and International Affairs and the equally leftist International Affairs Division of Ford Foundation? Lefever would like nothing better than to have his far-left preachers, missionaries and journalists pumping revolution through CIA to the desks of men who make decisions.

But why are papers like the Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph conservative at home and leftist when reporting on America? The answer is simple: The correspondents they send to America associate with the journalists they find there and think that thereby they are getting news.

A GEM OF JOURNALISTS-IN-INTELLIGENCE HEADLINES topped an editorial in the New York Times of April 14, 1980, and circled the world through the New York Times News Service, TV stations and the International Herald Tribune of April 15, 1980. "Journalists are not spies," it proclaimed, adding that editors must resist CIA Director Admiral Stanfield Turner's attempts to use them, lest this constitute "a threat to the safety of U.S. Correspondents, to their ability to function in dangerous parts of the world and to the integrity of their reports." Concern for integrity is touching, from the paper that employs Anthony Lewis, whom Hanoi's lying officials held up their sleeves till the very end, when they granted him a visa so he could have a guided tour and a Hanoi dateline for a knock-out punch to groggy America. The publisher of stolen Pentagon papers! The paper whose ace columnist, C. L. Sulzburger, devotes half a page to pointless travel articles on some out-of-the-way place without mentioning that he is there for a Bilderburg Conference. The paper whose editorial board invited Monsieur Jacques Soustelle to luncheon in 1971 and announced that they were going to pull America out of Vietnam and let them (the Hanoi reds) have it. And, when Monsieur Soustelle asked: "Where do you get your mandate to decide American foreign policy," they replied: "We don't need a mandate. We have the power and we are going to do it." Mr. Soustelle asked: "And afterwards?" They laughed in his face.

THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE CONTROVERSY OVER JOURNALISTS IN INTELLIGENCE is that all countries use them but only CIA has shown a preference for men who have common interests with nations representing the threat. Study carefully page 368 of "OSS - The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency," by R. Harris Smith, the CIA analyst who left Langley to lecture students on Berkeley Campus. Mr. Smith praises Thomas Braden for "the great victory" he gave "the liberal faction: (read: leftist) in CIA by introducing the rule that CIA "begin its covert support of the political non-communist left around the world - trade unions, political parties, and international organizations of students and journalists."

Let us face it, now that we have a sensible President: There is no segment of the left in which leftism is consistently non-communist. Only on the right of the political spectrum do the interests of communism and non-communist leftism not overlap. "Non-communist leftist" is not synonymous with anti-communist. The "political non-communist leftists" whom Thomas Braden decided CIA should support around the world were those who had gone two-thirds down the communist road, and that is why we have people like Philip Agee publishing the names of good agents today.

Yet Nelson Rockefeller loaned Thomas Braden the money to buy a newspaper which would be one more voice for America's already leftist press. Trade unions work for labor unions,

they have no borders. Moscow cries "Workers of the World, Unite!" The line at every American labor congress is: "World wide labor solidarity is a trade union obligation." There is no patriotism in that; it is Moscow's slogan with sugar coating. A non-communist leftist political party is less strident than a communist one, but it is still communism's ally against capitalism and everything American. As for student organizations, did CIA, State Department and Irving Brown's labor unions think for a minute they were not injecting political poison into the bloodstream of our universities when they leavened them with Algerian students selected by a communist union, when Algerian terrorists were fighting France?

Was the University of Michigan trying to turn out good citizens or revolutionaries when it sponsored Professor Arnold Kaufman's pro-Hanoi "Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam" while American boys were dying in a fight to prevent what has happened in Southeast Asia? Kaufman's poison was piped into 129 colleges and universities over closed circuit TV, with portions carried by 91 National Education TV affiliates and at least 30 radio stations, but Mr. Bernard Hamel's current book on the resistance movements in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is not compulsory reading in the University of Michigan today. It should be.

THE FIRST THING PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REORGANIZED CIA is going to have to realize is that we deserve our Philip Agees and our Frank Snepps, publishing the names of CIA agents who were not far enough to the left to suit the men whom leftists on the inside employed. Men like Victor Marchetti, who wrote: "CIA was blinded by fear and suspicion of communism" should never have been hired. The blame rests on those who took them in.

The present cry against the use of journalists in CIA is not a moral one; it is being raised for the purpose of keeping out what the New York Times calls "super-patriots" who might get in with the return swing of the pendulum after our leftists overplayed their hands following Watergate. We are never going to read any unfavorable stories by Philip Agee and his ilk on Cord Meyer, Jr., the founder and first President of the United World Federalists, who devoted his life to the fight against patriotism and for relinquishment of American sovereignty to a world government shared with Soviet Russia. Yet Meyer rose to the top level of CIA. No one is ever going to get KGB aid in writing a book on the one-worlders using intelligence service jobs to advance their cause. Even "Wild Bill" Donovan, the sacred father of OSS, took a job running THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON UNITED EUROPE, at 537 Fifth Avenue, New York, when the war was over. Today the mask is off and the men Donovan was pushing admit that one-worldism was their aim from the first.

Neither Philip Agee nor any magazine exposing loyal men in CIA is ever going to turn the spotlight on Leo Cherne and Joseph Buttinger, Cherne's friend from the Socialist International. While Cherne was on CIA's Foreign Intelligence Advisory board and running CIA fronts, the two were lobbying for the wrong policy and disastrous men in South Vietnam. How Cherne's best friend and associate got his brother, leader of "the Revolutionary Socialist Party," of Austria into America is never going to be aired by those giving funds and orders to Mr. Agee. One could go on for pages, but enough. Let us consider a few of the stories that might come out if an unbiased foundation were to enable honest Americans to sit down and write books, as KGB and our present foundations have permitted Philip Agee and Seymour Hersh, and who knows how many others, to do.

THE LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH OF SEPTEMBER 27, 1974, carried an illuminating article on a story published by the Columbia Journalism Review. The Columbia article was written by Professor Stuart Loory, of Ohio State University, whom no one remembered as the Washington correspondent of the leftist-slanted Los Angeles Times, who co-authored a pro-Hanoi propaganda book, "The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam." In the Columbia Journalism Review Mr. Loory gave Pravda priceless ammunition by claiming that CIA had floated stories discrediting the Soviet Union as an irresponsible nuclear power, by giving phoney reports to CIA-funded journalists describing non-existent Soviet nuclear tests. How many Soviet nuclear tests were never reported we shall never know.

One wonders, who was funding Stuart Loory and David Kraslow - or if they were following their ideological convictions - when they wrote approvingly of Kissinger's sending two French reds, Herbert Marcovich and Raymond Aubrac (read name Samuels) on a mission to Ho chi Minh. There was not a way in the world of knowing what Marcovich and the man Ho lived with in 1946 were advising our enemy to do or what he was telling them to tell us when they got back. (Aubrac's story is in H. du B. Report of March, 1970) Imagine what Mr. Loory's students are getting now that he is a professor. A book of equal length could be written on what Loory and his friend avoided telling.

NEWSWEEK'S REPORTING DURING THE ALGERIAN WAR would provide another wonderful book, if conservative writers received foundation grants. Every big-circulation journalist but Michael K. Clark, of the New York Times, had been conned into believing that the noble Algerians would make peace between the Arabs and Israel if Jewish editors and politicians in America would help them defeat the French. While Clark was sacked for telling the truth, the hearts of NEWSWEEK's editors bled for the little arms-making families in Belgium who were being threatened by a French intelligence team known as "the Red Hand," for selling arms to Algerian terrorists. Imagine NEWSWEEK weeping over gun-makers! "'I have been told by the Hamburg police that they have seen a record of the Red Hand's liquidation list,' says Si Mustapha, an official spokesman in Germany of the Algerian nationalists. 'I should know. My name leads all the rest,'" NEWSWEEK reported on October 12, 1959. On November 16, 1959, NEWSWEEK followed with another million dollars worth of free publicity for its phoney patriot. "Rebel leader Si Mustapha claims that since 1957 he has smuggled 2,000 young heroes (German deserters from the Foreign Legion) back to their homeland."

No one could have taken the so-called Si Mustapha for an Algerian. He was a blonde German communist named Winfried Müller. NEWSWEEK editors ignored the flood of letters exposing Müller until an organization, called "extremist" because it was anti-communist and effective, took up the drive against NEWSWEEK's duping of its readers. Then Dwight W. Norris, writing for the magazine, wrote a reply on December 16, 1959, stating that they had "checked closely with intelligence and all other available sources" and were forced to admit that they were "off-line." But no retraction was ever printed.

The question remains: Was NEWSWEEK serving as a cover for a leftist agent supporting the Algerians, or was CIA misleading a gullible correspondent? More likely the former, for the incident brought back a cynical memory.

MR. HAROLD R. ISAACS WAS NEWSWEEK'S AUTHORITY ON ASIA IN 1945, but he was barred from China because he had published a communist news sheet in Shanghai from 1931 to 1934, while working for the French Havas news agency there. This was the period when the famous Sorge spy ring was being formed in Shanghai and Isaacs' associate in Havas was the notorious Fei Yei-ming, who later became Chou En-lai's personal representative in Hong Kong.

Another reason for Isaacs' expulsion from China was that he had applied obscene terms to Chiang Kai-shek in NEWSWEEK, so he remained in Indo-China, glorifying Ho chi Minh in NEWSWEEK and HARPER'S Magazine, while his friend, Mr. S. covered the Nationalist take-over of China. The friend saw Shanghai as a good berth for himself, with the possibility of getting his wife on the payroll as an assistant. To keep the job open while he went home to convince NEWSWEEK's editorial chief of its importance, he decided to install a stop-gap correspondent who could later be unloaded. It turned out to be H. du B.

Your correspondent had been liberated from Feng Tai prison camp, near Peking, on August 20, 1945, and had led Major Ray Peers' parachute team, under Major Gustav Krause and Major Joe Jackson, to where the surviving four Doolittle pilots were being hidden by the Japanese. Having operated a Chinese network in Shanghai and worked underground with a French Resistance network until my arrest on November 5, 1942. I was the only man in Feng Tai with the experience and contacts OSS needed, so Majors Krause and Jackson took

me on as a civilian Far East specialist with the NEWSWEEK job as a cover.

In theory, I was the man for the job, but I saw the job as reporting on Russia's hand in the take-over of the Chinese mainland and the error we were making in forming an army for Ho chi Minh in Indo-China, even to flying Ho's protégé, Le Xuan, to Shanghai in General Phillip Gallagher's plane to stir up a revolt among Annamite troops in the French garrison.

A telegram arrived on March 2, 1946 stating that Mr. S. and his wife were sailing on the Marine Phoenix to take over the NEWSWEEK office in Shanghai. Two weeks after their arrival the station commander of SSU (Strategic Services Unit - the name under which OSS was being whittled down) received a wire from Washington ordering the dismissal of H. du B. on grounds (untrue) that he was a Canadian.

Presumably, the SSU job and its cover went together and I was too anti-communist for both. Mr. Isaacs went on to teach M.I.T. students about foreign affairs and Mr. S. to cover America's war in Vietnam for THE NEW YORKER.

DAVID SCHOENBRUN WOULD BE MY HERO FOR A BOOK ON THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM'S ROLE in America's decline. By the time Jane Fonda and Sam Brown felt it was safe to knife the boys who were fighting in Vietnam, Dave Schoenbrun had left his CBS bureau-chief job in Paris to tour American universities and colleges, calling for America to get out of Vietnam the way she got in - by walking out. Dave beat his breast as a patriot and said he had fought for his country in a just war, but Joe McCarthy had "instilled an irrational fear of communism in the people."

The skeletons in the gulags had no lines to America's campuses and no one asked Dave about his combat record in the "just" war, which he spent doing broadcasts for Eisenhower from North Africa until he started following troops across Europe from a war-correspondent's billet in the rear. In Collier's of September 30, 1955, a month before the rigged plebiscite which CIA hero, Edward Lansdale, helped set up to depose the Emperor Bao Dai, Schoenbrun wrote: "Diem must not only remove Bao Dai, but do it in such a way that he no longer has any usefulness as a symbol of Vietnamese unity."

Thirteen years later no one remembered that line, to ask Dave why he was so anxious to destroy any possibility of unity in South Vietnam. In 1967 Ho chi Minh gave Dave and his wife a free trip to Hanoi and without lifting his voice for our boys being tortured in Ho's prison camps, Dave boasted that he and Ho had been friends since 1946.

Americans were dying to prevent what has happened in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, when Dave told the students in Walla Walla, Washington; "A victory by American imperialism will open a new counter-revolutionary ice-age of history." So history got a nation of boat people and the flower of three nations massacred.

Now French bookstore windows are filled with Dave Schoenbrun's *Soldats de Silence*, the story of his years as an intelligence officer. But these must have been the years when he was CBS' bureau chief in Paris, alienating France by extolling the Algerians and destroying America's will to win in Vietnam, continuing later on the campus circuit where his pitch line was: "American students are rebelling and I love them for it."

Some of the stories of journalist martyrs in intelligence will remain mysterious and one of the first I would use if I were to write a book would be on the TIME magazine man who died with Enrico Mattei, the Italian oil king.

MATTEI WAS THE MOST POWERFUL MAN IN ITALY IN 1962. At 56, childless and able to lay his hands on a billion lira, he lived in a modest hotel. Mattei was nimble-witted, tireless, and a master at using the post-war disorder to advance himself. He had been an unimportant functionary, ordered to liquidate a small state-owned oil corporation, until

he reorganized the on-paper company under himself.

Energy was Europe's big problem and seven companies, five of them American, one British and one Anglo-Dutch, monopolized the market. Mattei hit the American stranglehold first by making a deal with the Russians at half price. Once his distribution set-up was working he began bidding against America and Britain in the Middle East. To court the Arabs, he offered them 75% against America's 50%.

In 1960 he closed a deal to deliver 240,000 tons of steel tubing to the Russians in return for 12 million tons of gasoline. (See H. du B. Report, April 1962). With storage tanks, pipelines and fleets of tankers in his hands, he began backing the Algerians against France in return for a promise that he would have a monopoly on Sahara oil once the French were driven out.

He knew they would double-cross him when they no longer needed him, but they would not dare if the Russians were in on the deal. Mattei's private fleet of planes ferried arms and money to the Algerians from fields subject to no Italian Government control. Back in Paris two men in France's "Service of External Documentation and Counter-Espionage" (SDECE) searched for a solution, any solution or compromise that would make Mattei listen to reason. Nothing could swerve him.

The two officers fed miles of combinations into a computer. The answer in computer language came out always the same: Get rid of him. Mattei left them no other way. Those who saw the film on Mattei's life and death will recall that the Italian oil king was shown rejecting an offer made by Mr. Bunker Hunt over a luncheon in Monte Carlo's Hotel de Paris, giving the impression that the Americans were also trying to buy him off.

Thus the spectator was left in suspense after Mattei's plane crash in September 13, 196? The suspicion was planted that CIA or American oil men as well as French Intelligence may have arranged the fatal crash. The truth was the computer's orders had been carried out. Two vital wires were disconnected while Mattei's plane was in a hangar at Cointrin Airport, in Geneva, then soldered back in such a way that the slightest turbulence would disconnect them. That accomplished, a crisis was created on the board of one of Mattei's companies which demanded his presence in Rome.

The great unknown is whether the date of the crash in the Alps was chosen because of the bad weather or because in the plane with Mattei that day would be a TIME magazine correspondent who had made the Algerian cause his own, through personal ideology or by orders of an agency working tooth and nail for an Algerian victory over America's NATO ally. What gives credence to the latter theory is that Mattei, though he controlled a dozen papers, hated journalists and never gave an interview. He was a loner, and if a journalist was with him it was as a fellow conspirator, not a man about to publish a story.

Yes, a hundred books could be written on newsmen in intelligence. And certainly it would be unpatriotic for a journalist to refuse assistance to his country's intelligence service, provided both journalist and his contact agent are not the sort who sneer at "super-patriots."

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# Gold takes over from the dollar

Foolhardy is the man who would attempt to predict what political or military crises lie in store in 1981. One economic forecast is certain: The demand for gold will increase, for down through history gold has been the world's crisis metal. It is not an investment but a protection against disaster.

In the time it takes an airmail letter to be delivered in America (about equivalent to the time it took boatmail in 1932), Poland could have been invaded and a new government installed, or revolts could be shaking Russia's captive states. France's 8,000 troops in Africa might be fighting to block Qaddafi's dream of an African empire, or French embassies in a dozen countries might be smoking ruins in the wake of Qaddafi's terrorists. Since no political or military action can surprise the defense ministries and intelligence services who for months have been predicting trouble for 1981, let us make this first report of the year a study of the only thing the citizen, helpless to effect events, can do to protect himself against inflation and ruin.

IN A COUNTRY WHERE EVERY PRESIDENT SINCE EISENHOWER HAS BEEN ELECTED BY THE PRESS, the individual is powerless to change now what the voter did in a moment of credulity. His only recourse then is to try to save his money. In his desperation he is willing to pay handsomely for what may or may not be good advice. The original definition of a pundit was: "An Indian surveyor sent secretly into forbidden lands." Today it means a man with knowledge, or pretending to have it, who makes a living by telling others what those with the power to manipulate their money and their lives intend to do. To add weight to their prognostications, a group of such men may band together and form what they call a think-tank, though how deeply the tank of thinkers has pushed its research is open to question.

Recently, two institutes, one in America and L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DES CAISSES D'EPARGNE (International Institute of Savings), in Paris gave Switzerland a rating of 83% sure, at the top of the list of nations recommended for deposits. West Germany followed at 81.5%. Though there is no assurance that an American's gold might not be confiscated by his government and he is limited to the amount of silver an individual may hold, the United States was given 79%. Singapore was rated at 73%.

With presidential elections due in France in April 1981, the polls are giving François Mitterand, the socialist favored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Rockefellers, an edge over President Giscard d'Estaing, the one-worlder who aspires to be President of Europe. Consequently, France has fallen to nineteenth on the list of sure havens, after Malaysia. (For information on François Mitterand see H. du B. Reports of June 1963, June 1968 and April 1976)

In the world's present state none of the above ratings can be considered infallible. Switzerland may not be under threat of invasion but a world crisis could cause a run on banks gorged with fright money, with every foreign depositor suddenly becoming a potential refugee and needing money at once. West Germany's drift towards neutralism has started the danger signals flashing since Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's right-hand man, Herbert Wehner (the one-time Soviet spy) and Egon Bahr, have eased sixty more pro-Russian parliamentarians into the Bundestag.

IN A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY everyone with more than enough money for his immediate needs scrambles to convert paper bank notes into something solid, transportable, neutral, anonymous and stocked in a place where governments cannot touch it. The answer is gold. If Chairman of the United States Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker, had read history he would have known that any attempt to demonetize the only thing in which 90% of the world has confidence is in vain as long as there is no instrument of reserve as good as gold. Neither paper nor any substitution account will ever replace it. The greatest gold bugs today are the Arabs, who have had their fingers burned with deteriorating dollars. In 1977 alone 370 tons of gold passed into the Middle East with three countries, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, importing as much gold as the International Monetary Fund had sold at its four auctions of that year. The Japanese and the French follow the Arabs as devotees of gold, but 1981 is going to hold a bitter shock for Frenchmen and Britishers who did not know what they were getting into when they let one-worlders lead them into the Common Market.

IN DECEMBER 1980 ONE FRENCH INSTITUTE ESTIMATED THE GOLD RESERVES OF THE BANK OF FRANCE at 3,200 tons. Leading economists put it at 634 tons of gold bullion and \$1,654 million in foreign currencies. Whatever the figure, the reserves are still there, but on March 22, 1979, ten days after the European Monetary System was voted by the Common Market, France put her entire reserves of gold and foreign holdings at the disposition of the European Monetary Fund in return for a credit of 4.6 million Ecus, the new Common Market money designed to bring all member nation currencies into a common relationship. (The Ecu was a coin of 4.19 grams of fine gold minted first in August 1266 by Louis IX and widely used during the crusades. It went through successive devaluations and was demonetized in 1834. The new Ecu is made up of a basket of currencies drawn from members of the Common Market.)

THE AGREEMENT SIGNED ON MARCH 12, 1979, IN BRUSSELS decreed that in 1981 the entire European Monetary System will come under the administration of the European Community Monetary Fund and it will have the power to fix the exchange rates of all members of the Community. This means that the member nations have already surrendered one of the most important attributes of sovereignty — control of their money. It is worth reminding Americans that forces linked with the CFR and the Trilateral Commission have been at work for years preparing to lead America into an Atlantic Community, based on the Common Market plus the U.S. and Canada. Considering the discrepancy between France's reported gold reserves and the 4.6 million ecus her uninformed citizens are being accorded in return, there may be some basis for the rumor that U.S. dollars will someday be redeemed at a rate of 100 for \$1.

The once-proud Englishman will be in for the same shock as the French when he learns that in September 1980 Britain held 18.3 million ounces of gold in reserve but 20% of his country's reserves in gold and foreign currencies had been turned over to the European Monetary Fund during the summer. The question for Frenchmen holding over 5,000 tons of gold in their private hideaways is: If national sovereignty over the franc is going to be at the mercy of Common Market bureaucrats in 1981, what effect is that going to have on their crisis provisions? Supposedly the powerful bankers fixing the price of gold in London and Paris had something to do with bringing their countries into the Brussels-based superstate. One cannot help but wonder if they thought they were smart enough to retain their traditional roles when national sovereignty was being sacrificed.

AT PRESENT, AS EVERY GOLD-BUYER KNOWS, five bankers meet twice a day in London in a panelled room under portraits of the Austrian Rothschilds to set the price of gold on the London exchange. The Rothschild sitting under his Austrian ancestors' portraits, or his representative, is traditionally chairman of these gold-pricing meetings. him are representatives of Johnson Matthey Bankers, Mocatta and Goldsmid, Samuel Montagu and Sharps Pixley. The men may vary but they are usually in their thirties. They were up at 4 a.m. to study the Hong Kong market and at 8 a.m. were estimating the New York market in preparation for their price fixings at 10:30 and again at 3 p.m. As a rule it takes from five to fifteen minutes to reach agreement on the rate. The gold coins preferred on the British market are sovereigns bearing the effigies of Queen Victoria, Edward VII, George V and Elizabeth II. Between 1958 and 1974 ten issues of Elizabeth II sovereigns were struck, complete with St. George and the dragon. Mint passes such coins to the Bank of England for distribution to the bullion market which sells them to coin dealers or exporters. The sovereign bears 7.332 grams of fine gold and like all gold coins in mint condition sells well above the price of its gold content.

ENGLAND ADOPTED THE GOLD STANDARD, known in France as L'ETALON D'OR, in 1821. It was this gold standard which imposed the discipline of a fixed rate and made the principal monies of the world convertible between each other. The settling of debts between central banks was done principally in gold and gold represented 91% of the world's monetary reserves under the system based on the willingness of nations to cooperate within a framework of rules. Today gold represents 53% of the reserves held in banks. Under the gold standard Switzerland issued a 20-franc gold piece called the croix, the Italians struck the Marengo, and a 20-franc gold piece from the former Latin Union may still be found. Germany's equivalent was a 20-mark gold piece and Mexico issued the centario, the hidalgo, the half sovereign and both the half and quarter Napoleon. London, Paris and Zurich became the principal bullion markets of the world and red China dumped 80 tons there in 1978 rather than risk upsetting the Hong Kong bourse. many and Switzerland gold is handled in lingots of 500, 250, 100, 10 and 5 grams. Frenchman calls his lingot an ingot and sells a one kilogram ingot as well as a 12.54 kilogram bar. The ounce, it must be remembered, equals 28.349 grams. French ingots and bars are purchased through banks or licensed brokers and are usually left in banks because, aside from their weight, once an ingot or bar is removed from the vault it loses its certification of weight and purity and a new assay is necessary before it can be returned. Another disadvantage is that the owner's name is on record. This is why small gold-buyer prefers coins. They are light, easy to carry, easily concealed from the tax man and can be passed from hand to hand with the owner remaining anonymous.

IN FRANCE THE DAILY PRICE OF GOLD is fixed in the basement of the Paris stock exchange between 12:15 and 12:45 daily. The spectacular rise in mid-December 1979 was due to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and rumors that America might force a showdown with the Russians. The Arabs joined in because of economic uncertainties and declining value of the dollars they were accepting for oil. How could they fail to lose faith in the dollar when the Wall Street Journal of April 17, 1967, told the world: "A plan to make the entire U.S. gold stock clearly available for sale to foreigners is being considered by officials for presentation to Congress within a few months." The story was headed "Repeal of Gold Backing for Dollar Weighed by U.S. as Means to Reassure Foreigners." By what logic this would reassure any holder of dollars is hard to under-The world is afraid of "floating money." Floating is a declaration that a nation intends to run its own money affairs unilaterally and the rejection of all previous rules results in chaos. Mr. Paul Volcker's hatred of gold becomes suspect when one realizes that each day of the present uncertain floating provides an argument for the one-worlders using the Common Market as a midway point for world government. ready the Common Market has announced its intention to wipe out tax havens and money shelters as its power increases. The support of the Trilateral Commission by European one-worlders becomes understandable when one realizes that their admitted aim is to divide the world into three economic zones: Russia, the U.S. and the Common Market,

with Japan in the American sphere.

THE WORLD'S LEADING GOLD PRODUCERS ARE SOUTH AFRICA AND RUSSIA, with South Africa leading the field, but in spite of their surface enmity, there is close cooperation between the two. Gold is not produced at a steady rate but by agreement whereby the two limit output to periods when rates are most favorable. Thus, in 1978 South Africa kept the market up by producing only 700 tons, one-third of them for coins. Russia may have cheated but she declared a production of 444 tons. The gold-buyer on a large scale is also a haven-seeker and London does her best to discourage investments in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Malaysia and Singapore with the argument that these havens exist on communist sufferance or are thought to be unstable. Personally, I would recommend investments and deposits in Singapore where banking secrecy, complete absence of exchange controls and security of capital against seizure make the island city-state as good a refuge as any in a troubled world.

FOR THE SMALL HEDGER AGAINST INFLATION gold coins remain his best bet. Over 300 tons of gold sovereigns and Kruger Rands were grabbed up by jittery money-holders in 1980, the last year of the disastrous Carter administration. The drop which followed the spectacular rise in gold was not taken seriously by men in the know. They put part of it down to profit-taking and the rest to a massive dumping of Russian gold on the European market, which defense ministries saw as an indication that Moscow may be preparing for a military adventure. Western European generals are so convinced that Russia will make a military move in 1981, economists are betting on another slide of the dollar and a levelling off of gold at between \$800 and \$1,000 an ounce. The effect of these conclusions has hit the Paris coin market where the 20-franc Napoleon is the most accurate barometer of paper money's value.

THE 20-FRANC NAPOLEON was first struck by Bonapart when he was First Consul, in 1803, a year before his coronation. He had observed that the paper assignat retained its value only during the reign of terror, which is to say, when a man could lose his head if he refused it. It was more drastic than the American law making it a criminal offense to hold gold between Roosevelt's order of April 1933 and Nixon's revoking of the ban in 1975, but the purpose of both was to give value to paper. Ever since Napoleon struck his 20-franc gold piece with its 5.806 grams of fine gold, designed to establish a stable currency, the demand for these pieces has never faltered. Nobody knows how many Napoleons exist, but some 600 million are believed to have been minted, which means about 3,500 tons of gold. Many of the Napoleons held by gold hoarders today were struck under Napoleon III. Madame Rassion, the manager of CREDIT DE LA BOURSE where much of France's legal dealing is done, estimates that most of the 450 million Napoleons believed in circulation were struck between 1848 and 1914, save for a few reissued by the government mint in 1951.

French law permits licensed dealers such as CREDIT DE LA BOURSE to sell only coins minted prior to 1968, which means that the Kruger Rand is not sold openly in France. So valued is the Napoleon it sells for about 60% above its gold content and 10% above its Swiss or Belgian equivalents. Bourse officials estimate that each Napoleon changes hands once in a generation. They also recognize that there are more in private hands, hidden in mattresses or buried under floorboards, than in the vaults of the bank of France. In 1974 a quarter of the 225 tons of gold sold by the bank was in coins which immediately went out of circulation. If Madame Rassion sets the amount held by individuals below that estimated by economists she is not taking into account the gold smuggled into France or coins bought on a market that keeps no records.

THE PARIS BLACK MARKET IN GOLD COINS: The truth is, with the threat of war, revolution, inflation and a major depression hanging over the world, the French are on the same sort of gold-buying frenzy that has seized a generation of Americans brought up on the false thesis that gold is only a yellow metal desired by primitive people for its glitter and purchased by enlightened men because of a mixture of superstition and romanticism.

All of America's attempts to demonetize gold have come to nothing and it is in as much demand as a hedge against disaster on the other side of the Atlantic as it is in Europe where men have never had confidence in anything else. The difference is, hard experience has taught Europeans the importance of anonymity, escape from the tax collector and avoidance of the 6% tax levied by licensed gold dealers. Accordingly, in the streets surrounding the bourse, a parallel gold market is doing a thriving business. The public has come to the conclusion that inflation has made the return on money for savers equivalent to negative interest. Once a need for something is recognized a solution presents itself.

The "boss" of the open air dealers arrives at the sidewalk surrounding the bourse around 10 a.m. His 12 or 13 lieutenants take up positions about 30 feet apart. If the Napoleon is quoted at 800 francs, they offer it for 700. At 1 p.m. the "chief" telephones a broker to find out the fix for the day and adjustments are made accordingly. The government is losing millions of francs in taxes but the street market is tolerated because it permits large quantities of Napoleons to be dumped without threatening the price quoted on the bourse. The Napoleon is not the only coin handled. Moscow tried to break into the European market via West Germany with a 10-rouble gold piece known as the Tshervonet. The Common Market gang-up thwarted them by claiming that the Russian coin is not legal tender since Russians cannot hold them. Consequently, they are subject to the Common Market Value-Added Tax as a commodity. Let us not laugh at the Russians for trying to sell gold as a commodity instead of admitting that it is a national reserve. The U.S. Treasury tried the same thing and got away with it in one of the greatest frauds ever pulled on a gullible electorate.

EUROPEAN MONEY MEN NEVER HAD ANY CONFIDENCE IN THE CARTER PRESIDENCY. They watched the President and the men "educating" him as the dollar fell nearly a third against the Japanese yen in the first half of 1978 and by over 11% against the average of all the leading currencies. The more they watched the more convinced they became that the Carter monetary team was engineering the dollar's slide with the connivance of the Administration and imagining that this would improve trade competitiveness and so arrest the deterioration in their balance of payments. This policy was particularly directed against the Japanese and the Germans and it made cynical economists laugh when they read headlines about the dollar crisis. If there was any crisis it was a crisis for the yen and the mark.

Then things got out of hand. As with the British depreciation policy of 1976, Mr. Carter's wizards found themselves on a course they could no longer control. Once the financial markets begin to have doubts about a currency they are not going to risk anything on it, even when the original reason for nervousness has been regulated. The flurry that went through Paris, Zurich, Hong Kong and London proved the old truism that gold is the classic crisis metal, and confidence in the dollar was not restored.

As the dollar continued to go down the demand for gold went up, and since oil was quoted in dollars the oil emirs maintained that they were not really raising oil prices, oil was standing still and they were only regulating its buying power in relation to the dollar. Some way had to be found to juggle our books, so between May 1978 amd the end of 1979, with an election approaching, 14.3 million ounces of gold were auctioned off in monthly sales. Three billion dollars were then entered in the balance of payments side of the ledger "from the sale of a commodity," instead of depletion of our gold reserves.

This is the situation which the Reagan Administration has inherited. With South Africa and Russia leading the world in gold production, few Americans have asked why we are so far down the line. Mining authorities still debate whether Roosevelt was conned by the Russians or merely stupid when he closed down American gold mines during World War II, with the explanation that he needed the manpower.

Many of the men working these mines were above military age and had qualifications for

nothing else. Much of our mining machinery was sold to Russia, timbers rotted in the galleries of water-soaked, unattended mines and it will be unsafe to go down into many of them again. Thus America lost many of the sources that would have formed the basis for a viable and honest monetary system.

NOW, INSTEAD OF ADMITTING FRANKLY THAT INCONVERTIBLE PAPER MONEY, with which we have attempted to deluge the world, is of no use at all, our so-called monetarists still refuse to accept the discipline of the old rules which were time-tried and effective. They cling to the belief that higher unemployment will reduce wage demands and inflation. If there is a deficit they reply that a savage cut in public spending is all that is necessary to balance the books and prevent excessive printing of money.

ECONOMISTS USING HISTORY AS A RULE BOOK for studying what they see as a deliberate destruction of confidence in our dollar draw a parallel with the devaluation of the franc after World War I. For 115 years it had stood firm, ever since its foundation in 1803 by the man who even in the years of his greatest wars never failed to end the fiscal year with a balanced budget. The crushing defeat of 1870 did not shake it from its content of fine gold or diminish its purchasing power. The upsurge of the one-world movement in France came in 1922 with League of Nations enthusiasts serving as fronts. Raymond Poincaré was as devoted to the franc as he was to his country and he fought with his back to the wall to prevent the one-worlders and Marxists from destroying the currency which he saw as the underpinnings of France.

He won in the parliamentary struggle, but his opponents carried the fight to the country in a campaign of demagogy supported by the Communist Party which had been formed in December 1920. In 1924 Poincaré was defeated at the polls and the franc was devaluated. Those who had put their money in gold saved their capital but for others the downward slide was on. By 1957 when France went into the Common Market succesive devaluations had brought the franc to 1.80 milligrams of fine gold. (The milligram is one-thousandth of a gram) The value was so ridiculous that in 1960 each 100 francs were redeemed for one new one, a fate that is not inconceivable for the dollar according to some pessimists.

Mr. Rees-Mogg, in "The Reigning Error-The Crisis of World Inflation," states that going back to the gold standard would mean that the major currencies would become convertible into gold at a fixed price which would not be expected to change.

Gold, because it cannot be changed, is a powerful corrective to inflation. It removes the temptation to print more and more money and so debase currencies, which those seeking to destroy nationhood desire.

"Social discipline on a firm spiritual foundation requires stable money values as a base," write Mr. Rees-Moggs. "Stable money is associated with respect for laws in general, for moral and religious laws as well as state-decreed ones."

.In an age of terrorism his message should receive more attention than Mr. Paul Volcker's.

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PARTS

## Will Germany still fight?

Franz Josef Strauss' mission in the West German elections of October 5, 1980, was to heave his country out of its deepening Social Democrat slide to the left and achieve, especially in foreign affairs and defense, the kind of turn around the Reagan election has given America. He was alarmed at the neutralist trend that is leading West Germany away from her allies in pursuit of the bait being held out by the Russians. When a socialist thinks he can achieve reunification through neutralization he is on his way to communism.

East Germany, alarmed lest the unrest in Poland should reach communist German workers, waited until the election was over before doubling the fee Germans have to pay to visit their relatives in the East. Had they done so before the elections, Herr Strauss, the Minister-President of Bavaria, who was fighting for firmness against Russia, an increase in defense spending and solidarity with America, would have won.

Instead, he was defeated by Helmut Schmidt, the advocate of reunification with East Germany (Read: moving from the Western camp to the Eastern through neutralization). Herr Schmidt used the socialist-communist argument of "peace and security." Any move for defense was presented as provocation of Soviet Russia and détente as a road to peace. Herr Strauss replied: "In ten years of one-sided "détente" and talking from weakness, Russia's military power has trebled while the West has been lulled into inaction and a false sense of security. Russia has grabbed strategic advantages all over the world, so that at the right moment she can strangle Europe."

A MONTH LATER RONALD REAGAN was elected President of the United States and an indescribable élan swept over Western Europe. Newspapers that had specialized in denouncing American imperialism, when America lacked leadership and respect, overnight pinned their hopes on the new man in Washington. It had not been anti-Americanism, it had been disdain. The return of dignity brought prestige and with prestige the dollar soared. Now, while the free world is full of its new hope, it is time to give the dark side of the picture. Briefly: A falling West Germany is the first problem a rising America is going to have to face.

WHEN FRANCE LEFT THE NATO MILITARY LINE-UP, West Germany became the nerve center of the defense structure of Western Europe. Now the false hope of reunification with Germans on the other side of the wall is making West Germany the rotting core of NATO and the Common Market. France must face the fact that the buffer is no longer sure between her and the 29,000 combat tanks poised to overrun the 11,000 held in readiness by NATO. Moscow's 1,000 nuclear warheads stored for use in Western Europe, the Backfire bombers which are masters of the sky since Carter halted production of the cruise missile and Moscow's 15 airborne divisions leave Western Europe with no choice but to go all the

way with the Reagan-Haig team or throw themselves on the mercy of Soviet Russia. If Mitterand, the socialist, wins the Presidential elections due to take place in France on April 26, with a run off on May 10, President Reagan's troubles and the West's will begin.

THE INTANGIBLE WHICH MAKES THE FUTURE BLACK is called "Ost Politik." The men who make up America's secret government brought those who conceived it into power and they have taken Germany past the point of no return. Disarmament and détente were used to sell neutralization as a way-clearer for communization. The London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH of June 22, 1980, reported: "Mr. Carter and Herr Schmidt, the West German Chancellor, were meeting in Venice last night to try to resolve the dispute over the controversial German proposal for freezing deployment of missiles in Europe." All an American senator needs to know may be found in that sentence. The Soviet Union had the neutron bomb and it was Herr Schmidt's job to see that NATO did not have it.

THERE WAS NOTHING NEW ABOUT OST-POLITIK - the "opening to the East." One-worlders, founders of the Common Market, communist plotters and socialist dupes had been advancing it since the end of World War II. Germany has had five chancellors in that period. The first was Conrad Adenauer, who took over his war-wrecked country at the age of 72 and for fourteen years dictated the policies which established friendship with France, brought Germany into NATO and made her a member of the regional one-worldism group known as the European Economic Community, or Common Market. When the parliament of the group was established, the word "economic" was dropped.

Averell Harriman, Robert Murphy, the friend of Belgium's socialist leader, Paul-Henri Spaak, and General John McCloy, the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, provided printing-press money which European nations had paid for Marshall Plan aid, and it was used to finance the Common Market to which ten nations have now sacrificed their sovereignty. It was an astute plan. The American taxpayer had the satisfied feeling that he was rebuilding Europe. Each nation paid for its American gifts with printing press bank notes which were used to finance a campaign against its own sovereignty. Though the American High Commissioner was providing the funds, the argument employed to get Europeans to join the superstate the socialists were forming was that only by uniting could they become strong enough to defy America. The ATLANTIC UNION COMMITTEE, which pushed the European federation into which, in due time, some other organization would bring America, had its offices at 537 Fifth Avenue, in New York, where free copies of Will Clayton's book WE MUST TRADE SOVEREIGNTY FOR FREEDOM, were distributed. Operating out of the same address was the AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON UNITED EUROPE, also distributing propaganda for a socialist united Europe, but the chairman of this committee was William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, America's wartime chief of OSS (Office of Strategic Services.)

With Belgium's "Mr. Socialist" (Paul-Henri Spaak) and a Polish promoter named Joseph Retinger selling the regional one-world idea, and the most powerful nation in the world pushing it, it is not surprising that Adenauer should take Germany into the Common Market and forget the words Leon Trotsky had written in "Bolsheviki and World Peace," in 1918: "The task of the proletariat," Trotsky proclaimed, "is to create a far more powerful fatherland, with far greater power of resistance - the United States of Europe as the foundation of the United States of the World."

IN SEPTEMBER 1961 HERR LUDWIG EHRHARD became Chancellor of Germany and proceeded to make her prosperous, but the faceless men in America had already decided whom they were going to put in the chancellery in Bonn. A worse one they could not have made the German people accept. In March 1961, a month before Conrad Adenauer was to visit America in his campaign against Ehrhard, Willi Brandt preceded him so that America's insiders could show German voters he was the man they wanted. (H. du B. Report, March-April 1961). Willi Brandt had grown up as Ernest Karl Frahm, the communist, but when communism became a dirty word he became Willi Brandt the socialist and America was subjected to a sales campaign such as the country had never seen since 1955 when the same

men were determined to keep a Catholic in power in Buddhist South Vietnam. Americans for Democratic Action gave Brandt a banquet in Washington with Walter Reuther praising him to the skies. On March 16 Leo Cherne and his "Socialist International" associate promoted a dinner for him in New York under their "International Rescue Committee" identities and presented him with a phoney award designed to give him added prestige as a "free world leader" – all this for the man who was to saturate his government with communist spies and lead it towards the Moscow camp. (NEWSWEEK of March 1, 1976, carries a diagram of President Ford's "New Spy System." In it the three most important men after the President are Leo M. Cherne, Robert Murphy and Mr. Stephen Ailes, on its "Three-man Oversight Board.")

Brandt did not win the elections of September 1941 but a flood of publicity glamorizing him as the defender of West Berlin's 273 square miles of freedom never ceased to remind West Germans that he was the man the "free-world's leader" wanted. One of the editors of American labor's official publication, THE NEW LEADER (which on June 27, 1955 devoted a special issue by Joseph Buttinger, the socialist, on how to save Vietnam, with the results we know) was sent to Germany to launch a magazine pushing America's man. Once Brandt was installed, the editor moved to London to found another magazine to advance labor candidates and denounce anti-communists as "extremists.") The most dishonest and vicious attack ever published on the John Birch Society appeared in the London ENCOUNTER of March 1962, written by Brian Crozier, one of the so-called "enemies of extremism, whether of the left or right."

Whittaker Chambers averred that socialism is communism with the claws retracted, which may be why so many European socialists prefer to call themselves social democrats. The first time this term was used was in Germany in the bourgeois revolution of 1848, '49. as a word for democrats of the left. In time it took on all the connotations of socialism, including added power for workers and a transformation of the global system. Until the eve of World War I when patriotism made Germans rally around the Kaiser, "social democrat" had a revolutionary meaning. Brandt and the past and present communists who rode up on his coat-tails adopted the label at a time when "socialist" was coming into disrepute. (H. du B. Report, July-August 1973)

The closest and most constant follower of Brandt through the years has been Herbert Wehner who served two years in a Swedish prison during World War II as a Soviet spy. Another close associate is Leo Bauer who was in a Swiss prison during the same period, as a Stalin agent. One of the most dangerous is Egon Bahr, who from 1943 to '45 was passing reports to Stalin's "Choro" network through a Berlin family named Grab, according to Pierre de Villemarest, one of Europe's most reliable Sovietologists. In 1945 Bahr married Grab's daughter.

Until 1947 he used journalism as a cover, working for the Berliner-Zeitung, which was controlled by the NKVD and KGB through offices in Berlin-Weissensee. As a feeder of information for them, he made contacts with the West German Socialists and the successors of America's wartime OSS who in turn got him into American-supported publications. Since neither the NKVD nor the KGB gave him any trouble, it is assumed that whatever he did was with KGB approval. Towards the end of 1947 Willi Brandt brought him into the West Berlin press service where he worked with Horst Baerensprung and H. Hirschfeld, both exposed in 1961 as Soviet agents.

It was sometime in 1963 that Bahr started what he called his "policy of little steps" toward rapprochement with Moscow. Before the Evangelique Academy of Tutzing he declared that reunification of the two Germanies would come about, not through Washington, but through Moscow, and to push his policy, Bahr between 1963 and '68 conducted the secret negotiations with Moscow which only Brandt and Wehner knew anything about. In 1968 treason had reached such a point in America that precautions could be dispensed with in Germany and as Johnson was preparing his tenth bombing halt (which only raised Hanoi's demands), Bahr, on September 26, 1968, reorganized the German Communist Party (DKP)

which Adenauer had outlawed. The following year the Kurt Kiesinger government fell and Brandt moved into the chancellery, taking his coterie with him. Already, in 1968, while he was Kiesinger's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brandt had published his "Policy of Peace in Europe," which in no way contradicted Lenin's treatise of the 20s which stated: "As an ultimate objective, 'peace' simply means communist world control."

Frol Koslov, Krushchev's representative to the Italian Communist Congress of 1962, told his listeners: "Peaceful co-existence is nothing more nor less than victory via the route of least resistance." Brandt gave it a sugar coating with the words: "One can solve the German question only within the framework of a general regulation of Europe's problems and through a compromise between East and West."

In the first six months of Brandt's chancellorship, Herr Egon Bahr, secretary-general of the Social Democrat Party (SPD), made fourteen trips to Moscow, between December 1969 and May 1970. The following year the Communist Party which Bahr had reorganized spent more in the 1971 campaign than all of Germany's other parties put together. All of the agreements signed between West Germany and the Soviet bloc between 1972 and '74 were negotiated by Egon Bahr.

THE BAHR-BRANDT TEAM WAS RIDING HIGH and would have continued their open march towards the East while newspapers flooded America with stories about the heroic Chancellor stemming the Russian tide had Gunter Guillaume, the East German who had risen to become Brandt's right hand man and sharer of all his secrets, not been arrested on April 24, 1974, as a Soviet spy. Guillaume would have been exposed before he had time to do the harm he did but for one thing. Brandt's Minister of State, Horst Ehmke, hated Germany's anti-communist chief of intelligence, General Reinhard Gehlen, with a passion. He had every reason to hate him, for the story of his own life was in Gehlen's files. There was the story of Ehmke's Czechoslovakian mistress, Maria Hlavacova, who traveled between Bonn and Prague with the regularity of an official courier. Later, there was the story of Lieutenant-General Ion Pacepa, deputy head of the Rumanian secret service, who defected in August 1978, bringing with him a bag of papers exposing Egon Bahr's plan for West Germany to leave NATO and turn neutral in exchange for reunification and a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union. Brandt and the men around him could not possibly operate with an anti-communist heading German intelligence.

GEHLEN WAS PROMPTLY OUSTED and Ehmke took over the intelligence service Gehlen had built up, the famous Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND). Asked why he had not trapped Guillaume, Ehmke answered, "socialists do not investigate socialists."

On October 8, 1970, a year after Brandt took office, one of General Gehlen's best officers, General Horst Wendland, was found near the intelligence headquarters in Pullach with a bullet in his head. This permitted Ehmke to fill Wendland's post with one of his own hand-picked men. A year later British intelligence gave Ehmke the names of over 200 KGB and GRU (civilian and military) espionage agents but not a one was questioned.

Still the propaganda machine built Ehmke up and tore Gehlen down, while agitators and agents entering via East Germany had a free hand. A network of red cells known as the "Rote Zellern" was spreading like a fungus through the German Army and into the American. Military and civilian employees of both nations were becoming more and more entangled with support groups sheltering and aiding the terrorist Red Brigade. Arms stolen from American and German depots were going into terrorist arsenals.

In early 1973 German military intelligence began warning Major-General Harold R. Aaron, the deputy chief of staff for intelligence at the U. S. Army headquarters in Heidelberg, and suggested that the two services cooperate in breaking up the ring. Above all, they warned, don't let Ehmke's service know that we are on to something. Subversive groups received a tip-off at once from the inside and sent frantic calls to the American Civil Liberties Union and leftist senators to take off the heat.

Readers of TIME magazine of Augsut 13, 1973, if they look it up, will find a pompous charge by Senator Lowell Weiker that American rights (to aid spies and terrorists?) were being violated abroad and "somebody has got a helluva lot of explaining to do," the Senator stormed. It was less than a year later that Guillaume was arrested on April 24, 1974, two months after fifteen members of the notorious Baader-Meinhof terrorist gang which had been operating since the year after Brandt assumed power were taken in. Their American confederates enjoyed protection.

BRANDT WAS FORCED TO RESIGN in the scandal that followed Guillaume's arrest. But it was no great setback for the international left. Helmut Schmidt took his place in the chancellery but Brandt's team remained at their posts and Schmidt introduced "workers' participation" in the direction of German industries, which contributed to the present industrial and economic crisis. Brandt became President of the Socialist International, a powerful figure in the Common Market and head of the "Brandt Committee" set up by Robert McNamara to study aid to Black Africa, all three of which posts, if anything, increased his capacity for harm.

AS ONE STUDIES THE WEST GERMAN TEAM which those referred to as American "insiders" wanted in power and which has led West Germany from NATO preeminence to neutralism to accomodation with the East - and this with the example of the Berlin wall before their eyes—it is impossible not to recall the words which Sidney Webb, founder of the Fabian Society, wrote in 1890: "To play on those million of minds, to watch them slowly respond to an unknown stimulus, to guide their aspirations without their knowledge — all this whether in high position or in humble — is a big and endless game of chess of extraordinary excitement."

FRANCE, HAVING PULLED HER FORCES OUT OF NATO, NOW STANDS ALONE. Those not guided "without their knowledge" to faith in a Common Market Defense Force have watched the socialization of the Common Market and wonder if the defense force talk is not a plan to straitjacket Western Europe. In February 1975 an organization called "Fight Back" was found to have made inroads in German and American Forces. The German wing was called Soldaten und Reservistenkomitee (Soldiers and reservists Committee) and its platform was united opposition to any form of military service. Heidelberg, the headquarters of the American Army in Germany, was selected for the secret meeting at which plans were worked out for synchronized action against the German police, American forces and the Bundeswehr.

In early November 1978, the country organizing and directing this activity sent Mr. Vladimir Semionov, Moscow's assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Bonn as Soviet Ambassador. Semionov is regarded as the Kremlin's leading authority on Germany and his job is to negotiate reunification of the two Germanys if Bonn will leave the Western camp. A year and a half after Semionov's arrival anti-militarism had made such strides that on May 8, 1980, a bloody riot took place in Bonn on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of NATO. The message was: Young Germans do not want to resist domination by the force East Germans are risking their lives to get away from. Young members of the Social Democrat Party led the mob and 250 policemen and an unknown number of soldiers were injured in the fight which followed, to prevent 1,200 recruits from swearing loyalty to the army.

Communists showed such experience in maneuvering their troops armed with molotov cocktails, firecrackers, iron bars and flare pistols that President Karl Carstens and Herr Hans Apel, the Defense Minister, had to be carried to the stadium by helicopter to assure their safety.

About a third of West Germany's Socialist party delegates now belong to the communist-indoctrinated youth wing known as "Jusos." They are the socialist allies of the West German Communist Party to which East Germany contributed some \$55 million last year. Add to this the funds raised by the West German Student Movement, the Spartakus group, Organizations of Young Pioneers, the party newspaper, "Unsere Zeit" and the political

subsidy allotted by the West German Government and the sum spent in West Germany for communist subversion and propaganda becomes staggering.

AN HISTORIAN CONTEMPLATING THIS SCENE is left with the feeling that Moscow is returning a service that Germany rendered her a little over 64 years ago. There was a look of satisfaction on the face of Baron von Kuelmann, Imperial Germany's Minister of Foreign Affairs, on December 3, 1917, as he composed his explanatory telegram to Kaiser William Everything had gone wrong for Germany. The battle of Verdun which was to have crushed France as a threat to the Hohenzollern dynasty for a thousand years had gone too far. In the end the enemy did not break; rather Germany was bled white along with the intended victim and by the time the Kronprinz called a halt with the words "it is time we add up the balance," five times as many people had perished as at Hiroshima. The winter of 1917 was cold and an air of depression hung over the German people, tired of the terrible restrictions and demoralized by the caualties and setbacks. Germans no longer had faith in promises and the generals desperately needed peace or a great success that would give the impression that peace was just around the corner. Von Kuelmann thought he had found the solution in shipping Lenin across Germany in a sealed train, like a deadly virus in a test-tube, to seep his poison into the blood stream of Imperial Russia. By a master stroke, von Kuelmann felt that he was destroying the "entente" the Franco-British alliance with Czarist Russia. Any evil he might turn loose in the process would be only temporary - a passing affair that would be nicely settled.

Explaining his actions to his Emperor, he wrote: "Russia appeared to be the weakest link in the enemy chain. Our task was to relax it gently and then remove it. This was the objective of the subversive activity we undertook in Russia behind the front....It was only after receiving a steady flow of funds from us, through different channels and under different labels, that they were able to set up their principal organ, PRAVDA, for carrying on an energetic propaganda campaign. The bolsheviks are now in power. No one can foresee how long they will last. They need peace to strengthen their position; on the other hand it is entirely in our interests to make use of the period while they are in power, which might be short, to obtain first an armistice (neutralization) and then, if possible, peace." The Kaiser did not approve of the idea of sending Lenin to Russia, but in the end the arguments of his generals overruled him. Propaganda, they assured him, would accompany social agitation, revolutionary drives and practically a civil war. They would concentrate on agitation for disarmament and the halting of the butchery of war, thus the butchery of war could continue on the Western front.

Against his instincts the Kaiser gave in, while, for other reasons, financiers like Jacob Schiff, of the House of Kuhn-Loeb, and the heads of Warburg Bank backed the monster destined to perpetuate a worse butchery than any it was meant to stop.

The men around Helmut Schmidt appear to have learned nothing from the Baron von Kuelmann story, but the Russians have. All that is giving both of them pause is the wave of hope and enthusiasm that has swept around the world after the Reagan election. The power of a nation is inseperably linked to its dignity and prestige, and both have returned to Washington.

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Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER



PARIS

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#### REAGAN'S NEW DAWN

Whether the reader is a student, a housewife or an executive in politics or business, this report should be kept for reference. Many will ask: What do the coming French elections have to do with us? The answer is "everything." With socialist Germans going neutralist in their hope for reunification and younger Germans making anti-militarism the road to abject surrender, the free world's eastern front is all but on the Rhine. The West's new-found confidence in America may be the decisive factor in elections and policies abroad and on that the fate of a world in which anything may happen is at stake.

FOR FOUR YEARS THE SHORT-TERM LEASE-HOLDERS OF OUR WHITE HOUSE talked drivel about interdependence while making absence of dignity a goal. Inter-dependence is a collective admission of weakness. Inter-influence is infinitely more important and on dignity and integrity it depends. This will be felt when France goes to the polls for a first voting on April 26. The April 26 voting will be to weed out the candidates, at present numbering 39. Barring an upsurge of some other candidate, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing will face François Mitterand, the socialist who seven years ago formed a union with the communists, when the final election is held on May 10. Pollsters are giving Mitterand a lead of 2 or 3 per cent. The result is going to be close. On May 18, 1974, Giscard won by 1.4%. So worried are Giscard's supporters they are using the slogan: "Remember, it was only by one vote that France was brought to decapitate a King."

ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED AUTHORITIES IN FRANCE RECENTLY REPORTED: "The election of Reagan on November 4 started Giscard reflecting. One group of advisers told him 'After a peanut salesman America is getting a grade-B cowboy who will drag the country into the quicksands of ridicule. " This was absurd since that was where we had been floundering for four years. "Another group, headed by Ambassador Laboulaye, in Washington, warned: 'This man they call a cowboy knows how to govern. He showed it in California. He has first class men around him; he has force and popularity and he knows how to use it."

Giscard was worried and undecided and the Russians were the first to perceive it. Moscow rushed Boris Ponomarev, the boss of subservient communist parties in other countries, to Paris with a parliamentary delegation to frighten Giscard with threats of what would happen if he continued to criticize Soviet Russia over French radio and TV and call for an increase in defense expenditures. It was pure blackmail. For some years Russia has been providing France and Germany with 30% of their natural gas and between 10% and 15% of their electricity. It takes no great intelligence to know that dependence on Russia for energy leads to political dependence. Reagan's election hardened Giscard to the point where he refused to sign a new energy agreement. This left Germany's Chancellor Helmut Schmidt alone, caught between German pressure for a rapprochement with the communist bloc and the need to appear to be standing with the West.

MOSCOW HAD SMOOTH SAILING AS LONG AS THE WEAK-WILLED CARTER WAS IN POWER. With the election of Reagan, as one French senator put it, "the lion and the wolf changed camps." Hitherto, Leonid Brezhnev, the boss of Russia's communist party, had no fault to find with the French President. True, Giscard called the invasion of Afghanistan "inacceptable," but that was only talk. Georges Marchais, the communist leader, was under orders to help Giscard by attacking only Mitterand, so that communists would not vote against Giscard in the second and final round. Even the bigoted and ignorant Ayatollah, locked in his narrow universe with a mentality so different from ours, was cunning enough to swing with the change in Washington. He released the American hostages after Carter ceased to be President and just before Reagan was sworn in. Would that Mrs. Cynthia Dwyer, who because a few rebellious Iranian students gave her the line they had been indoctrinated against the Shah, were half as intelligent. Certainly she would not have flown to a country she knew nothing about to help install something infinitely worse.

Overnight the leftward slide in Europe slowed down as Carter's \$75 million aid to Nicaragua's Cuban-backed Sandinistas was halted and the Angolan government was told to get rid of its seventeen thousand Cubans. Disgust was mingled with bitterness as American firms abroad watched Carter close the consulate in Nice, the most important consulate in France, second only to Paris, so he could give \$75 million to a pack of terrorists. In Paris the campaign of insults and promises continued as Marchais told Mitterand: "Take communists into your government if you are elected or we'll defeat you."

FRANCE WAS NOT THE ONLY PLACE WHERE NEW CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA WAS CAUSING TROUBLE for Brezhnev, "the defender of peace and opposer of aggressions." Admiral Ludwik Janszuszyn, commander-in-chief of the Polish Navy, warned Moscow and the Polish Communist Party: "The army will never fire on the people. Nothing can break the army's attachment to Polish society and her workers." In the admiral's pocket was the same confidential message that had been delivered to military leaders in Paris and Brussels: If the Soviet Army marches into Poland there will be no American confrontation in Poland itself, with the accompanying risk of a nuclear strike. America's reaction will be immediate but it will be in Cuba and wherever Russia has established bases far from home.

It is impossible to describe the sudden rise of respect for America abroad. The thought that America has a leader who can be trusted has emboldened our allies and created a situation in which, now while we are still weak, the enemy may risk a fait accompli. Today Cyrus Sulzberger would never dare preach the policy of no-winism which he extolled in the New York Times of January 4, 1971. Gone are the days when traitors were described as doves and men were called hawks if they wanted to fight only hard enough to prevent the enemy from winning, until the home front in America could be softened to accept defeat. Since among all the so-called hawks of the 60s there was not a one in the Johnson Administration who wanted to fight for victory, it is not surprising that de Gaulle withdrew French forces from NATO in 1966 and Germany slid eastward. Now all Europe is watching to see to what extent Reagan's election has tipped the scales in France or given second thoughts to the candidates.

THIRTY-NINE CANDIDATES ARE SCURRYING to get their names on the ballot for the first round of elections in France. For a candidate to run for the Presidency in France he (or she) must get the signatures of 500 sponsors drawn from among the 36,000 mayors, deputies, senators, general councilors and members of parliamentary assemblies in France's overseas territories. Actually 41,298 are eligible to sponsor a candidate, but many hold two or three posts, which lowers the number available. Signatures must be drawn from an area covering at least 30 departments, so that the candidate may be said to represent the country. No more than 50 signatures are valid from a single department. Sponsors must accept responsibility for their candidates by permitting their names to be published in the Official Journal. It takes more than a name on a piece of paper to constitute sponsorship. Only the official four-page form, duly signed, is recognized. Of the 7 to 10 likely to survive the weeding out on April 26, barring an unexpected landslide in favor of Jacques Chirac or Marie-France Garaud, the final battle

will probably be another close one between the incumbent, President Giscard d'Estaing, and François Mitterand, the socialist.

PRESIDENT VALERY GISCARD d'ESTAING was born on February 2, 1926 and owes his May 1974 election to the fact that Stephen Chervenenko, the Soviet ambassador to Paris, had orders to swing enough communist votes his way to put him in office but not enough to let Giscard forget that those who gave him the presidency could take it away. Moscow's declaration that communists were willing to govern with socialists frightened enough Frenchmen to give Giscard his narrow victory, whereupon Mitterand cried that an internal Yalta Agreement had been put over in France, to keep candidates approved by Brezhnev in office. Giscard is cultured, well-mannered and the exact antithesis of Carter. He is a member of a triple elite found only in France: Aristocratic, academic and rich. All his life he has cultivated high society and its habits and is proud of his descent, though illegitimate, from Louis XV. In his campaign, however, he followed the advice of Jacqueline Kennedy's hero, Pierre Salinger, who told him to look like an aristocrat but to outbid the left, to promise more pay, less work, better collective benefits and higher welfare.

Over the years a series of disclosures have disillusioned the conservatives who saw him as their hope. Reliable and conservative Spectacle du Monde, of January 1975, reported that his ambition has always been to get himself elected President of Europe in the 80s. As a follower of Jean Monnet, the socialist one-worlder, he would be willing to appoint a socialist Prime Minister in France in return for socialist support for the presidency of Europe. The same magazine reported in June 1979 that through the 60s Giscard had belonged to Monnet's "Committee for the United States of Europe," which was obedient to Belgium's "Mr. Socialist," Paul-Henri Spaak, whose only allegiance was to a borderless socialist world.

One of Giscard's first announcements was that the world is in a period of inevitable change which must be guided with a subtle hand to avoid revolution. "Inevitable change" is nothing but the "current of history" line we were sold by the leftist press, and that the inevitable change visualized by Giscard was to the left is evident by his determination to bring it about without "revolution." He was repeating as a weak man what de Gaulle told General de Beaufort with force in early 1960 when he threw his arms over the general's shoulder and said: "Only you understand me. You will see, the evolution towards communism is inevitable. It is the direction of history. One must be crazy to try to oppose it. Yet, to arrive at her present state, Russia had to go through indescribable suffering. It is possible to spare France this period of transition on condition that it is I who installs communism." (NATION FRANCAISE, August 8, 1962)

Giscard made his moves to the left acceptable by calling them "the establishment of a liberal, advanced society." MINUTE, the Paris weekly, reminded French voters on September 8, 1978 that the President's tirades against violence were a new note, since it was he, who as Minister of Finance, intervened to give Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther terrorist, permission to enter, work and reside in France when the American police were after him.

JACQUES CHIRAC, THE GAULLIST OF THE RIGHT, who was so instrumental in getting Giscard elected that when the break came he was able to ask: "Who made you King?", was born on November 29, 1932. He is anti-communist and as Giscard's Prime Minister he stemmed the red tide in the Paris elections of March 1977. Disillusionment followed and he left Giscard's Union for French Democracy to found his own party, "Rassemblement pour la Republique," and become mayor of Paris. Two advisers, Monsieur Pierre Juillet and Madame Marie-France Garaud, helped Chirac in his climb upward. He has much in his favor. He is tall, handsome, articulate, and as a result of a course at Harvard speaks perfect English. In spite of Harvard his anti-communism is above reproach and he opposes surrenders of sovereignty which, as he puts it, would leave Europe a vassal state ruled by one-worlders. Nevertheless, Madame Garaud and Monsieur Juillet have broken with Chirac, just as Chirac broke with Giscard, and today his lady adviser is

herself a candidate. Chirac would defend French interests, and perhaps the West's, better than either Giscard or Mitterand. Madame Garaud could possibly be a better defender of the West than Chirac, but she will have a hard time convincing Frenchmen that the country is ready for a woman President, so it is between Giscard and Mitterand that the pollsters waver in their predictions. At date of this writing, the socialist candidate has a slight lead over Giscard, with Chirac's percentage steadily rising.

MADAME MARIE-FRANCE GARAUD has been described by one political writer as a woman who after twenty years in the corridors of ministries has acquired the killer-instinct which American psychiatrists regard as the irresistible requisite for success. She was born in Poitiers on March 6, 1934, has a diploma in law, is chic, well-groomed and a fighter. Asked why she had remained in the shadows during her years as adviser, first to President Pompidou and later to Chirac, she replied: "I remained silent because I was an adviser. An adviser must never detract from the power of an official by making it appear that he is unable to make decisions." When she could no longer remain silent she talked, and those who heard her over France's TV channel number one on September 21, 1980, were shaken. What did she have against the President, she was asked. "When he was elected he never told the French people what he had in store for them, that he intended to turn French France into a European France, which is to say, submerge the country in a collection of states." What about Michel Debré? (de Gaulle's former Prime Minister who is also a candidate and visited Washington in mid-February) "When he talks about restoring the economy of the country he is thinking about restoring himself politically."

What policies would she follow? "The necessity today is to take up the Soviet's challenge to the West. The big problem of the world is Soviet domination. Russia would fill us with fear of a war which does not exist in order to make us swallow anything to have peace." What about détente? "It is a clear conscience for those doing business with the enemy." What is the disagreement between President Giscard and Jacques Chirac? "Giscard sees the future of France as either a great Switzerland or as a province of Europe. The two possibilities may combine to form a province in a Swiss Europe." Madame Garaud sees France as a person who must form an attachment with others of like interests and moral values, such as America and Britain. France cannot remain neutral. Speaking for herself, she wants to alert France to the mortal danger of Soviet domination. France must ally herself with the United States, economically and militarily. What did you think of Giscard's six-hour talk with Brezhnev in Warsaw last May 16? "It disoriented our allies and strengthened Brezhnev." What about the meeting in Helsinki? "The West gave in and recognized Russia's right to dominate Eastern Europe in return for a fake quid pro quo, a pretense that human rights and freedom of thought will be respected. In any talk with the Russians, the order of the day is important. If it is fixed at the beginning and adhered to, the meeting will be taken seriously. But the Russians will try to block it. They will never permit any conference to discuss their violations if they can help it. And if they are permitted to get away with it, it means that the West prefers to tip-toe out a side door rather than stand up to their adversary." Why did you leave Chirac? "Because he remained silent. I listened with an ear made attentive by long friendship, and I heard nothing. Nothing about Afghanistan, nothing about Warsaw. Nothing that one might retain."

SUCH IS THE NON MARXIST SECTION OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM IN FRANCE as the equivalents of our primaries and final election approach. The conservative voter perceives that as a candidate's qualifications increase the possiblity of winning declines. To the southeast is an Italy which communists and terrorists are holding to ransom, leaving non-communists enough appearance of power to give Italy access to NATO's secrets. Between France and the enemy is a West Germany, so fearful that offending Russia will end her hopes of reunification and her youth so demoralized by anti-militarism that she is worth next to nothing as a buffer for the West. East Germans will shoot at their western brothers on order, West Germans will never shoot at their brothers in the east. Greece, under the tightening grip of Andreas Papandreou's communist Pasok Party, hates our Turkish allies more than she does the Russians and if Papandreou wins in the coming Greek elections he will pull Greece out of NATO. Forty-nine newspapers in Scandinavia

recently whipped up Denmark, Norway and Sweden against a man named Gregussen, charged with being a super-spy because he was anti-communist.

If America blockades Cuba to halt the flow of arms for terrorists in Latin America and a fleet of Russian freighters takes over their transport, the socialist-dominated Common Market Parliament will be as much help to President Reagan as Clergy and Laity Concerned were to Johnson in Vietnam. This is the West into which the Reagan election is counted upon to transplant a backbone as elections approach in the country that is Europe's heartland, as well as in Greece where the reds plan to close all American bases.

ON THE MARXIST SIDE OF THE POLITICAL FRONTIER IN FRANCE is 65-year-old François Mitterand, who makes a political trip to America before each election and this time followed his December visit to New York and Washington with a trip to Peking.

Mitterand's trip to America in late November 1967 showed how supporters of foreign socialists close ranks to give their man prestige at home. Bobby Kennedy and Nelson Rockefeller were photographed at his side. For three weeks the university left and biased editors built him up. On December 5, 1967, the Foreign Policy Association assembled what the press call "200 of the most important financial and political figures in America" to honor the leader of France's "Federation of the Left," the socialist-communist common front. H. du B. Report of April 1976 has more on François Mitterand, who was in the French government during France's no-winism war in Indochina and is at present a vice-president of the Socialist International, a party which knows no frontiers.

FURTHER TO THE LEFT IS GEORGES MARCHAIS, the 61-year-old leader of France's 709,000 reported carriers of Communist Party cards. With the sudden rise of confidence in America and President Giscard's hesitation about compromising himself with Moscow and the old policy of détente, Marchais is no longer gagged. Now free to attack the President, Marchais declared in the Senate, on January 20, 1981, that the invasion of Afghanistan was a necessary defensive move against American attack. Concerning the incumbent, he shouted from the floor: "We have taken too much from this President who has no scruples, who does not hesitate to grab all the advantages of a family whose members built their careers and their fortunes on the frontiers of politics and finance, in a world of money where even a borrowed particule affixed to his name brings neither the slightest nobility of heart nor of spirit. Enough of this Republic of chateaux and gifts, this state run by cousins and friends, by a clan of relatives and princes."

Strong words from a man who spent the war years as a volunteer laborer in a Messerschmidt plant in Germany, building planes to kill his countrymen.

POLLSTERS ARE GIVING MARCHAIS AROUND 17% IN THE FIRST VOTING and assuming that his followers will vote for Mitterand in the second round. What is inexplicable is that his party still follows him and that the electorate has not pelted him off of every platform where he appears. Publication after publication has printed his record and been upheld in court. At the beginning of the war Marchais was working in an aviation plant at Boulogne-sur-Seine known as AGO-Bièvres and later exposed as a German firm. Here Marchais and other communists sabotaged matériel destined for the French Airforce, though it was not until he was 27 that he actually joined the party. In 1942, over a year before the Germans began conscripting French workmen, Marchais volunteered to work in a German factory and accepted an advance of 1,000 francs. Sent to a Messerschmidt plant near Neu-Ulm, in Germany, he worked for the enemy until the end of the war.

When Marchais went to court to prove that he was forced to work in the German plant and that he had returned to France before the liberation, the pile of official records produced to prove that he was lying grew higher and higher. German archives disgorged a paper recording a visit by his wife to the German command headquarters in Paris to denounce her neighbors for having called her the wife of a collaborator.

How then did Marchais manage to become secretary-general of the French Communist Party so quickly and in spite of the minute investigation conducted by the party? The answer is: Marchais was not elected by the French party, he was pushed upward on orders from Moscow after his period of training in Russia in 1955. Why did Moscow train as an agent and choose as a party leader in France a man who had passed the tight security measures of the Germans? The answer French societologists give is that Georges Marchais was a Soviet agent in the AGO plant at Bièvres at the time of the Russo-German pact, when Moscow's orders were to sabotage French planes. It was because he had been a Soviet agent for years, first in France and later in Germany, that he was not liquidated along with the other estimated 130,000 collaborators whom French reds summarily killed after the war.

This is the man who will be the candidate of the French Communist Party on April 26 and who will order his followers to desist from voting against François Mitterand in the second round. Mitterand, whom Rockefeller and the Kennedys and the Foreign Policy Association have never ceased to honor with banquets attended by big-name guests selected to make him look like the leader of whom America approves.

Marchais does not stand a chance of winning in the coming elections, but he can throw a lot of votes to the vice-president of the Socialist International. Meanwhile, with an external military threat hanging over Western Europe and some two million North Africans (whom anti-colonialist Americans thought they were liberating) preferring to live in France, every major French plant has workers like the Georges Marchais of 1942.

The 34 other presidential candidates seeking the necessary 500 names to get on the ballot are too unimportant to mention. Arlette Laguiller, the revolutionary leader of "The Workers' Struggle," is still employed by Credit Lyonnais, the world's six largest bank, which dares not dismiss her because of the files she and her pro-red bank workers have compiled on the transactions of their clients. Arlette got her 500 sponsors by having 500 members of her party go on sick leave and travel France, at Social Security expense, collecting signatures.

The important thing to remember is that what Reagan says and does between now and the French elections will determine the stand of hundreds of thousands of Europeans.

BARRING AN EVENT OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE ELSEWHERE, our April report will deal with the change that has taken place in the Arab world. That world is still divided but gradually a pattern is beginning to take shape. On one hand is <code>qawmiyya</code> - nationalism - in the form of a desire to unite in one Arab empire-nation. On the other is <code>wataniya</code> - patriotism - which expresses the new Arab devotion to a particular state. The two concepts conflict, but in the meantime an unceasing flood of Arab money pours into western banks, properties, factories, hotels and stocks.

The Arab is no longer an ignorant nomad. Men like the Shiek Yamani have gone through western universities and observed the power wielded by enemies able to boast: "If we were to withdraw all our money tomorrow, we could ruin the banks of the West." Today Arabs can make the same claim, supported by the added threat of a closing of their pipelines of oil. If all the dollars held by the Arab kingdoms and emirates were thrown on the international market, the drop of value that would follow would make the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) triple their present prices or demand gold instead of paper. Foolish is the man who does not realize that a change in western policies towards the Arabs is inevitable.

As this is written thirty-five American warships are cruising in the Indian Ocean, including an amphibious attack force accompanying the helicopter-carrier Tarawa. Six transport vessels make the run between American ports and our Indian Ocean base at Diego Garcia, building up the supply of fuel, food, munitions and spare parts for our

Rapid Deployment Force destined to defend the oil routes of the Persian Gulf.

Both Egypt's Anwar el Sadat and the rulers of Saudi Arabia are happy with the new Reagan defense plan: In the event of future Russian encroachments in the Middle East, America's line of defense will pass just north of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Beyond that line the distance from our present bases would be too extended. Logistics would tip in favor of the Russians. Up to and including that line our Rapid Deployment Forces are considered unbeatable.

Last November 900 soldiers from a battalion reinforced by the 101st Airborne Division and 500 men from the Airforce took part in Operation Bright Star, testing equipment in the sand of the Egyptian Desert in coordination with Sadat's 450,000-man army. Egyptian bases are at the disposal of the elite force we have drawn from the Marine Corps and our airborne units. Lighter and more rapid tanks weighing no more than fourteen tons and manned by a driver and gunner, the latter firing a 75 mm cannon capable of destroying the heavy 70-ton tanks of the Russians, will be a feature of the RDF, as it is called.

Most important in the eyes of our hitherto hesitant allies is the new communications system linking advance forces with the high command in the rear, which will cut the time between reflexion, decision and execution.

At a moment when anything may happen it can honestly be said that for the first time since the pre-isolationist era, America is facing the threat of a sudden conflict like a great nation instead of acting like Sweden. There is only one great unknown: Will a country defeated in Vietnam by its own internal leftists be permitted to win against communists anywhere, even with the resurgence of patriotism that is sweeping the land?

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