

PARIS

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New power in Saudi Arabia

"Alas, the United States does not seem to realize the importance of what we have done for them," Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani exclaimed before delegates from 38 oil producing states at the big congress in Taif, on January 25, 1981. Eighteen Arab delegations, plus the Palestine Liberation Organization and 19 non-Arab Moslem states were present. So was the Christian President Sarkis of Lebanon and to a man they considered the complaint of the Saudi Oil Minister justified. They had not forgotten what Yamani tried to do for the West in December 1976. Four nations were not represented at this congress which was costing Saudi Arabia \$1000 million in renovated palaces and mosques and a fleet of 600 new Mercedes for King Khalid's guests. Egypt was snubbed for permitting Israel's creeping colonization of the West Bank and the outright annexation of Jerusalem. Iran was not invited because she is a threat to the Arab world, and Afghanistan was absent because she is no longer an independent nation. Libya refused to come.

THIS WAS THE POST-CARTER CONGRESS and out of it came one significant change. Prince Fahd, speaking in the name of his brother, the King, still warned America that the Arab problem of Jerusalem cannot be separated from the West's problem of oil, that the Holy city of three faiths cannot become the property of one of them. But there was a new nuance — he no longer talked of jihad, a holy war, for Islam's share of Jerusalem. The new term was "holy struggle" and signs of reconciliation with Egypt against the Russian enemy were afoot.

THE PRE-CARTER CONGRESS OF OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) was held in December 1976 in Doha, the capital of the Sultanate of Qatar, and on this occasion Sheikh Yamani fought with his back to the wall to hold down the price of oil. Cyrus Vance, President Carter's Secretary of State designate, had promised the Saudi Arabian ambassador that the Middle East would be the first foreign priority under the new President and a change of policy was in the offing. The Saudis believed him and thought that the days when their enemies were showered with money and modern arms, while they were denied the purchase of effective weapons, were over. No longer would their enemies, working under the protection of American nationality, invoke fair employment practices laws to force Arab-based American oil companies to give them jobs where they could work harm. The Arab hard-line states and Libya's Qaddafi had seized every opportunity to advance Russia's interests by airing every Arab grief against America and Mr. Vance's promise brought a ray of hope. Iran had not yet been destabilized nor Afghanistan invaded but every Arab knew that the Persian Gulf was a Russian objective. South Yemen was already a Soviet satellite, Aden a vast depot of arms and fuel and Ethiopia a stepping off point for invasion from the south.

YAMANI HAD SUCH CONFIDENCE IN THE MAN WHO SAID HE WOULD NEVER LIE, he defied Iraq, Libya and Algeria in their demand for a 26% hike in the price of oil. He called on the eleven delegations present to limit the rise to 5% and announced that Saudi Arabia would in-

crease production from eight and a half million barrels to almost twelve million barrels a day. A storm broke over his head. He was accused of selling out to the Americans and there were hints that a revolt would be fomented among Palestinian and Shi'ite workers in Saudi Arabia. In the end he was forced to settle for a compromise rise of 15% but he had shown his country's intentions. What really pulled the rug from under his feet was the use of Libya, Iraq and Algeria made of an article published in COMMENTARY, the organ of the American Jewish Committee, in January 1975. Here Robert W. Tucker demanded that America break up the oil cartel by seizing the Arabian oil fields along the Persian Gulf. There was no protest in America and the printed word was taken seriously by the Emirates of the Gulf. So was the sarcastic article by Barbara Tuchman which charged that any concession to the Arabs would be a sign of weakness. When he made his stand the charge was turned against Yamani. Worse was to come. The New York Times of January 30, 1975, carried a full page paid for by the Zionist Organization of America and demanding a firm stand against the "Soviet-Arab axis" which never existed. On the contrary, the Arabs charged that buyers of the page had formed an axis with the Russians during America's war in Vietnam. So it went and in the end Yamani was let down by the new President on whom he had pinned his hopes.

KING FAISAL, BEFORE HIS DEATH, HAD REPULSED ALL SOVIET OFFERS OF SUPPORT. Faisal was a deeply religious man and wanted nothing to do with the atheistic communists. Furthermore, he felt that cutting the West off from fuel at a reasonable price would lead to the collapse of Europe and the establishment of communist governments in France, Spain, Italy and a further-alienated Yugoslavia. Faisal and the Shah of Iran opposed above all else a red Mediterranean and in an item prophetic of things to come, France's weekly VALEURS ACTUELLES reported on December 23, 1974: "The Shah of Iran is troubling Moscow. Every Soviet move in the Middle East is brought to a halt by Iran's ambitions." Rulers do not thwart Moscow without suffering the consequences, but who could have guessed that Carter would be Moscow's agent? At the time the above warning was printed over thirty thousand Iranians were studying abroad, most of them at Iranian expense and half of them in the United States, being trained to make their country a modern nation. Shah gave a million dollars to George Washington University in his race to improve the lot of his subjects. He was to learn, like Norodom Sihanouk and Haile Selassie, that students given educations they do not have to work for are putty in the hands of leftist professors determined to produce revolutionaries who will destroy their benefactors.

Women like Cynthia Dwyer, of Buffalo University, took the stories of immature reds as truth and knowing nothing of the nature of their country or their people, vowed to help them with their revolution. While Iranian students enjoyed the soft life of the West and the attention of subversives, the Shah sent medical teams from village to village and built up an army of 160,000 soldiers, 40,000 pilots and an 11,500-man navy to protect 60% of the world's oil reserves. But Moscow had no intention of seizing these reserves by attack from without. The plan was for a communist Tudeh party to seize them from within with a fanatic clergy serving as a front and America's do-gooder President preventing the government from defending itself. We shall return to America's role in plunging Iran into anarchy.

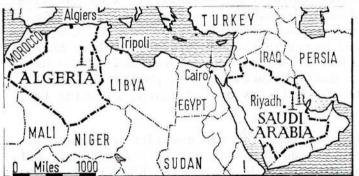
ANY GRATITUDE CARTER MIGHT HAVE HAD FOR SAUDI ARABIA'S COURAGEOUS POSITION in trying to hold down the price of oil after the fall of the Iranian bastion was outweighed by the lure of anti-Arab votes at home, with an election approaching. Trying to please both sides, he consented to sell Saudi Arabia 62 F-15 jet fighters in 1968 but without fuel tanks that would make them effective or side-winder missiles that would make an ememy pause. When four American radar reconnaissance planes were flown to Saudi Arabia in 1980, red propagandists told an Islam in ferment that this was the first step of America's plan to seize the oil fields of the Gulf. Libya's Qaddafi applied for membership in the Socialist International, which will hold its next congress in Rabat in May, and turned his schools and colleges into military training camps, thereby making every Libyan male a potential officer or non-com in the African Army he has in mind. To train the officer cadre with which he hopes to form an African empire, Qaddafi has brought in 2,000 Russian advisers and instructors, 750 Cubans, 500 East Germans, 150 from other countries of the

Warsaw Bloc, 40 North Koreans, 20 Syrians and ten American communists. As this is written, 96 picked Libyans are being trained to handle electronic weapons systems at a military base in Sweden. Such is the situation President Reagan faces as the threat of Russian military action hangs over Poland and the Middle East remains the flash point of the world. A reference source on the Arabs who will hold the line for the West in any Middle East conflagration is in order for free world readers.

THE NEW AND LARGELY UNKNOWN POLITICAL ELITE WHICH RULES IN RIYADH descends from one exceptional man, King Abdul Aziz bin Abdulrahman al-Faisal al Saud, known to the world as Ibn Saud and to his people as Abdul Aziz. Ibn Saud had 43 living sons and an unknown number of daughters when he died in 1953, after giving his name to the country he formally established on September 23, 1932. Oil was discovered in Saudi Arabia in 1938 but it was not until the quadrupling of prices during the Yom Kippur war of 1973 that Saudi Arabia knew its meteoric rise. Today there are at least 3,000 royal princes who could be the cause of some future, outside-inspired internal conflict, in a country whose ruler is chosen not by direct descent but by family conclave.

THE PRESENT RULER IS HIS MAJESTY KING KHALID BIN ABDUL AZIZ, who ascended the throne in 1975 when King Faisal was assassinated by a nephew educated at a notoriously procommunist university in Berkeley, California. King Khalid is amiable, simple of taste and happiest when hunting with falcons, drinking camels' milk with his friends or racing his stable of magnificent horses. His open-heart surgery in America was successful but his health remains a matter of concern.

NEXT IN LINE IS CROWN PRINCE FAHD. He is no longer the playboy whom I stood beside for over an hour and a half in the salon prive of the Monte Carlo casino thirteen years ago. Now 59, he works until the early hours of the morning, racing against time and Arabia's enemies to bring his country into the 21st century without destroying its spiritual values. A great responsibility rests on Prince Fahd's shoulders. He is the head of the powerful clan of seven sons of Ibn Saud which forms the nerve center of Saudi Arabia. On this small, tightly-knit group of brothers borne by Ibn Saud's most influential wife, from the Sudairi tribe, Saudi Arabia's fate and the world's oil supply will depend if a Libyan threat from the West or Russian action and subversion directed from the east and the south should materialize. The names of these seven brothers should be remembered. America has done everything to estrange them because they are far away and the press and votes of their enemies can make or break many an American politician. Yet they are expected to line up with America as the lesser of two evils when the showdown comes.



After Fahd comes Prince Sultan, the Minister of Defense, whose brother, Prince Turki, is his deputy and right-hand man. Prince Naif, the Minister of the Interior and his assistant, Prince Ahmed, are responsible for the internal security of the country. Last but not least is Prince Salman, the Governor of Riyadh.

PRINCE ABDULLAH, A SON OF IBN SAUD BY A WIFE FROM THE SHAMMAR TRIBE, commands the National Guard, which is made up from the

various tribes which form the mosaic of the kingdom. Control of this private army makes Prince Abdullah the third most important man in the country, after Prince Fahd, the heir to the throne.

Many of the other 33 surviving sons of Ibn Saud were educated in America where both universities and professors may be considered suspect after the student demonstrations during the war in Vietnam and Prince Faisal bin Museid's assassination of one of the world's greatest Kings. Prince Sattam, the 40th son of Ibn Saud who is now assistant governor of Riyadh, recently told an Englishman: "Don't talk to me about a feudal government. We are more democratic than you. There is no difference between the lowest

bedouin and me. Anyone can see me and no one uses my title. When someone wants to talk to me he shouts 'Satam!'"

ASIDE FROM IBN SAUD'S SONS ANOTHER GENERATION OF PRINCES IS COMING UP. One of the eight sons of the late King Faisal, the 39-year-old Prince Saud, is Minister of Foreign Affairs and a Princeton graduate. One day he may sit on the throne. His hard-headed opposition to atheistic communism outweighs any rancors he may have of the past when obscene telephone calls made his father's life miserable in America during the days of his ambassador-ship to U.N. at the time of Israel's birth. One practical lesson has taken root in the Arab mind. They have not forgotten that their enemies, while enjoying American citizenship, were able to endanger America's interests and boasted that they could cause an economic collapse if they were to withdraw their money from American banks. Today, Arab investments, deposits and purchases of property, to say nothing of the threat to cut off oil, give the Arabs an almost equal power in the West. Only broadcasting stations and mass circulation papers have escaped their hands.

PRINCE BANDAR, BROTHER OF FOREIGN MINISTER PRINCE SAUD, is a major in the airforce and was one of the first to realize the importance of President Reagan's request that congress permit the sale of standard-size gas tanks and air-to-air missiles which would give his fleet of F-15s some value as a deterrent. America's new realistic mood was discussed at the January 25th congress at Taif and a few days later President Giscard d'Estaing gave President Sadat France's blessing for any move he wished to take against Qaddafi. It was not forgotten that President Carter had ordered Sadat not to touch Oaddafi when the taking over of Chad might have been prevented. While the Taif talks were going on a Saud-financed resistance movement was again rearing its head in South Yemen. The Iman el-Badr was back in his mountain hide-outs with the same group of French officers, who through the early sixties helped him hold 35,000 Egyptian troops at bay, after defeating the first U.N. forces sent to destroy Tshombe's Free Katanga. The great fear hanging over the 38 delegations at Taif was that red bloc troops would roll over Poland and touch off a series of boycotts against Russia by the West. such a case, Moscow would move to cut the West off from oil and only then would the oil exporting states realize what they lost when Iran ceased to police the oil lane of the world.

MR. HOUCHANG NAHAVANDI, who had been a minister of the Shah, rector of Teheran University and head of the Empress's private secretariat, was the man to go to for a discussion of the void left by the loss of Iran to the West. His book on Iran's broken dream is one that should be translated into English. We discussed this possibility as we sat with Monsieur Marc Valle, the lawyer of the Princess Azadeh, the courageous woman who is the heart and soul of the Iranian Resistance Committee abroad. Undiscouraged by the fact that the Ayatollah's killers tracked down and assassinated her brother, Prince Shahriar Mustapha Chafik, on December 7, 1980, as he was preparing to take command of the naval units waiting to rally to him in the Persian Gulf, Princess Azadeh publishes her own VOICE OF IRAN and coordinates the efforts of the military and civilians fighting for Iran's survival.

THE INTERVIEW WITH MONSIEUR HOUCHANG NAHAVANDI started with the question uppermost in many an American mind: "You tell me that you begged the Shah not to leave Iran. Will you tell the American people what you proposed that he do instead?" REPLY: "My last meeting with His Majesty was on June 4, 1980, in the Kubeh Palace, in Cairo. I could hardly believe that this was the man who walked with me in the palace grounds a month before. 'I want to talk to you - but I am tired,' he began. 'It is difficult to speak. I know you have always reproached me for not remaining in Iran as you recommended. But I couldn't. I couldn't hold out any longer. You cannot imagine the pressure the Americans were putting on me, and in the end it became an order. They assured me that if I would go away for a short time the storm would subside and I would be able to see things in their proper perspective. You have seen what happened. How could I stay when the Americans had sent a general, Huyser, to force me out? How could I stand alone against Henry Pecht and the entire State Department? And when I did go, though my departure was against America's interests, they never ceased to be hostile. You will see, a day

will come when they will accuse me of having failed General Huyser.'

"The dying Emperor recalled our conversation in Teheran at 5:30 on the evening of January 8, 1979. Night was falling and the bullet-proof Cadillac of the American ambassador was outside the Imperial palace as His Majesty and I sat alone. The ambassador was waiting to be received. We both knew why he was there. Once more, for a last time, I pleaded with my sovereign: 'You must not go. If you leave the country everything will collapse. The army will no longer have a leader. Power will fall into the hands of adventurers and fanatics who will plunge Iran into a bloody revolution. Everything Your Majesty has accomplished in 37 years will be destroyed.'

"The Shah rose from his chair and paced the room, nervously running his hand through his hair. Returning to his chair he said thoughtfully: 'Everyone tells me the contrary of what you are predicting. From every side they are begging me to leave Iran while the new Prime Minister, Mr. (Shapour) Baktiar, quiets the mob. They keep telling me I am the stumbling block to the restoration of order.'

'Sire,'I told him, 'I understand your feelings, but I beg you to stay. Stay with your soldiers, at a military base, where you will be in security. The Iranians have always had great respect for their army and you are its chief.'

'What to you suggest?'

Go to the Bandar Abbas, the naval base, and install yourself in the residence of the commander-in-chief of your forces in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, or take over the villa of Commander Chafik (the nephew who was assassinated in Paris.) From there you will be within helicopter distance of Dubai or Oman for conferences with your allies. As I was speaking one of the telephones rang.

"Later I learned that the general in command of martial law was on the line. The Shah listened for a minute, then replied: 'I insist, General, that no blood be shed. Take what measures you can but see that no one is wounded, much less killed.' His face was livid as he turned to me and said: 'I do not want to go down in history as the massacrer of my people. I am not going to cling to power at the price of thousands of Iranians who like you, like me, have the right to live.'

"The Shah tried to please the evangelistic Carter and as a result over a hundred thousand Iranians were slaughtered like animals. As the audience ended I begged once more: 'Leave Teheran if you will, Sire, but do not abandon your country, your army.'

"I have always felt that with the aid of responsible men His Majesty could have instituted reforms, and, supported by the army, which was loyal to him, he could have disarmed the commandos who had come in from outside the country, and the fanatics, who represented a minority of the Iranian people, could have been neutralized. Instead, the blood bath took place. Not only army officers but political leaders, diplomats, professors, engineers, doctors, magistrates, industrialists and even farmers, were exterminated or driven abroad. Over a thousand officers of all ranks were summarily shot.

"At that last meeting in Cairo, on June 4, 1980, I told His Majesty: 'I know you told me to remain in Teheran and do what I could, but it was impossible. I was being led with hundreds of others to be shot. A bearded revolutionary prodded me with the butt of his gun through the crowd that was waving fists at us. I saw General Nassiri being dragged to a truck by his feet, with the mob spitting on him and kicking him. I saw the mayor of Teheran clubbed to death in the street.

"I was thinking of my wife and family as I walked as though in a dream, when the bearded revolutionary with a steel helmet, still hitting me with his gun, whispered:

'Run for it, Professor. I am one of your students. Follow me!' When he got me out of the crowd he put his helmet on my head and stopped a woman with a car. We knew a safe hiding place on the other side of Teheran and from there I was passed from family to family until I reached Kurdistan on June 18, 1979. I must tell Your Majesty, it is totally false that most of the mollahs are with Khomeiny. The real leader of the Shi'ite sect is under house arrest and a shove would topple the present regime. It is true that corruption came with the too rapid industrialization of Iran, but the revolution is worse. Both Khomeiny and Bani Sadr are very weak."

QUESTION: "What would you say of the Carter Administration?"

REPLY: "It was responsible for what happened in Iran and the dangers it represents for the West. But we must not forget the venom with which Teddy Kennedy ranted against the Shah, nor that on December 7, 1977, the Kennedy family financed a so-called committee for the defense of liberties and rights of man in Teheran, which was nothing but a headquarters for revolution. By plan or chance, Carter came to power in America at a moment chosen by certain powers for the destabilizing of the Middle East and the disruption of oil sales to the West, and the Carter Administration became the accomplice of those out to create disorder in the world."

QUESTION: "What would you tell President Reagan?"

REPLY: "I would impress upon him the importance of time. Years of planning are behind the Tudeh (Communist) Party and every day it is strengthening its hold. Unless there is a gesture of encouragement from America, communism will spread through the ranks of the army. A word of encouragement now and a flood of desertions from the army would swell the resistance movement.

"What I dread most is that America will fall into a trap and start picturing President Bani Sadr as a moderate who must be supported against the fanatics in the clergy. Bani Sadr is Moscow's man, and a victory for him will be equally fatal to the oil states, the Persian Gulf and the West. Now, as in 1921 and 1941, a foreign army occupies Iran, but this time it wears a religious mask which conceals communist subversion. Khomeiny and his perpetrators of hysteria are only temporary. When the time is ripe they will be replaced by a communist push unless the West, and particularly America, give some support to our Free Iran generals before it is too late."

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AXE WORK

Never was it more true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty than at this moment when Moscow's new weapon is being brought into play throughout the free world. The weapon is internal terrorism. Against it eternal vigilance without action is helpless watching. Amnesty International, Americans for Democratic Action, human rights bodies extended to the point of human license and countless pressure groups for the protection of criminals have made vigilance a spectator sport with defensive action ruled out as extremism.

RUSSIANS BOGGED DOWN IN AFGHANISTAN AND FACING A CHALLENGE IN POLAND were gripped by fear that for the first time since the Soviet Union was born American inaction was about to end. Castro saw his plans for a communist Latin-American empire threatened. From the moment of his election President Reagan never concealed his intention to help run the Russians out of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Libya and Syria. Russia's reaction was to step up espionage with emphasis on the recruitment of infiltrators working in their own countries as "moles." Gone were the Dulles days when the most drastic action America considered was containment.

THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE FOR SOVIET CONDUCT is well known: As enunciated at the time of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 it holds that "the fate of socialism in any single country must be considered a concern not of that country alone but of all socialist countries who, should they see the socialist system threatened in any one of them, are obliged to extend to that people their brotherly help." Preceding this is another doctrine accepted but unexpressed: The seizure of power by a socialist minority in any country is a concern of all socialist countries and once power is achieved it is by the Brezhnev doctrine made irreversible. Since seizure of power in a non-socialist country is a liberation movement, all means to that end, including terrorism, are justified in communist eyes.

THE FEAR IN MOSCOW AND CUBA was that President Reagan would not only proclaim but translate into action an opposing doctrine: It would hold that a threat to liberty in its western sense in any country is a threat not only to that country but against all free countries, and should any country desiring to retain or regain its freedom call for help, all free countries should extend their brotherly aid. An official named Inozemtsev wrote in "A Russian View of Détente," published in the London Economist of April 24, 1976: "Marxist-Leninists are firmly against imposing revolution upon anyone....We do not conceal our sympathy with peoples who have risen up to struggle for their liberation....Support for peoples fighting for their freedom and independence is a basic principle of the policy of the Soviet Communist Party." Every statement made by America's new President led Moscow and Havana to presume that a new American policy would apply Mr. Inozemtsev's words in their true meaning to Latin America, Afghanistan, Somalia, Angola, Poland and the Middle East, and panic resulted.

THIS WAS THE CLIMATE OF THE WORLD when on March 30 word flashed over the airwaves that at 2:25 p.m. an unbalanced "loner" named John Hinckley, 25-year-old and armed with a handgun charged with 22-calibre explosive bullets, had wounded the President at a supposedly guarded exit of the Washington Hilton Hotel. European specialists in psychological warfare rejected the "unbalanced loner" explanation to a man. To such men every imaginable tactic of psychological warfare has been considered. Before the hard facts began coming in they asked themselves: "What would I do if I were Fidel Castro or KGB boss Yuri Andropov, faced with a President dedicated to the upsetting of my plans?" The answer was: "I would find an unstable young man, of good family, attractive enough to have photo-value. Then I would turn him over to Control. Control would build up his psychological picture. He would never by word or mouth show any connection with the left. All acts of terrorism must be attributed to the right. He must make himself conspicuous at meetings of the extreme right, drawing attention to his presence and out-doing those in command. His instability must be emotional, never criminal. The ideal would be unrequited love - leading to what Europeans call "une crime passionelle."

In the case of John Hinckley not an element was missing. Every precaution in the psychological warfare specialist's handbook was there from the moment bare details of the assassination attempt arrived in offices abroad.

THEN MOSAIC PIECES OF THE OVERALL PICTURE BEGAN TO FALL INTO PLACE. MINUTE, the conservative Paris weekly of April 8, 1981, asked why the first hurried order given to the FBI and CIA on the evening of the crime was to announce that the attempt was "not political." "It makes one scratch one's head," a MINUTE editor who has written a history of the French Communist Party observed. "Why were they in such a hurry to camouflage this shooting? Could it have been to avoid international complications in a period of such tension?" That someone was bent on exonerating those most anxious to get rid of the new President was suggested when MINUTE pointed out: "The fact remains that Reagan's new policy of firmness has upset a lot of people and touched off a panic in the Kremlin, where leaders had become accustomed to Carter's softness." To the men who have studied Moscow's tactics deeply enough to be able to state with some degree of certainty the reason behind every movement the enemy makes there is no room for coincidence in an event where a foolproof assassination is to the adversary's advantage.

The "unbalanced drifter" theory is one of the first knocked in the head. "If one goes back in history," MINUTE reflected, "one finds that almost all of the great political assassinations were committed by unbalanced loners who were manipulated to perform the tasks assigned them. The most noted murderer in France was Ravaillac, the killer of Henri IV, typical of the emotionally unstable who appear to be acting on their own. Yet, it was irrefutably established that Ravaillac was maneuvered by the Duke d'Epernon and a pro-Spanish clique opposed to the policies of the King."

TWO OF THE MOST RESPECTED AUTHORITIES ON SOVIET TACTICS IN FRANCE, Mr. Paul Dehème and Mr. Pierre de Villemarest, immediately compiled a list of seemingly interesting coincidences connected with the 25-year-old John Hinckley. Though American newspapers have lowered a black-out on the subject, Hinckley's brother and parents apparently enjoyed a close friendship with Vice-President George Bush and his family. This relationship was close enough that an unbalanced young man of normal appearance might gain entree to places where others are barred, or he might overhear information useful in setting the time and place for an outside-commanded act. Washington files contain the names of some 400 potential killers, even after the Watergate investigating committee's dismantling of American security and intelligence offices. Hinckley's name is not in those files, although he was arrested last October in Nashville with three handguns in his possession. Airport police forgot that President Carter was in town that day and neglected to report the incident to the Secret Service. Thus by paying a \$62 fine to a local judge Hinckley's court record was destroyed and he was immediately released.

During the 21 days preceding the assassination attempt, Hinckley lived in a motel in

Denver, though the home of his parents was close by. Each day, towards noon, he took up a position near a telephone booth where he received a series of mysterious calls. Yet there was a telephone by his bed in his motel room. Specialists ask: "How could an unbalanced young man, supposedly working alone and with no experienced "Control" know all the ruses of professionals?" How a non-journalist was able to station himself so easily at that particular Hotel Hilton entrance on the afternoon of March 30, in spite of the precautions of the secret service and the usual attitude of gentlemen of the press towards intruders, the two French political writers do not attempt to explain. What they are interested in is the dinner David Rockefeller gave on the evening of March 19.

DAVID ROCKEFELLER'S DINNER IN HONOR OF ROBERT McNAMARA, retiring president of the World Bank, member of the CFR, the Bilderbergers and the London Institute of Policy Studies, was not widely publicized. Cyrus Vance, William P. Rogers, Clark Clifford, George Ball, and McGeorge Bundy (the Vietnam "hawk" who was not for victory), were among the representatives of international interlocking "clubs" who were Mr. Rockefeller's guests. The Europeans studying psychological warfare tactics do not suggest that anyone at this dinner for directors of the Aspen Institute, Common Market organizations, one-worlders favoring talks with Russia and their European counterparts had anything to do with the go-ahead signal that was given to John Hinckley. What they do believe is that from this dinner the Russians and Cubans received what they took as a signal that if something were to happen to President Reagan it would be all right with the international organizations that count.

Dan Morgan wrote in the WASHINGTON POST that a dinner honoring McNamara had been attended by veterans who had formed an informal council for governments over the past twenty years and that David Rockefeller delivered a warning to those who mold public opinion. It was not until after David Rockefeller, Monsieur Roger Berthoin, President of the Trilateral Commission in Europe and former representative of the Common Market Commission in England, and Takeshi Watanabe, chairman of the Trilateral Commission in Japan, had an icy meeting with President Reagan that details of what Mr. Rockefeller said at that dinner leaked out through the Common Market.

"The world which we have worked to construct is threatened," David told his guests. "The gravity of this moment when Mr. McNamara and others are about to leave their posts while a new Administration re-examines American foreign aid policy is great. If we are going to save the international institutions we have put in place, the moment is now or never, for the struggle between the old guard and the new is going to go far beyond the reduction of capital appropriations. It is going to endanger the new world order which we have based on an alliance between Wall Street and Washington. While we men of firms and banks organize international channels of economy and raw materials, the government is now building its own diplomatic and economic bridges between Washington and foreign governments. By our methods our governments contribute to the stability and economic growth of the world, our multi-nationals benefit, and when it is necessary they contribute their political support. Now radical conservatives are attempting to destroy all that in seeking first and foremost to serve the national interests of the United States."

It is almost inconceivable that David Rockefeller should suggest to a meeting of the most powerful men in the United States and the Trilateralists of Europe and Japan that political action may be necessary to prevent the new team in Washington from serving only the national interests of the United States. What kind of political action did he have in mind?

ONE OF THE CARDINAL ASSUMPTIONS OF ANTI-COMMUNIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE SPECIALISTS in Europe is that Moscow views the undermining of the national interests of the United States as the first step in undermining the West. The specialists have not forgotten that when certain papers were stacking Congress with freshmen radicals and hoisting an impractical do-gooder into the White House, an Associated Press dispatch out of Washington on November 8, 1973, was headed: "AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial

Organizations) Launches Campaign for Impeachment of Nixon."

"The AFL-CIO began a nation-wide lobbying campaign today for immediate impeachment of President Nixon," the story began. "The 13.5-million-member labor federation is the first national organization with political muscle to push actively for Mr. Nixon's impeachment." Since when do labor leaders spout "democracy," then provide mobs for a coup d'Etat by press?

THE APRIL ISSUE OF FRANCE'S "SPECTACLE DU MONDE," published by Senator Raymond Bourgine, one of the comers in French politics, stated that "a redistribution of political forces is under way."

The change of the whole international context, according to the story, every line of which is scrutinized by the conservative French Senator, "is due to the unexpected appearance of three men: Jean-Paul II, Ronald Reagan, Lech Walesa. The Pope has stopped the slide of the church on its downward slope of compromises with the world. He has reaffirmed the moral ideals of the world which are not compatible with the life of least resistance. He has re-illuminated these ideals like a guiding light on a wall of virtue.

"Lech Walesa, in the gray and silent universe of communism that is like life in a barracks, has suddenly given Poland the shining light of hope.

"Ronald Reagan is the symbol of force. America has the means to roll back the Marxist-Leninist ice-age which is threatening to cover the world: The scientific, technical, financial, and in the ultimate reckoning, the military means. Her defense budget will be increased by 7% per year over the next six years to attain a figure over \$360,000 millions in 1986. The only dispute over the Reagan armament program is in the choice of arms. One group calls for the classic arms of the past. Others are convinced that aircraft carriers and bombers, even those of the future, must cede precedence to entirely new weapons which will make all Soviet matériel obsolete. This calls for the all-out utilization of America's technical superiority in a manner that will, within a matter of years, make Russian arms, alongside America's, what the cross-bow was to the musket."

SPECTACLE DU MONDE reproaches Frenchmen for being so preoccupied with their coming presidential elections they are not realizing the importance of the out-and-out confrontation which is taking place in Poland, nor the change in West Germany as anticommunists lose ground to the pro-Soviet camp headed by Herbert Wehner and Egon Bahr.

What is clear above all is that knowledgeable people in Europe consider 1981 the possible year of decision and because of the Reagan presidency in America the moles whom the KGB is infiltrating into decision-making centers of the West are being geared to outdo anything they have accomplished in the past.

Only communists and their fellow travelers in Europe saw anything wrong with Secretary of State Haig's announcement that he had the situation in hand at a moment when the Vice-President was flying eastward and the President was in an operating room. Objectively watching the furor that was made over the matter in America, SPECTACLE DU MONDE went so far as to state: "In the United States the same journalists, the same politicians who won the war in Vietnam against their own country have gone back to work."

THE NEW ERA OF EUROPEAN CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA is more important than Americans seeking reasons for distrust of the Administration think. What is important is that European confidence is there and the effect it will have on our allies' actions is incalculable.

John F. Kennedy realized the importance of American prestige abroad when in 1960 his supporters used U. S. Information Service officers appointed to America's Paris embassy by a Republican Administration when they wanted a report stating that American prestige

had slumped. The implication was that a J.F.K. presidency would make it rise again, and the misleading report was played for all it was worth. Of course American prestige had slumped, but it had slumped because America was backing a revolt against France in Algeria and premature independence movements against Britain, Holland and Belgium wherever they had created prosperous colonies for Moscow and Cuba to take over and the West to support.

Whether Europe's confidence in America and her new President is justified or not, it comes when the West needs such crystalizing enthusiasm as never before. Mr. Thierry Maulnier wrote in the Paris daily FIGARO of April 17, 1981, that some may be jealous of Mr. Reagan and of America's victory in space, "but for my part, I applaud with all my strength. I believe that if we are going to overcome the circumstances ahead of us in which we are going to need America's aid, it will be better for us that their rescue expedition be organized like the first voyage of their space shuttle, rather than like a certain recent attempt to liberate the hostages of Iran."

The editorial writer on SPECTACLE DU MONDE went equally far to assure Americans that they no longer stand alone. Ending an article on France's presidential elections, he wrote: "The most important thing is that France's policies, in coordination with those of her allies, can help to impose a setback on the Soviet Union everywhere in the world."

The new injection of hope from America came none too soon.

TWO WEEKS AFTER THE ATTEMPT ON PRESIDENT REAGAN Moscow's presidential committee of the World Peace Council, which had been so effective during the war in Vietnam, held a psychological warfare convention in Havana.

The aim of the WPC is to promote unilateral disarmament in the West, and its 1981 action program involves the greatest investment in money and manpower since Americans were incited to defeat their own country in an anti-communist war. Page 11 of section 2 of the June 11, 1967, issue of the INDIANAPOLIS STAR provides an excellent example with its full page of signatures calling for victory for Hanoi. Multiply such pages a hundred times for a picture of the campaign to immobilize America.

When the "front"organization of the WPC, "The World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace" held its congress in Sofia, Bulgaria, in late 1980, a manifesto declared that 1981 would be the decisive year in the fight for peace (Read: Western surrender) and mass demonstrations were called for in all NATO countries. In the fight to halt production of the neutron bomb, high energy lasers and all space weapons, members were ordered to concentrate on the recruitment of persons and groups not identified with the Soviet Union. This is to say: John Hinckleys.

The World Council of Peace was organized in 1948 for the ultimate showdown which Russian planners believe is at hand. When its officials were expelled from France and Austria after connections with the KGB became too flagrant, the WCP moved to Helsinki where the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) negotiations are held. Today over 120 national "peace councils," each with countless sub-organizations directed from a central office in Helsinki, mobilize demonstrations against nuclear power plants and appropriations for defense. The greatest victory of the WPC during the Carter Administration was the April 1978 presidential decision to drop production and deployment of the enhanced radiation weapon, which would have been Central Europe's only defense against a mass attack by Soviet tanks.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PSYWAR CONVENTION IN HAVANA was to plan a ceaseless series of follow-up punches designed to leave the West groggy at the end of 1981. One of the most important will be the WPC's September 1 "Day of Peace," planned to precede U.N.'s October 24 to 31 "Disarmament week."

While the campaign against Western defense is going on a coordinated offensive by Moscow's parallel weapon - internal terrorism - will continue. The Palestine Liberation Organization, regional independence movements in Ireland, France and Spain, terrorist bodies supported and trained by Libya's Qaddafi and Cuba's Castro, destabilization movements spreading from the "Peoples' Front for the Liberation of Oman" to the guerrilla war in El Salvador, all have their separate staffs and planning boards. Riots against "racism" will be synchronized in the United States, Britain, France and West Germany, straining police forces to the breaking point.

While the psychological warfare convention was being planned for Havana and President Reagan was recuperating from the failed assassination attempt, in his hospital bed in Washington, Lech Walesa - his name is pronounced Vawensa - came out of a meeting in Gdansk with tears in his eyes.

IT WAS FRIDAY, APRIL 3, at 6 p.m. and the sixteen members of the Solidarity Labor Union Committee had been behind closed doors on the fourth floor of their Gdansk headquarters building since morning. The hardliners called for a general strike that would tie up the nation. Walesa knew how far he could go. He had been told what the Russians were planning to do if he went too far. He must play for time. But the hardliners were accusing him of selling them out because he pulled back from the brink. He dared not tell them what he knew or the source of his information.

Someday perhaps a history book will record the words he said in private: "I am tired. The Holy Virgin knows that I am tired, bloody tired and not only in my body because I never sleep. My heart doesn't work as it should. It throbs. It hurts. I'm tired inside in the soul."

This is the man who has brought the communist empire the closest it has been to disaster since the Wehrmacht was at the gates of Stalingrad, and at a time when America has Ronald Reagan for a President and, to the delight of European anti-communists, a general as Secretary of State.

It is understandable why Europeans who make the study of Warsaw Pact Bloc psychological warfare their life's work do not believe for a moment that "Control" was not behind the apparently unbalanced loner with his handgun charged with explosive bullets on March 30.

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PARIS

Socialists Cheer Mitterrand Victory

The election which took place in France on May 10, 1981, marked a turning point in the history of the world and the destiny of the West. There is no iron-clad timetable for the events to come. When an opening presents itself communism bounds ahead. All that matters to the international left is that the trend be made irreversible, and with that in mind let us study the new situation in the heartland of Western Europe, what brought it about and where it might lead.

FRANCOIS MAURICE MITTERAND, the socialist politician born on October 26, 1916, was elected President of France by a vote of 52%. Thus a man of dual loyalties came to lead the nation and select its ministers. François Mitterand is President of France, but Willy Brandt, the German President of the Socialist International, is Mr. Mitterand's President. Under Mr. Brandt, François Mitterand is Vice-President of the borderless, Marxist Socialist International, which is a horizontal empire running through the labor level of countries. Its only frontier is that dividing factory floor from management and pitting worker against director. National interests and Socialist International interests are incompatible. A nation's president is expected to defend national interests, but the Vice-President of the Socialist International is expected to advance the interests of a class at the expense of the interests of the nation. There are 1.7 million unemployed in France and an inflation rate of nearly 13%. The promise to take money from the rich and give it to the poor may buy votes, but money is fluid and when elected demagogues seek to take it, it is not there. Risk capital disappears, inflation increases and foundering industries throw more workers into the streets.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was elected seven years ago by a majority of 1.6%. Mayor Jacques Chirac, of Paris, was the logical candidate to succeed him, but against Mr. Chirac was his disadvantage as a newcomer and the power of a Gaullist machine, a creaking machine, but still powerful enough to thwart the man whom hang-overs of the Gaullist era considered a rebel. If the machine was able to sabotage the Chirac campaign, why then was it unable to defeat the socialist?

THERE WERE MANY REASONS FOR GISCARD d'ESTAING'S DEFEAT: It was not his being a one-worlder that hurt him. His ambition to be the President of Europe was never concealed but Frenchmen have been conditioned to forget that under a regional government bent on covering the world France and all nations would be provinces bound in a socialist package. As in America, many who would resist this most strongly have been convinced that no such conspiracy exists. Some disapproved of Giscard's haughtiness, but that was because he bore himself like an aristocrat without really being one. He had no relationship with the noble admiral beheaded during the revolution whose name and coat of arms Valéry's father appropriated in 1922. Like the Kennedy's, Giscard was a snob in his private life but in politics he courted the left, sometimes the dregs. When Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther, was being hunted by the American police after his escape

to Cuba and then to Algeria, Cleaver entered France illegally in 1972. Raymond Marcellin, the Minister of the Interior, ordered his expulsion, but French leftists used delaying tactics until they got rid of Mr. Marcellin in 1974. As Minister of Finance, Giscard d'Estaing should have had no interest in the Cleaver affair, but he went to the trouble of getting the Black Panther terrorist a resident's permit. One of Giscard d'Estaing's first acts as President was to give the vote to eighteen-year-olds. He could not have thought they would be grateful. When he fell, automobiles loaded with unkempt revolutionaries brandishing red flags tied up Paris traffic in celebration of their victory. Professor Anthony Kubek, of Alabama's Troy State University stood under the rain at 2:30 A.M. on May 22, and asked in disbelief: "Are these students?" No self-respecting politician could have watched such supporters hail his election as their victory without being ashamed, but only a few Paris publications voiced this thought.

THERE WERE OTHER ASPECTS, one of which is delicate but which, if the observer is honest, must be faced. This was the first time France's Jewish community, estimated at some 700,000, has voted as a bloc, and it voted for Mitterand. The declaration by Israel's Prime Minister Menachim Begin that he had known Mitterand for 30 years and found him "profoundly attached to Israel" was only partially responsible. According to conservative SPECTACLE DU MONDE, the fault was mostly Giscard's. Anti-Semitism has not been a problem in France. There has been personal sentiment against individuals such as the Rothschild family with their purchased Austrian titles but most of France's Jews have been in France for generations and have become French. As president of the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France, Alain de Rothschild has occupied himself with charities and tried to prevent opposition to a policy from taking on the appearance of a pressure group. Only a minor leader, Henri Hajdenberg, risked campaigning for other than French interests, thereby laying himself and his community open to recriminations which may rebound against them in the future. Hajdenberg called for a unified vote against Giscard for delivering planes to the Arabs in return for oil. To the car driver paying nearly \$1 for a quart of gasoline and trying to make both ends meet, Hajdenberg was regimenting votes for a foreign power.

INSTEAD OF IGNORING THE HAJDENBERG CAMPAIGN, President Giscard invited Jacob Kaplan, the Grand Rabbi of France, and other Jewish leaders, to the Elysee Palace for luncheon. The atmosphere was polite but cold when the President asked if it were true that their community voted as a bloc for the left, regardless of France's interests. In the eyes of his guests the question was an accusation. Giscard was lumping all Jews together and in so doing was showing himself an anti-Semite. Mitterand seized the occasion to promise continued and absolute support for Israel and with few exceptions the vote was his.

Exactly one month later Mitterand joined other leaders in condemning the June 7 Pearl Harbor-type raid against Baghdad's nuclear processing plant, but by then it was too late. He was in. As with all demagogues, the Mitterand honeymoon is destined to be shortlived. The first rule of the socialists is that if you want to change society radically you have to be ruthless. You have to discredit your opponents, find scapegoats for people's dissatisfactions and be merciless with those who resist what you want to do. Mitterand promised to levy a wealth tax, nationalize industries, install workers at the directors' tables, introduce a higher basic wage, more protectionism, increased social security benefits and shorter working hours. The result was an immediate flight of capital, increasing inflation, unemployment, failures in industry and a drop in production. Nothing could have pitted Frenchman against Frenchman more effectively than the cleavage caused by those who campaigned for Mitterand and those who voted against him. Eventually the fight will be carried into the streets and because this was an election such as France has never known before, it will be found that Mitterand's victory was not the result of a clear-cut struggle between left and right.

THE WAR VETERANS' VOTE WAS NOT FOR MITTERAND, IT WAS AGAINST GISCARD, and again it was a vote that should have gone to Jacques Chirac had the President in power and the socialist machine not controlled the media. Greater than any loyalty of party is the loyalty which

exists between France's veterans of the war in Indochina and the war in Algeria. The chain of events which brought them into the fight against the President started when Jean Bedell Bokassa, while Emperor of the Central African Empire, gave Giscard and his wife 236 diamonds along with summary other gifts. There is no law which prevents the President of France from accepting and keeping gifts from other Chiefs of State, but Roger Delpey, the 55-year-old veteran of the war in Indochina, became indignant when Giscard accepted Bokassa's diamonds, shot his elephants by the hundreds for their tusks and then unleashed his press to drive Bokassa from power in what Delpey regarded as a frame-up. Delpey had never met Bokassa, but Bokassa had been a captain in the French Army in Indochina. He was a French citizen and in June 1979 Delpey wrote him a letter, from one soldier of Indochina to another, asking if it was true that he had taken part in the massacre of Central African schoolchildren.

Bokassa denied the charge and invited Delpey to come and see for himself. His personal investigation convinced Delpey that Bokassa was innocent and that for some inexplicable reason a conspiracy was afoot to drive Bokassa from power and install the former President, David Dacko, in his place. Delpey returned to Europe with 187 documents that were hot - very hot! - on the relationship between Bokassa and Giscard. Since Bokassa was still in power, Delpey did not bother to make photocopies of his 187 papers before he confided them to a Swiss lawyer, to guard for him, while he worked on a book to be entitled "The Manipulation."

A coup d'etat supported by Giscard deposed Bokassa on September 20, 1970 and installed David Dacko as President of the Central African Republic. Being a French citizen and a war veteran, the fallen Emperor flew into Evreux Airforce base, assuming that he would be granted asylum in his own country, where he owns property. At Evreux he was refused any of the considerations which Giscard had accorded Eldridge Cleaver. There was nothing to do but take up residence in Abidjan, on the Ivory Coast, where orders from Giscard kept him under close watch.

It was not long before Bokassa began running out of money and asked his friend, Delpey, to go to the Libyan embassy in Paris and arrange for funds to be transferred from his account in Tripoli. When Delpey walked out of the embassy French police were waiting for him. It was May 10, 1980, and not until six days later was it learned that Delpey was in prison, charged with seeking money from a foreign power with the intention of putting into motion an action of a nature to compromise France's foreign policy through the technique of disinformation. The satirical weekly, CANARD ENCHAINE, reported that he was in prison because he knew too much.

None of the usual legal rules was observed. He was still in prison on December 10, 1980, when MINUTE, the conservative weekly, wrote that five days after his arrest he had been offered his liberty if he would hand over the 187 compromising documents. Delpey said they had been destroyed, so his interrogators told him he would be released if he would give his word that no responsible Frenchman or any member of the government would be embarrassed by the publication of the papers in question. Delpey agreed and the commissaire present suggested that he needed a lawyer. He recommended Monsieur Bondoux and warned Delpey not to talk to anyone of the matter. That afternoon Delpey learned by chance that the defender he had been tricked into accepting was the Giscard family attorney.

Paris newspapers continued to brand him a spy and play down the gifts of 10 karat and 20 karat diamonds, the art objects and fortune in elephant tusks which Giscard had flown to Paris. Paul Johnson, of the London Sunday Telegraph, described Giscard as "a comparative rarity, a rich man who is really greedy," as Delpey's new lawyer, Mr. Roland Dumas, began preparing for the trial which never took place. Delpey's wife arrived for one of her regular visits in a state of high excitement. An important man had come to see her and offered passports, a large sum of money and tickets to South America if her husband would hand over his documents and get in the taxi that would whisk them from Sante prison to

the airport. The offer was repeated in the presence of Delpey's lawyer, who promised never to reveal the intermediary's name and Delpey, who is already in enough trouble, is afraid to name him.

OUTSIDE SANTE PRISON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WERE APPROACHING and references to the prison as a modern Bastille where a political opponent was languishing under a *lettre du cachet* were becoming embarrassing. The prisoner was becoming too hot to hold and around midnight of Friday, November 28, 1980, after 202 days in cell 115 of the 2nd Section of La Santé the iron door swung open and Roger Delpey was shoved into the night. A friendly guard whispered as he passed: "Now it is your turn. You have the ball and you can spread your stories."

By April 1981 Delpey was still trying to get his papers back from the Swiss lawyer. In their last conversation the frightened voice of the attorney screamed over the telephone: "Don't count on me any longer! A stop has to be put to this business. I have a wife and children to think of." The lawyer claimed his life has been threatened and to this day he has never returned the documents left with him for safe-keeping.

Delpey's book, LA MANIPULATION, appeared just before the final elections and contributed to Giscard's defeat. Yet, Delpey is no friend of Mitterand. In the late 60s he wrote "Soldiers of the Mud" which received the literary Grand Prix for books on the war in Indochina. It was followed in 1974 by Delpey's moving book on the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in which, for the first time, it was pointed out that Robert Schuman, René Pleven and others who led France into sacrifice of sovereignty and membership in the Common Market were France's leaders when Indochina was being made a no-win war. Under them the destabilization of France and conditioning of a people for the new world order was put over. From the organization of Communist Women of France the enemy received medicines which French soldiers did not have. Hand grenades stuffed with encouraging messages for the Vietminh and only enough powder to make them open went from French factories to Delpey's "soldiers in the mud." François Mitterand was in the governments of this period and was Minister of the Interior, the number one policeman of France, when the final sellout came.

It was through his own inexcusable stupidity - granting of the vote to eighteen-year-old revolutionaries who wanted to drag him in the mud and the imprisoning of a hero of the anti-communist war veterans, that Giscard had both ends of the political spectrum against him when the final votes were counted. The thousands of voters who abstained and those who cast blank ballots in the urns could have turned the tide.

THE UNEDUCATED AND THE INCAPABLE WERE JUBILANT OVER MITTERAND'S ELECTION. It was a victory of the factory floor over management and it would not be going too far to say that the atmosphere was pre-revolutionary. Forty-eight hours after assuming his new role, Mr. Mitterand appointed Claude Cheysson Minister of External Affairs, a ministry hitherto known as Foreign Affairs, or simply as the Quai d'Orsay.

It was a "window-dressing" government, a temporary scaffolding meant to reassure those who had not forgotten the Communist Party's threat: "Communists in the government or we'll defeat you." If the government Mitterand appointed was meant to lull voters until after the legislative elections of June 14 and 21, France can be considered a rotting apple in the NATO barrel. Mr. Cheysson was one of the insiders who conducted de Gaulle's secret sell-out behind the backs of France's soldiers in Algeria. He is committed to the advancement of one-worldism through the Common Market which little Trilateral Commissions will enlarge, and increased hand-outs to the third world will be demanded as a right, with Mr. Cheysson's support.

When the votes of Rabbi Kaplan's community were in the bag, Monsieur Cheysson announced that "the new French President believes in the Palestinian people's right to a state of their own." Immediately the London OBSERVER, owned by Richfield Oil and a British international conglomerate called Lonro, hailed Mr. Cheysson as a man of principal.

There were so many debts to be paid, Mitterand's temporary "moderate" government was nearly half as large as America's senate. Jeane-Pierre Chevenement, leader of a group called CERES which is in the Socialist Party but further to the left than the communists, was appointed Minister of State and Minister for Research and Technology, the two fields Moscow is most interested in. Chevenement's CERES (for "Centre d'Etudes et Research et d'Education Socialiste) comprises about 25% of the French Socialist Party. It has its own publications, funds, headquarters and discussion groups. Its principal tenets may be summed up: "Nothing must undermine the links with the Communist Party for it represents the working class. Nationalizations of industries must never be disputed or delayed through discussions of how much must be paid to stockholders in indemnities. The construction of a socialist France is the prelude to a socialist Europe."

Regis Debray, the revolutionary who was the Ché Guevara in Bolivia and in whose Paris apartment Andreas Baader, of the Meinhof-Baader gang, hid while on his flight from German police, is an adviser on foreign affairs in Mr. Cheysson's ministry. This but skims the surface of the government Mr. Mitterand has hand-picked to give French voters confidence in Socialists as the legislative elections approach. (H. du B. Reports of April 1976 touches on America's "invisible government" which has worked for years to keep Mitterand inflated in the same manner finance ministries maintain an artificial rate of exchange. The same issue carries an account of the fake machine-gun attack on Mitterand set up against himself on October 15, 1959, to make it appear that the right was trying to kill him and thus justify the arrest of his enemies.)

THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS OF JUNE 14 AND 21 WILL DECIDE THE FATE OF WESTERN EUROPE. Having lost the presidency, those to the right of the socialist left are calling for a mass turn-out that will give them control of the National Assembly and with it the power to apply brakes to France's leftward slide.

Mitterand and his followers are insulting the nation's intelligence by calling for a massive socialist vote "so that the President will not be dependent on the communists in implementing his policies." As though he had not made his deal with the communists before the presidential campaign began.

It is possible that all the legislative elections will decide is whether Mitterand carries France peacefully from neutralism to a pro-communist stance or resistance makes the transition bloody. Simone de Beauvoir, the aging mistress of Jean Paul Sartre, who worked to spread subversion in the American Army during the war in Vietnam, expressed the view of France's reds in the London SUNDAY TIMES, of April 29, 1975. "It is a matter of total inconsequence whether one votes or not," she told the prattlers about leftist democracy. "It is important to find other forms of action than the vote." Read: "If you cannot win at the polls, carry the fight into the streets." That is the possibility France faces.

AS PREPARATIONS FOR FRANCE'S LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS CONTINUED, Willy Brandt, who is Mitterand's President in the borderless empire of the Socialist International, was preparing to go to Moscow "to discuss European security" with the Russians (!) from June 30 to July 2. Western editors were too occupied with French elections, the crisis in Poland and events in the Middle East to recognize Willy Brandt's trip as a defender of European security for what it was - preparation of a promise that Russia will never attack Western Europe if Western Europe will reject American missiles. There were other events of interest. Within days of a conference of the Trilateral Commission in Japan, David Rockefeller, accompanied by three dozen Americans, Britishers, Canadians, Japanese and West Europeans, was welcomed to Peking on May 22 for a meeting destined to establish the Trilateral in China. That a meeting should be held in Tokyo was natural but the possibility that China was in line for Trilateral colonization was something new. From the time the Trilateral was founded until 1978 Chinese diplomats were under orders to report all they could learn about the Rockefeller-Brzezinski organization reputed to serve as a link between Japan, the United States and the Common Market. That the Trilateral was also to advance cooperation with the communist bloc through détente and commerce was purposely ignored by the press. The term used by the initiated for this was "economic and political interpenetration of East and West for the establishment of a new world order." By late 1978 the Chinese Central Committee decided there was nothing more to learn and ceased monitoring the Trilateral's movements. Their interest was suddenly revived in April 1979 when Mr. Georges Berthouin, President of the European Branch of the Trilateral, began the two years of talks, explanations, dinners and closed meetings which were to lead to the Peking Conference of May 22 and 23. It is not a question of bringing China into a special relationship with the Common Market. Chinese exports are not a threat for the moment. What has happened is that those at the top of the Trilateral Commission are about to write Black Africa off. The nations they worked so hard to "liberate" from our allies are independent but no longer free. Accordingly the Trilateral is turning to China for the monopoly on Germanium (necessary for infra-rouge observation systems), Titanium, for the manufacture of helicopters, Vanadium for high quality steel, and other metals which the West will soon pay anything to possess.

IN THE MEANTIME THE WEST WILL CONTINUE ON ITS WAY. A leftist victory in France's parliamentary elections will automatically increase the number of socialist seats in the European parliament in Strasburg. Thus the socialization of France is a giant stride in the socialization of Europe and the world. Walter Lippman wrote in 1971: "In awaiting the establishment of world government universal socialism will serve as its keystone." The British Labor Party in the throes of a losing power struggle with its extreme left was quick to see the importance of Mitterand's control of parliament in France and declared that the next Labor Government in Britain "will be negotiating with comrades and not with an alien clique." So much for France and Britain as Mr. Mitterand's seven-year occupancy of the Elysee Palace begins. Germany's slide towards neutralism and even cooperation with Russia if it will bring about reunification of the two Germany's we covered in H. du B. Report of February 1981. A negotiation to hasten Germany's neutralist slide and prevent the implantation of American missiles in Germany, is in Willy Brandt language, "discussion of the questions of European security." Present agreements call for the installation of 48 Pershing Missiles in Holland before the end of 1983 to counter the growing number of SS-20 missiles pointing westward from Soviet Russia. 68% of the Dutchmen who voted for Holland's legislative assembly on May 26 declared themselves hostile to nuclear missiles on Dutch soil and 54% are opposed to nuclear power. Catholics and Protestants have joined together in an interconfessional association for peace under the slogan: "Help us drive the bomb from the world, beginning with the Netherlands."

ALL THIS IS GOING TO SHOCK MANY AMERICANS but most will put it down to the disloyalty of our allies. The real jolt to American pride will be in the exposure of our naivety shortly to come. Some will think nothing of it, since it is a move towards what they have been working for. Others took no notice of the twinning of American cities with other cities abroad. The performance may have seemed a bit ridiculous. It appeared useless and a few described it as "cute." In any case, it was too unimportant to demand a vote.

They are going to be surprised when they learn that "The World Federation of Twinned Cities" (La Féderation Mondiale de Villes Jumelées) is becoming one of the most important of the front organizations in the campaign for one-worldism and establishment of a new world order. Gradually it will take its place in the war against patriotism and sense of country by flattering the fatuous with the thought that his home town is not his only home, he is a citizen of another city across the ocean also and consequently of the world. America was too busy watching soap operas to know that she was being conned, as badly as the French have been with Mitterand.

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PARIS

THE BATTLE FOR EUROPE

At present a strife-torn Europe is in what may be called the pre-"new world order" period. In England, West Germany, Holland and Italy it might be considered pre-revolutionary. The reason Amsterdam squatters, British rioters and German pacifists are tearing their countries to pieces is because it is their turn. The pretext is different but American anti-war riff-raff showed them it can be done with impunity. The same Moscow-directed World Council of Peace agitators are putting ecologists, preachers, Trotskyists and communists in the streets alongside long-haired and short-haired whites and blacks who like smashing and looting for the fun of it. Over \$15 million was spent in 1980 to make Europeans clamor against American nuclear protection. Danes, Dutchmen and Germans took up the cry and a girl named Betty England wrote in "Nuclear Disarmament for Britain" that "the Soviet Union, despite its invasion of Afghanistan, was never planning aggression -- it was NATO which planned a new aggressive strategy."

JUNE'S END FOUND WILLY BRANDT IN MOSCOW to discuss "European security" with Brezhnev, who sees European security as words in a con game. After their first conversation Brezhnev flattered Brandt by sending a message to his apartment in the Kremlin: "Dear Comrade Brandt: Before you return to Bonn I wish to inform you that the politburo, united to discuss our talk, is able to make the following proposition: Moscow will withdraw all her missiles aimed at Western Europe, the SS-20s in particular. Europe in return will send her Pershing I missiles back to America, refuse to permit the basing of Pershing II missiles on her soil and reject the Cruise missiles promised for the fall of 1983."

In a wave of emotion the man whom CIA's misleading civilian adviser, Leo Cherne, and his friend from the Socialist International, heaped with honors "as a free world leader" on March 16, 1961, broke into a German pacifist song of the 20s. "Never, never will we take up arms again! Never will we accept another war!" KGB guards were alarmed at first. They did not know that the President of the Socialist International whom America's insiders had worked to make chancellor of Germany was singing the "Never another War" song of Germany's pacifist youth, which, when proclaimed unilaterally, can only mean abject surrender.

THESE ARE THE ALLIES OF MOSCOW'S ONE-WORLDERS. All over Germany the movement is gaining strength. General Gert Bastion, who in 1980 commanded the 12th Armored Division, told his soldiers on quitting his post: "My men, we are lost. I would be willing to fight the Russians in a conventional war. I did it once. We would at least have a chance. With these missiles we can only wait to be killed, stupidly." When he went on a visit to Moscow and East Germany, Bonn accused him of mounting a pacifist drive in conjunction with communists. But the reason for his conduct goes further back. It was loss of confidence in America, and confidence in America was destroyed in the coup d'etat by press called Watergate and the congress and President the same press brought to power. Now we are paying the price. Maps indicating America's missile installations are being circu-

lated. Secret pacifist groups have their plans for sabotage and strikes printed and ready. Helmut Schmidt has been told he will be forced to resign if he does not go along The detailed plan of operations linking the German neutralist-pacifist groups and the American service men and civilians helping them steal American arms would have been brought to light in August 1973 if Senator Lowell P. Weicker had not blocked the investigation on charges that the rights of Americans in Germany were being violated. (See TIME, August 13, 1973)

FOR THE MOMENT, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS VOWING LOYALTY TO NATO, but he has a card up his sleeve. The NATO agreement of December 1979 commits the NATO nations to acceptance of the new American missiles on their soil if America is unable to reach an agreement with Moscow. Moscow is telling Germans that Russia wants to negotiate but that President Reagan is stalling. Chancellor Schmidt recently gave his word to the socialists who are pressuring him that if President Reagan does not reach an agreement with Moscow by the fall of 1981 he will denounce the December 1979 agreement and reject America's missiles. The disintegration of NATO and isolation of West Germany will provide powerful arguments for one-worldism in the name of peace. Forgotten is Lenin's "Treatise on the Tasks of the Youth League," written in the 20s and proclaiming that "As an ultimate objective 'peace' simply means communist world control." If reminded of that treatise today, Germans refuse to take it seriously.

THE KREFELD PETITION LAUNCHED ON NOVEMBER 16, 1980, already has over a million signatures written by Germans who are convinced that death threatens Germany if atomic arms are on their soil. The alternative is something they refuse to face. As with the expensive petition space American editors sold every conceivable front during the Vietnam war, no one has investigated to see if the signers exist or what faceless manipulators are behind the beautiful but scatter-brained Petra Kelly (German despite her name). Petra fronts for the "Krefelder appel" and maintains that "Russia will never invade the West, but if they should, her followers would put their faith in "social defense," an abstraction that will have as much effect on the Russians as smiles did on Pol Pot when he entered Phnom Penh. Over 60% of the population of West Germany has been touched by the pacifist movement which, according to a reliable French report, owes much of its success to an American adviser named Daniel Ellsberg.

Those directing the neutralization of Germany, Holland and the Scandinavian countries are certainly aware of the November 1975 declaration made by Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovakian Minister of Foreign Affairs: "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." In the end, all of the communist-directed peace movements have what Mr. Marshall Shulman, the Carter State Department's adviser on Soviet affairs, described as the aim of détente: "A long term plan which calls for the cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union in the installation of a world order." A great story would be in the making if one could march Mr. James Reston before the Vietnamese boat people and Cambodians in Thailand's refugee camps, holding in his hands the lines he published in the New York Times of July 12, 1968: "If we could understand the glories of defeat, there would be less fighting and therefore less violence." Naturally, the method preferred by Russia for the new world order is surrender by the west.

THE IDEA OF A WORLD RULED BY A SELF APPOINTED ELITE was old long before Adam Weishaupt's 18th century attempt to achieve it. Russia's two-pronged plan is by subversion within accompanied by threat of attack from without. Combining the two she has taken over the body which was Roosevelt's dream and made it an instrument of conquest supported by America. On November 10, 1943, Secretary of State Cordell Hull returned to Washington in ecstacies after a meeting in Moscow with Molotov and Eden. For five days the Roosevelt propaganda machine softened America before Mr. Hull went before a joint session of congress on November 18 with the message that Russia, Britain and the United States had recognized the necessity of establishing an international organization. Roosevelt

unfolded his dream to Stalin in Teheran at a morning meeting in early December 1943. Together they would liberate the colonies of their allies which, being too young to stand alone, would be taken under the wing of a utopian super-state, the United Nations. Mother countries, stripped of their outlets and areas of expansion, would have no choice but to enter also. Mother country and colony alike would have but a single vote, save for Soviet Russia which would have three. That colonies incited by past grievances would vote against their mother states and expect to be supported in perpetuity was taken for granted by the Kremlin. Roosevelt saw his new order as a socialist paradise which by becoming pink would calm Soviet fears and lead Russia to become less red. Stalin saw it as a lifting of all barriers and I. I. Potekhin, in "Africa looks at the Future," saw it as "Society's inevitable evolution towards first socialism and after that communism." The delegates of 50 nations met in San Francisco from April 25 to June 25, 1945, to make Roosevelt's United Nations a reality. Alger Hiss, who had served as Roosevelt's negotiator at Yalta and later was to go to prison on charges of perjury in connection with his trial as a Soviet agent, basked in the spotlight. Beside him was a former marine named Cord Meyer, Jr., who was to become the founder and first president of the United World Federalists. So here we had another one-world movement riding on the coat-tails of the first.

What better way of promoting one-worldism than entering the service of an agency which sends straight to the center of power information true or false on which policy decisions are based? In spite of writing a book called "Peace or Anarchy" in 1948 and stating that "anarchy threatens us in unbridled growth of nationalism (one-worldism jargon for patriotism) and insistence on national sovereignty," Cord Meyer, who would serve American sovereignty on a platter to an international body certain to fall prey to Russia, rose to the top in CIA. He may have been fortunate in having as a brotherin-law Mr. Benjamin Bradlee, the Washington Post editor who through "Deep Throat," a figure as ethereal as Janet Cooke's little colored drug addict, was able to give America the worst congress and President the country ever had. The first session of the United Nations General Assembly which Alger Hiss and Cord Meyer, Jr., helped bring into being took place in London on January 10, 1946, and Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian one-worlder who had never known any loyalty save to international socialism, became its first president.

For a time U.N. rode high despite Russia's throwing spokes in the wheels but given delegates more merciless and less intelligent than colonial governors the highly touted theories of self-determination were soon forgotten. In 1961 Moise Tshombe's prosperous Katanga was about to be conquered by U.N. forces which shot at anything that moved and on February 10, 1962 journalism students were brought from all over America to be given a brain-washing at the Overseas Press Club of New York. Impressed by big names from State Department and U.N. they went back with inflated stature to explain why the U.S. should loan \$100 million and UNICEF another \$100 million (from its money-for-children fund) so U.N. troops could subdue the Katangese and turn them over to the Congo.

While students who a few years later were to tear America to pieces over Vietnam were being made U.N. hawks on Katanga, Ho chi Minh's intelligence ace, Colonel Albert Pham ngoc Thao, was being praised by everyone from Joe Alsop to TIME magazine as a devout, Catholic anti-communist, with emphasis on the Catholic. As infiltrators into Diem's service, Thao and his fellow-communist, Kieu cong Cung, were assassinating men who tried to desert from Hanoi, and mounting ambushes to kill Americans. Thao was letting Hanoi prisoners go free with their arms, "to show we are not afraid of them," an admiring Dennis Bloodworth wrote in the London OBSERVER, of June 7, 1961. Had Thao been arrested thousands of American lives would have been saved, and who knows how many thousand Vietnamese. Instead, State Department, the Diem Lobby (which included Leo Cherne of CIA's civilian advisory committee) and all the wheels of CIA and the U. S. Information Service were out to destroy anyone who wrote the truth. Thirteen pages in this writer's book (Background to Betrayal, the Tragedy of Vietnam) were devoted to exposing Pham ngoc Thao. The only result was a drive by the above agencies to smear the writer and block his passport. The most effective circulator of lies against

anyone who tried to warn America was a Chinese in Diem's employ named Bernie Yoh, who is now number two in Accuracy in Media, of 777 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Not until March 24, 1981, did Stanley Karnow tell in his syndicated column how the Pham ngoc Thao whom he and American officials had trusted was the master spy behind a plan to neutralize Vietnam and then re-unify it with the north. By then it was too late and even the CIA officers whom Thao admitted were working with him, in the letter which Lloyd Norman published in NEWSWEEK, of July 26, 1965, have by now taken cover.

What is interesting is that the plan has never varied: First comes neutralization, then entry into the communist camp. Germany will face stage one before the end of this year. Each national destabilization is an advance for one-worldism and once big nations surrender sovereignty, little ones have to.

COMMUNISTS LOSE A ROUND TO COL. THAO, Joe Alsop headed his column of April 11, 1961. President Kennedy was too busy planning to convert U.N. into a world Government to be bothered with misgivings. Total disarmament under U.N. was the theme. U.N. would control outer space and there would be guarantees against "subversion," meaning resistance against U.N. William Frye reported in the New York Times of August 17, 1961, that JFK's major new U.S. peace offensive would adopt the proposal for total disarmament put before the General Assembly by Mr. Krushchev in 1959. U.N. would become a single, veto-free executive. Luck and the voraciousness of the parasite votes saved us. By 1971 disillusionment had set in with America's realization that she had paid \$3.8 billion or 31.57% of U.N.'s expenses against Russia's 14.61%, while Russia had three votes against our one. By 1980 there were 153 members in U.N., a good 85 of which voted en bloc against America, civilization and the West. U.N. was left to hold the audience's attention while, by a bit of slight-of-hand performance a new one-world government in the making was being set up in Brussels with its 434-member parliament alternating between Luxembourg and Strasbourg. This one also was financed by America.

BEHIND A FAKE FRONT OF ECONOMIC UNION, Jean Monet the Frenchman and Joseph Retinger, the Pole with a devious past, began planning a United States of Europe after World War II. It would group enough nations to apply protectionist policies against countries which refused to join it and could thus expand from regional to world control.

Averell Harriman was ambassador to Britain in 1947 and Robert Murphy, the friend of Paul-Henri Spaak, known as Mr. Socialist, was U. S. Ambassador to Belgium. They sent Joseph Retinger and the British one-worlder, Duncan Sandys, to John McCloy who as U. S. High Commissioner to Germany was holding millions of dollars worth of European printing-press money and was accountable to no one. The fortune in McCloy's hands was known as counterpart funds, the paper money Europeans had paid for Marshall Plan aid, with the understanding that we would not try to exchange it for hard currency. However, it could be spent in Europe and McCloy gave Retinger and Sandys all they needed to promote their "economic" community which was really political. Thus European nations printed McCloy's paper money which financed the campaign to destroy their sovereignties and pave the way for Zbigniew Brzezinski's Trilateral Commission, which in turn was designed to pave the way to bring in ourselves.

There was nothing coincidental about all this. Leon Trotsky wrote in his "Bolshevicki and World Peace," in 1918: "The task of the proletariat is to create a far more powerful fatherland, and with far greater power of resistance - the United States of Europe as the foundation of the United States of the World."

James Reston wrote in the New York Times of March 28, 1966: "The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been holding hearings this week on a resolution which would make an Atlantic Federation the aim of American policy in Europe." Such a federation would mean the packaging of Europe, so the continent could be taken over as a whole rather than nation by nation. Robert Schaetzel was appointed ambassador to the Common Market the year those senate hearings were held and less than two months after James

Reston planted European Federation in the minds of the public, Mr. Schaetzel praised the idea in the April 1966 issue of Foreign Affairs. In 1972 Mr. Schaetzel was given a year's leave in which to write a book for the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) advocating American entry into the Common Market and the stripping of authority from its member nations "so there would be no obstacle to a dialogue." (One of the publications effectively exposing CFR complicity in the one-world movement is the Don Bell Reports, P. O. Box 2223, Palm Beach, Florida 33480. \$30 per year)

Apprised of Mr. Schaetzel's work, Mr. Charles Dupuy, Masonic Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of France, wrote in 1973: "We are working towards a universal republic and that Republic starts with Europe." The world's first coup d'etat by press had already been put over through what the London DAILY TELEGRAPH described as "a piece of gossamer" called Watergate, when Cyrus Sulzberger wrote on April 10, 1976: "The continent's most splendid dream following World War II has been the European Community, or Common Market, which was designed to lead nations that had lost their global influence into a political federation based on joint trading and financial interests."

Sulzberger knew very well, through the Bilderberg meetings which he attends but never mentions, that insiders had stripped the colonial powers of their global influence so they would have to join the Common Market or be told they would not survive. Such is the story of One-World conspiracy number two.

THE THIRD ROAD TO ONE-WORLDISM was through labor unions used as forces for revolt. Roving labor "ambassadors" such as Irving Brown organized unions in the colonies of our allies and selected leaders whom they thought would be loyal to those who made them. Over 900 such hand-picked natives were brought to America for training and indoctrination then sent home to lead fights for "independence." America put pressure on the mother countries and labor's world parliament in Brussels, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, financed by American unions, threw the weight of international labor behind any "brother" staging a rebellion.

National boundaries ceased to exist in Labor's new world order and the only line between friend and foe was the horizontal one separating unionized worker from management and government. Loyalty no longer went upward to flag and nation but extended horizontally to labor levels in all countries. Russia's credo is: "Workers of the world, Unite!" The solidarity resolution adopted at the 18th Constitutional Labor Convention in Atlantic City from May 4 to 6, 1962, was: "Workers of all countries, races and creeds, join in this movement of free and democratic labor." It was the Russian slogan with hypocrisy and sugar for a coating.

Victor Riesel wrote on October 25, 1963, that Mr.(Walter)Reuther would use the interest from his "special international fund" of \$59 million to organize projects around the world. Read: To help labor leaders attain political power in former colonies and mother countries. Once in power they would conduct negotiations through labor attaches while ambassadors were white ties and decorations at official dinners.

Jay Lovestone (who knows what his real name is?), the former Secretary-General of the Communist Party-USA, organized an African-American Labor Center in New York through which his associate, roving labor ambassador, Irving Brown, turned loafers into African labor bosses and pushed them upwards. Lester Velie in "LABOR USA" called it "dungaree diplomacy," and an anti-western Black Africa is the result. Even a "Peace with Freedom, Inc.," organization was set up in New York as part of Irving Brown's keyboard, and not a state taken over by Brown's protegés has known peace or freedom since.

Those interested in Brzezinski's choice of Japan as the third leg of the Trilateral Commission will find, in Victor Riesel's column of November 23, 1964, that though Geneva would be the home of the councils of Walter Reuther's "Global Unionism" the "real headquarters for global action on the economic front will be in Tokyo. Walter's

brother, Victor, will soon be on his way to lend his talents to the world headquarters in Japan."

THE UNITED WORLD FEDERALIST MOVEMENT with all its visible and invisible arms was undoubtedly a fourth force for establishment of a one-world order in the mind of CFR member Paul Warburg when he told American senators in 1950: "We shall have world government, whether it pleases us or not. The only question is whether it will be created by conquest or by consent." Its faceless members fill government agencies, political posts, private organizations and churches. They care no more about patriotism than the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators did about Vietnam. Where their actions have ended in tragedy they have felt no more qualms of guilt than Jane Fonda and the others who rioted in favor of Ho chi Minh feel now when they read about the genocide which that monster's victory brought in its wake.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF UNITED WORLD FEDERALISM TREASON is that four months before the 1975 referendum in which British patriots made their last stand against being swallowed by the common market, Cord Meyer, Jr., the enemy of national sovereignty, was appointed CIA station chief in London. It could not have been a coincidence. Britain's patriots lost. Approximately \$3,703,957 were spent to bring victory for the "Britain in Europe" movement. Where did it come from? The defenders of British sovereignty were only able to raise \$399,000.

As soon as the referendum was won by the one-worlders, Cord Meyer, Jr., took his retirement from CIA and went home. Through all of this runs a thread which if followed leads to the present neutralist-pacifist ferment in Europe, and Germany's placing of Europe at Russia's mercy, which is likely to come before the end of this year.

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PARIS

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Secrets of the Pope's gunman

At approximately 5:15 p.m. on May 13, 1981, an unkempt Turk named Mehmet Ali Agca fired five shots, three of which hit His Holiness Pope John-Paul II as he blessed the assembled mass in crowded Saint Peter's square. As though ready and waiting for the event, the world press did as Chief Justice Earl Warren and the American press did when John F. Kennedy was shot. Before any facts were known the cry was raised that a lone assassin of the extreme right had tried to kill the Pope.

But how could an extreme rightist have been trained in Moscow's Simferopolis school for terrorists, tucked away in the Crimea and so compartmentalized that every world area group has its own restricted zone? How could a man be considered a loner when four accomplices, one of them a German woman, were in position and waiting to provide interference if he could flee towards the car where a driver was waiting to whisk him to the next get-away vehicle, in the excitement after the shooting? It was one of the most carefully-planned assassination plots ever drawn up by the combined intelligences of experts.

This brings up two important questions: "Why is the world press so determined to avoid the word 'conspiracy' that all important assassination attempts are ascribed to loners? And though all global plotting is leftist, why is the "loner" immediately presented to newspaper readers as a rightist?"

IN 1968 A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE was set up by President Johnson to prepare a likely profile of the next assassin to strike at a President, or any chief of State. At who knows what expense, the committee came up with the following: "Withdrawn, a loner....unable to work steadily in the last year or so before the assassination...White, male....chooses a handgun as his weapon, selects a moment when the President is appearing among crowds."

THERE WAS NO HINT THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S WARREN COMMISSION was flagrantly dishonest in its avoidance of any question that might prove Lee Harvey Oswald not a loner when he shot J. F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963. No one was permitted to ask Marina Oswald: "Were you the uncomprehending-looking woman, holding one child and leading another, who accompanied a man named Oswald to Mrs. Whitworth's gunshop, on the road to Irving, to have a telescopic sight affixed to a rifle which was not the one found in the Dallas schoolbook depository? If you were that woman, who was the man driving the 1958 or '59 model Ford Mercury which took you and your husband to Mrs. Whitworth's? Was he the same man who drove a similar automobile to General Edwin A. Walker's home on Turtle Creek Boulevard about an hour after the assassination and made a disturbance on the lawn, pulling up the American flag and breaking its staff in an attempt to excite the mob on the sidewalk? Tell us about the driver of this car, Mrs. Oswald, who may have been deliverately inciting a mob while another man made his get-away in another direction." Such questions were not asked because the Warren Commission wanted a dead loner

on its books and not a live accomplice. The same determination to see no enemies on the left was ever-present when the unemployed young man who was able to stay in the Waldorf Hotel and follow Presidential candidate George Wallace across America was pictured as a loner in 1972. The intelligence-insulting cover-up has never varied.

BY THE SPRING OF 1981 THERE WERE 400 NAMES ON THE LIST OF POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL ASSASSINS, but 25-year-old John Hinckley was not on record, though he had been arrested in October 1980 trying to board a plane in Nashville, Tennessee, with three handguns in his possession, on the same day that President Carter was in the city. One cannot blame the FBI. Thousands of its important files had been destroyed and its record-keeping system had been in disarray since America's first coup d'etat by press, with, by previous standards, a minor political scandal as a pretext. The structural supports of America were being deliberately torn down.

Americans paid little attention when a Congressional Committee held hearings in 1976 on "the use of first strike nuclear weapons" and reported: "The U. S. Government would have a problem if Moscow wiped out a President and other key members of the government and launched an attack on the U. S. at the same time." You can bet the Russians did not ignore that report.

Probably no politician or big circulation editor bothered to reflect, as the Polish crisis deepened, that the whole free world has a problem if Moscow were to also wipe out a morale-bolstering Polish Pope and invade Poland.

By end of 1980 western power and prestige had sunk to an alltime low. Europeans described the Carter Administration as "incoherent in its plans and stupid in its acts." A fatuous view of human rights had replaced realistic assessments of American interests. There was no strategic thinking. Officials ignorant of Iran and fanatical mobs thought Iran's army could be disassociated from the Shah, who made it, and stability in the Persian Gulf would remain a natural state.

At this point Ronald Reagan was swept into the presidency and the intention to restore American strength declared. The fright of the Kremlin can be imagined. Bogged down in Afghanistan, yet determined that the march of communism must remain irreversible, leaders of the Warsaw Pact bloc were desperate. Poland was a powder barrel, and it was costing \$12 million a day to keep Cuba in business. Only the disappearance of America's new President and the inspiring Polish Pope could offer any guarantee that what the New York Times called the "current of history" and "winds of change" would not follow the example of the pendulum.

ON MARCH 30, 1981, YOUNG JOHN HINCKLEY wandered around the lobby of the Washington Hilton hotel, doing nothing, only watching and waiting. His actions seemed so suspicious, an employee pointed him out to a policeman. The policeman shrugged his shoulders. At 2:25 p.m. President Reagan emerged through the guarded door arranged for his exit. The 25-year-old Hinckley was waiting with a 22 caliber revolver loaded with explosive bullets. He was an unbalanced loner, according to the press. How he obtained the secret paper detailing the security system set up for the Presidential appearance was not mentioned, only the fact that he had attended Ku Klux Klan meetings so must be a rightist. The period of passing time between conception of the act and its perpetration was one stream of history and elsewhere a parallel course of action was forming.

THE SOURCE OF THE OTHER STREAM IS TO BE FOUND FIVE MONTHS BEFORE THE REAGAN SHOOTING. Gradually, European intelligence services have fitted fragments of the picture together. There was a secret meeting of the Warsaw Pact nations in Bucharest in November 1980 but no Polish delegates were invited. The Polish crisis was becoming alarming. It had to be nipped in the bud before it could spread. Russian Defense Minister Marshal Dimitri Ustanov brought up the thought others hesitated to put in words. Should they attempt to put the Pope out of action until trouble in Poland had subsided? He could not be frightened, so how could he be kept still?

The East German delegation was for drastic action. The Hungarians and Rumanians were reticent. Ustanov placated them by saying it was not a question of killing the Pope but of dissuading him. How many delegates gave full support to Ustanov is unknown but it was from the Soviet Defense chief that orders came, when the meeting was over, to hold Mehmet Ali Agca in readiness for a mission. Since his liberation from the Kartal military prison in Turkey on November 24, 1979, Agca had been wandering Europe on different passports, supplied with a terrorist's "retaining fee" of approximately \$300 a day. Leaks through secret Catholic sources in the Warsaw bloc disclosed that action against the Pope was discussed at the Bucharest meeting. What European services wonder now is whether the attack on Reagan was brought up at the same time, in a more closed circle. One month later, in December 1980, Willy Brandt, the President of the Socialist International, was to preside over a meeting of International socialist delegates in Washington. This was discussed at Bucharest also.

Brandt was due to go to Moscow on June 30, 1981, to report on the campaigns being regimented in Europe to prevent the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in 1983. Over 250 Russian SS-20 missiles were already pointed westward and another was being moved into position every five days. The Socialist International delegates who met with Brandt in Washington were to go home and argue that annihilation by Russia's missiles could be avoided by breaking their alliances with America and adopting socialism as a third course, midway between capitalism and communism. By holding the meeting in Washington, Brandt could confer with those who had supported him ever since Leo Cherne and his companion from the Socialist International gave him the Admiral Byrd Award "as a free nation leader," on March 16, 1961. It was important that Moscow know how much support for the "third course" solution could be drummed up in Washington. Having been to Washington, Brandt's delegates could substantiate his statements in their respective countries. As Brandt's game comes more and more into the open, it is hoped that someone will point out to CIA's new chief, William Casey, that Leo Cherne, who was to head CIA's 3-man civilian advisory committee, was the man who heaped honors and a specially-created award on Brandt in 1961 to help him upward.

While the Socialist International was plotting in Washington in the final days of the Carter Administration, Germany's formerly convicted Soviet spy, Herbert Wehner, went before the West German Bundestag as President of the Social Democrats and told Germans that Russian deployment of the SS-20s was purely defensive, therefore, if Holland and Belgium refuse American missiles, Germany must do so also. No word appeared in the Washington press to warn Americans that Brandt's Socialist International is maintaining contact with Libya's Muammar Qaddafi, who has offered to finance a Red Brigade-type war of urban terrorism in America if Ronald Reagan persists in building up American strength. Such was the climate as Defense Minister Dimitri Ustanov ordered that Mehmet Ali Agca be held in readiness for an urgent call.

MEHMET ALI AGCA HAD ASSASSINATED THE EDITOR OF THE TURKISH DAILY, "MILLIYET," on February 1, 1979. When he was arrested on July 11, 1979, a large amount of money was found to be in his account in the bank. Its source was never determined, and the press printed its predictable claim that he was a member of the Turkish extreme right, which he may have been, but only as Russian-manipulated infiltrator. On November 24, 1979, Agca escaped from the military prison of Kartal with the aid of inside accomplices and was sentenced to death in absentia. In the 16 months that followed he visited at least 14 countries, perhaps as many as 25. The most ideal hiding place for a Turkish terrorist on the run is West Germany with an estimated 1.5 million Turkish workers. There he can merge into a community ready to protect him. In West Germany Ali Agca married a German girl and signed up in the "Federation of Democratic and Idealistic Associations of Turks in Europe." An estimated 400 trained gunmen like him are roving the world. Russia alone has a known 200 schools turning them out. Cuba, Syria, Bulgaria and Libya have others.

West Germany's equivalent of the FBI has long been aware that Agca's Federation and its "Grey Wolves" sub group are manipulated by East Germany but they consider it easier to watch existing groups than force the formation of new ones. The ideology of the Federa-

tion, according to West German authorities, is creation of a great Turkish empire from the Bosphorus to Afghanistan. But this was the aim of the American-born Ahmed Kamal, who was the subject of the entire May 1979 issue of H. du B. Report, the raiser of funds for the Algerians and founder of the California-based Jamiat-al-Islam which is reported to have opened the doors to terrorist camps in Syria and Gaza for Sirhan Beshira Sirhan, the killer of Bobbie Kennedy.

EARLY IN 1981 AGCA MADE A NUMBER OF TRIPS TO ITALY and though hunted by Interpol had no trouble in traveling through France, Switzerland, Spain, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. A Turkish report states that he spent some time in Czechoslovakia after his escape from the Kartal camp. When the Pope visited Ankara on November 28, 1979, Agca wrote to the newspaper whose editor he had killed and announced that he was going to assassinate "the commander of the crusades" - which is to say, the Pope. "Someone is going to have to pay for the attack on the Mosque of Mecca" (on November 20, 1979), he wrote. But it had already been established that the "pilgrims" who attacked the Mosque and planned to kill the Saudi royal family were leftist fanatics, probably sent by Iran's Ayatollahs. Agca's trail was next picked up on February 1, 1981, when he entered Iran to pick up a large sum of money. He told Italian police that he went from Iran to Lebanon to join the Palestinians. The truth was, he went from northern Iran into Russia where officers were waiting to escort him to the Simferopolis school for terrorists.

The best information on this period comes through Israel's Mossad and the intelligence service of the Vatican with its thousands of dedicated Christians even in the communist bloc At Simferopolis Agca heard only English and Arabic spoken. His target was a moving silhouette of the Pope. He spent hours shooting at the stomach and the lower part of the body, firing quickly and in the midst of a jostling mob. Part of his instruction was on how to resist divulging information if he were caught. Much of the information obtained through secret Christians has been withheld, to avoid touching off a wave of Russian persecution and also for diplomatic reasons. One paper in French hands contains details on a study made by the KGB and GRU (military intelligence) and ending with the conclusion that the Solidarity movement in Poland would be able to resist the pressure of both the military and the government only if deprived of the support of the Pope and the financial assistance of the IOR (Institute of Religious Works.) This was tantamount to a death sentence.

AFTER HIS TRAINING IN RUSSIA Agca made a number of short visits to Rome, to study Saint Peter's Square and the best avenues of escape. He paced each street in the quarter, and settled on the "Isa" rooming house, on the Via Cicerone, near the Vatican. Nothing was left to chance. To make his pose as a loner unassailable it was important that his manipulators have nothing to do with his weapon. Agca was to buy the arm himself, shortly enough before the crime that the dealer would remember him. Carrying the address of a 71-year-old Otto Tintner, a retired engineer whose hobby was guns, Agca went to Muhldorf, Austria. Tintner had just bought 22 weapons from a dealer in Zurich named William Glaser and this was the collection Agca looked over. He made no attempt to avoid attention and when he bought the 35 caliber Browning he made sure that its numbers had not been tampered with and all the sales papers were in order. There was nothing left to be done but to return to Rome and fulfill his contract.

THERE WERE SOME 20,000 PILGRIMS IN SAINT PETER'S SQUARE on Wednesday, May 13, 1981, when Pope John-Paul II was due to make his weekly public benediction. At about 5:15 the white open jeep bearing His Holiness came through the door of the Vatican and passed between the basilisque and the Bernin columns to approach the crowd. The jeep paused while the Pope bowed to touch the forehead of a little girl carrying a red balloon. Turning from her he took a little blonde girl in his arms, who was being held up to him by her mother. The jeep had barely started to move when five shots rang out and those nearby saw the Pope collapse in the arms of his Polish secretary, Dom Stanislas Dziwisz. A red stain began to spread on the white robe and a cry went up.

While Italian police and the Swiss Guard cleared a passage for the accelerating jeep

Ali Agca fought to free himself from the Swiss guards and civilians pinning him down. Three of his five shots had hit the Pope, two only wounding him slightly but the third passing through the abdomen and coming out of his left, rear side. During the five hours when the Pope was on the operating table, officers of DIGOS, the Italian antiterrorist force, tried to get information out of Agca while he was still confused. Where did the large bundle of banknotes in his pockets come from? He refused to answer. Who were the four accomplices who escaped in the excitement? No reply. In his first declaration he said he was a Chilean. A DIGOS officer shouted in his face: "You are a liar; you are a dirty fascist!"

Stung to the quick, Agca shouted back: "I am not a fascist. I am a Palestinian, a comrade communist, a partisan of George Habbash," (Head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.) Habbash's links with Libya and the Soviet Union filled volumes in the DIGOS files. Suddenly realizing his mistake, Agca said: "I am an international terrorist! A Bulgarian! I work alone." But he was supposed to be a rightist. After a long silence he changed tack and said: "I am a nazi." Next he claimed he was an Armenian terrorist. As he got hold of himself he stuck to the story that he was acting on his own. Within two hours DIGOS headquarters knew they had a Turk and the study of every inch of his path began.

Back in his rooming house they found his handwritten declaration that he had killed the Pope "to avenge the thousands of victims of American and Soviet imperialism in Salvador and Afghanistan." Out of the Vatican orders had gone to Papal Nuncios in principal capitals to use channels known only to the church in investigating the connections of Mehmet Ali Agca. Western intelligence services, Interpol and Israel's Mossad were asked to cooperate.

Signor Lazzarini, the chief of DIGOS, studied the psychological portrait pieced together on the prisoner and confided: "He is cold. Lucid. A terrorist with a capital T. A trained marksman and with perfect control of himself. When he saw that his fingers were betraying his tension as he listened to his sentence to life imprisonment, on July 22, he put his hands under the railing in front of him."

The team handling his interrogation reported: "Everything he has told us is a tissue of lies. He has invented the names of alleged friends and contacts in Switzerland and Austria. Every description he has given us of places he visited and what he did there is unconvincing. The more we question him the less we know."

Of one thing the police are certain. Two networks of terrorism span the world, one red and one black. They are interchangeable. They are two arms of a single international organization aimed at destablizing the West from within. Hundreds like the sullen Turk are riding the world's airlines, supplied with money, serving as cogs in a machine designed to kill spiritual and political leaders who are a threat to Russia's long range plans. As many as 4,000 terrorists go through Russia's some 200 camps like Simferopolis each year. Others are trained in Libyan centers and by graduates of the Russian and Cuban camps working on western campuses.

BY THE END OF ALI AGCA'S TRIAL his interrogators knew him as well as anyone is ever likely to and the picture that emerges from the bits of mosaic they have pieced together forecasts trouble ahead. First: When the defendant refused any legal aid or witnesses, it was clear that he had been promised an early delivery. Signor Nicolo Amato, the public prosecutor, called 28 witnesses for the prosecution. They knew nothing that would make them worth killing. For diplomatic reasons, the Pope has made no mention of a plot involving the East, but it was at his request that Monsignor Casaroli - hitherto an advocate of better relations with the communist world - told the Curia: "In order to silence a voice which alone rose to proclaim the truth and demand justice and liberty, hostile hearts have armed an enemy hand." Other leaders followed the Pope and refrained from accusing Russia.

ALI AGCA, IN HIS ITALIAN PRISON, continued to rant that the authorities had no right to hold him there. He refused to appeal his sentence but he demanded that he be held in the Vatican prison, which he knew was small and unfitted to hold an important international terrorist.

During his trial he shouted, in Turkish, to a court stenographer: "I want you to put this on record. When I was arrested in Turkey for killing a journalist I remained in the military camp of Kartal-Maltepe for five months. Then my friends arranged my escape. I was inside the Vatican when I struck the Head of State and in the most absolute manner I do not accept this trial by Italians. For me the trial is finished. I have nothing to say. I will wait only five months for written replies."

Judge Antiapachi insisted once more that Agca reply to his questions. The Turk gave the same arrogant response: "The trial is over, I don't want to answer any questions." The day his life sentence was passed, Agca told a policeman: "I'll wait until Christmas. In five months I shall commence a hunger strike."

Suddenly, back in the Rome prison the terrorist's mood changed. He no longer demanded that he be transferred to the Vatican, which made the police believe that his original plan called for members of the Latin-American clergy, often more dedicated to revolutionary sociology than religion, to repeat the Kartal military camp performance.

The allies of Italy's Red Brigade prisoners are countless and highly-placed. Their communication system with the outside has never been penetrated. Aga's sudden return of confidence began to alarm the authorities. One night in the first part of August he was taken from his cell and transferred under heavy police guard to a high security prison on the Adriatic, about 120 miles from Rome. Since then, silence.

What worries those holding information that has not to this day been released is Ali Agca's constant reminders that he remained in prison in Turkey only five months before friends high in the military effected his release, and that he intends to remain a quiet prisoner no longer than five months for his attempt to kill the Pope.

Is this a threat that if he is not liberated in five months, he will talk? Or is it an arrogant boast of the impotence of the West, a declaration that his friends are everywhere?

We can only wait and see whether by Christmas Mehmet Ali Agca is a dead loner, mysteriously killed in Italy's tightest prison, or once again a free member of a secret fraternity more powerful than western governments.

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A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER



PARIS

MR SADAT DESERVED SUCCESS

President Sadat was assassinated as this Report was on its way to America. It tells the story of the plot which President Sadat at first refused to believe and which in the end led to his death.

This report is written as a prediction and a warning. The old diplomatic usages are crumbling and as the end of 1981 approaches the world is facing a period of irresponsible terrorism unequaled since the Middle Ages. Nations which want the fruits of war with neither its risks nor its responsibility have devised a new form of conquest by surrogate terrorists working within nations. The most monster propaganda machine the world has ever seen presents each Russian move of aggression through terrorism as a groping for peace in which the West refuses to cooperate. It was strong enough to defeat America from within while the false war was fought in Vietnam.

Mr. Philippe Bernert, the French political writer, wrote on August 19, 1981, in the Paris weekly, "Vendredi, Samedi, Dimanche," that West Germany's Russian-manipulated "pacifist" demonstrators will begin their attacks on American military installations in the fall. The central office directing this and hundreds of front movements working to leave Western Europe naked before Moscow's growing arsenal of SS-20 missiles is the World Peace Council (WPC), which was set up in Helsinki in 1948 by the KGB. The arm of the WPC is long. When a history professor at the University of Indiana wrote in the Indianapolis News of March 6, 1970: "Virtually every intelligent observer has agreed that a policy of victory in Vietnam is a fantasy and must be abandoned," and that any newspaper which writes otherwise is wallowing in patriotism and promoting a delusion, he was writing as neither a professor of history nor an authority on Vietnam. He was using his position to fix in the minds of a history class the political line of a propaganda factory thousands of miles away, of which he was knowingly or otherwise an agent.

The orchestrated drives for bombing halts in Vietnam were not to bring the enemy to the negotiating table but to provide a respite for Hanoi's defeated army. Some 120 branches of the WPC around the world have received guide lines for the new war against America. The most paralyzing offensives of the WPC are in America itself, as when the Chicago Daily News Service of October 23, 1968, circulated the featured report: "South Vietnamese Government objections to the peace package offered Hanoi have received little sympathy from statesmanlike Ellsworth Bunker and his short, stocky deputy ambassador, Samuel D. Berger" (the latter a product of the London School of Economics). An even greater victory for the WPC was President Carter's decision of April 1978 to delay production of the neutron bomb.

WHEN THE WPC MET IN HAVANA IN APRIL 1981 roles were assigned and plans synchronized for the demonstrations and sabotage operations on which Russia was to spend millions of

dollars to block the deployment of American missiles in Europe. By early 1982 the drive would extend to attacks on barracks, command headquarters and recruiting centers. TV screens would show American military installations under seige by so-called pacifist students. Groups converging on New York would join American leftists from November 16 to 26, 1981, in a United Nations special action drive against "America's creeping colonization of the non-communist world through multinational corporations and military bases."

IN WEST GERMANY, HOLLAND, BELGIUM AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES strident agitators hold up the spectre of destruction by Moscow's "defensive" SS-20 missiles, brought down on the heads of women and children if American missiles are permitted on their soil. In May 1980 Sweden's pro-communist Olof Palme went to Moscow to plan the Vienna meeting of the "Independent Commission for Disarmament and Security,"which he was to convoke four months later, in mid-September on instructions from the Kremlin. No European intelligence service believes for a minute that it was to defend America's interests that President Carter's Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, and Carter's leftist chief of the State Department's military bureau, Leslie Gelb, went to the Vienna meeting, labeled by the "big lie" as "independent."

Palme's commission was organized and financed by the KGB to bring about unilateral disarmament of America, with Egon Bahr playing the role of "statesmanlike Ellsworth Bunker and his short, stocky deputy ambassador, Samuel Berger," if Americans object to the security package being offered. Lenin's "What do do," published in Stuttgart in 1902, is still applicable to the "pacifist-neutralists" clashing with police in the fight to keep Europe defenseless. "Revolution is the business of professional revolutionaries," wrote Lenin. "They have a strategy, they penetrate all circles, in all classes, in all the churches. They are propagandists, agitators. They have a hand in all the conflicts. Secretly organized, they easily impose their will on the spineless masses. They dictate the programs and lead the struggles of the discontented."

Britain's Margaret Thatcher and France's socialist President, Francois Mitterand, are the only European leaders supporting missile deployment by the America which President Reagan is leading back from the destabilization imposed by no-winism in Vietnam and a press-created trauma called Watergate. On the world front, one ally rose to greatness when a vital decision had to be made, and the true story of his action should be told before it is distorted by our temporarily embarrassed press.

IN EARLY 1980 THE EGYPTIAN SECRET POLICE, THE MOKHABARAT, was devoting its attention to the infiltration of Libyan commandos. Qaddafi had vowed to kill President Sadat and the eyes of Mokhabarat were on the some 2,000 Russians, 750 Cubans, 500 East Germans, 150 specialists from the East Europe communist bloc and 40 North Koreans training Libyan terrorists while Qaddafi turned his country into an arms depot for troops that would be flown in when needed. Sadat's November 1977 trip to Israel and the March 26, 1979 treaty with Tel Aviv inspired by Camp David had made him the enemy of the Arab World's hardliners. If Sadat could be eliminated it would be a warning to any Moslem leader accepting friendship with America. Of the 153 nations in U.N. thirty-seven were integral parts of Islam's empire. Seventeen Arab, fourteen African, five Asiatic and one European Moslem nation, Turkey, were told that their interests bear no weight in the eyes of American politicians seeking immediate Jewish votes. African nations with Moslem minorities and Asian nations such as Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines could be destabilized by Moscow's incitement of Moslems.

European defense ministries had been concerned over the increasing percentage of blacks in the American Army long before an American Negro adopted the name of Isa and assisted in the murder of Ali Akbar Tabatabahi while serving as a guard at the Iranian embassy in Washington. By September 1980, Isa was in the mountain training camp of the El Amal Shia army in Lebanon, using his Green Beret training to instruct terrorists organizing for a religious war. These were the external threats Egyptian services were

watching when in 1980 an Intel service (obviously Mossad), interested in keeping Sadat alive and in power, intercepted a message that was to be the biggest break-through of the year.

A RUSSIAN AGENT NAMED NASSER IBRAHIMOV had prepared a detailed plan for the takeover of Egypt through an upheaval of religious fanatacism incited from within. What is most interesting about Ibrahimov's plan is its resemblance to Khomeiny's revolution in Iran which Masoud Rajavi now admits that his communist Mujahadin Kalq were only using. All that was lacking as a guarantee of success was that an American President should prevent the Egyptian leader from lifting a hand to save himself and then deny him shelter when it was over. Ibrahimov's paper told the Russians: "Do not count on hunger riots in Egypt. The Americans are capable of flying in hundreds of thousands of tons of food. Do not count on an anti-Israel uprising among the masses either. The people have had enough war. They were ready to lynch the students who started calling for a new jihad (Holy war). We must play a new card, and the only possible one is religious fanaticism, which succeeded in Iran. Not fanaticism against the Jews but attacks on the Christian Copts, who once they are aroused are just as violent as the Moslems. The card to play is the time-tried successful one - provocation, reprisals and then charges of government repression."

The Russians, still smarting from Sadat's expulsion of 17,000 Soviet military advisers in 1972, asked their ambassador to Cairo, Mr. Vladimir Polyakov, to report on the feasibility of the plan. Polyakov's reply was encouraging. There are approximately eight million Copts among Egypt's almost 41 million inhabitants. The Coptic Patriarch, Chenouda III, is also the Patriarch of priest-ridden Ethiopia where, though one man in five was a member of the clergy, not a hand was raised to save the Coptic Emperor Haile Selassie after Russians softened the church by exploiting the relationship of Copts to the Russian Orthodox church. It was through incitement of Ethiopia's Coptic clergy that Lij Jassou, the grandson of the old Emperor Menelik, was deposed and Haile Selassie placed on the throne in 1931. Ambassador Polyakov was quick to see the advantages to be gained by setting Egypt's Moslems against the country's some eight million Copts and 200,000 Roman Catholics.

MO.

The intercepted Ibrahimov paper ended: "We can count on mobilizing at least ten million militant Moslems. In provoking trouble between Moslems and Copts and escalating the confrontation through a massive distribution of tracts and tape-recordings we can create a crisis combining the emotions of Lebanon and Iran. Sadat will be shaken, his image irreparably damaged and an internal religious explosion will sweep everything before it."

SADAT REFUSED TO TAKE THE REPORT SERIOUSLY. It wasn't that he doubted its authenticity, but the Copts and Moslems appeared to be living on good terms. True, there had been more clashes than usual in the poor quarters, and a number of known communists had started growing beards and joining Islamic societies preaching Iranian-style fundametalism. The secret "Moslem Brotherhood," known as Ikhwan al-Islam, which a professor had founded in Ismailia in 1928 as the base for a world-wide Moslem Empire which would be powerful enough to hold the infidels to ransom for their support of the Jews, was causing trouble in Syria. Killers belonging to the Brotherhood had killed at least 50 Syrian student officers in June 1979, but in Egypt the calls they and their four or five allied fronts had issued for a holy war had elicited no response.

It is apparent now that Qaddafi was in league with the Russians. He was sending hit-men into the country to occupy the attention of Sadat's police, so that Sadat would be too busy to watch Egypt's twelve great universities where a revolution was in the making. With the building of hundreds of new mosques around the world and the spirit of Islam on the rise, Egyptian students were being told to prepare to cleanse the nation. They must rid Egypt of the infidels, the Copts, and, above all, the real enemy, the leader who permitted their existence and had made peace with Israel.

IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT WASHINGTON REALIZES EVEN TODAY what a great statesman Sadat was and what a dangerous game he was playing with the peace of the world at stake, when he turned the hard-line Arab world against him by making peace with Israel and keeping all of his promises while Israeli colonization of the Left Bank continued unabated.

Sadat knew that if Begin does not live up to his agreement, Israel's defenders in Washington will no longer have a leg to stand on. If Begin does live up to his treaty, Sadat will have proven himself the great leader of the Arab world. In the meantime, assassination hangs over him and Dr. Helmi el-Gazar, the number two man of the Moslem Brotherhood, was becoming more and more strident in his charges that Sadat is a double traitor - not only a traitor to the Brotherhood but a traitor in giving Egypt a First Lady who is half English, who wears no veil, who fights for the rights of women and advises Egyptian wives to practice contraception. (One of Egypt's pressing problems is the exploding birthrate which gives the country a million new mouths to feed each year). How any Egyptian can fail to be proud of the beautiful and intelligent Jihan is hard to see.

BY JUNE 1981 ANWAR EL SADAT COULD AVOID FACING THE FACTS NO LONGER. All the Libyan feints, including the massing of troops on the border, were only to mask a more serious danger being mounted by the Russians. His awakening came as reports piled up of the tension being created in crowded parts of the city by the extremist press. Rabble-rousers were calling for a return to Islamic laws, the cutting off of the hands of thieves, stoning of those guilty of adultery, death for those converted to Christianity. The golden voice of a blind Imam named Abdul Hamid Kishk sent the faithful into a frenzy and his tape-recorded calls to violence were circulated through the Arab world.

It was Iran and the Ayatollah Khomeiny all over again. Though he recognized the Libyan hand, Sadat still did not want to believe that the mounting revolution had been orchestrated, planned and perfected by the Russians until irrefutable proof was placed before him. Hovering over his daily reports, a pattern began taking shape as one event followed another. Still, he wanted to believe everything would turn out alright. One of his first acts on assuming power had been to liberate political prisoners. He did not want to resort to Nasser's methods. If he could hold on until the Israeli evacuation of the Sinai promised for April 1982, the storm would blow over, he hoped.

Time was passing and he was due to visit President Reagan in late June. As the departure date approached the drive to destroy his image in Washington increased. Pamphlets appeared telling Egyptians their President had been duped, that Begin's aim is a greater Israel and the conquest of more Arab lands, that he has no intention of returning Sinai and the Gaza Strip.

ON JUNE 20, A FEW DAYS BEFORE SADAT'S SCHEDULED DEPARTURE, the carefully-timed storm broke. Islamic commandos attacked the Copts in three quarters in Cairo. One group seized a piece of land owned by a Copt. When the owner protested he was told the land belonged to the State and they were going to build a mosque. Phase one, the provocation period unfolded. Copts regard themselves as the true Egyptians, the descendants of the Pharaohs. When the squatters drove the landowner off with insults he called on the Copt community and the shooting started.

That was what the "fundamentalist" Moslems were waiting for. They poured into the Coptic quarters, disemboweling priests with meat knives and violating women. Eight Coptic churches went up in flames and looted homes were set on fire. Bearded Imams with blood on their robes urged on the killers. Moderate Moslems risked their lives by hiding Coptic friends in their homes while others tried to reason with the mob.

Sadat's last hopes were dashed when he studied reports that night and noted that the conspiracy had spread to the police. Calls for help were ignored. Only when the killing was over did the first police appear. The following morning tracts printed in advance were distributed by the thousands calling on true Moslems to rise and destroy

the impious enemies of Islam. Mysterious groups began stirring up the cities of the Nile. Pamphlets held up the example of Lebanon and urged Egyptians to eliminate the Christians before they could create a Zionist-protected state within the state, as they had in Lebanon. Frightened by the wave of hate, the Copts closed ranks and began amassing arms for their own commando groups. On June 24, four days after the first Moslem attack, the New York Times accepted and printed a page charging Egypt with complicity in "the genocide of our brothers." The 150,000 Copts who had migrated to America and Canada during the Nasser years could not have been mobilized for the purchase of a page in the New York Times in just four days. The American end of the campaign had also been prepared in advance, to whip up a mob just before Sadat's visit to President Reagan. He was pictured as an enemy of the Christians in America, while in Egypt mobs were shouting "He prefers the Jews to us."

SADAT REALIZED THAT THE PLAN NASSER IBRAHIMOV HAD DRAWN UP FOR THE RUSSIANS was no fancied theory. This was to be Egypt's Watergate and again the New York Times was the perfect arsonist. But he must play for time. He had no intention of going the way of the Shah, but force must be held as a last resort. First he turned to the Patriarch Chenouda III for help. "Calm your people," he pleaded. "Don't let them fall into a trap. I will take care of the Moslems." Chenouda has never liked the officers who deposed Farouk in 1952, so he gave Sadat a cold reply. Sadat pleaded for moderation and Chenouda's answer was "If we have to, we'll fight to the finish."

Next he tried to make concessions to the Moslems but this only convinced the fanatics that Sadat was on the run. Each time he yielded a point they raised their demands. And all the time ambitious politicians were watching. They had always felt that Begin was duping the President, but they bided their time. Now they were convinced that Sadat was going the way of the Shah. Instead of supporting the leader who permitted them to form an opposition, they began courting the fanatics. Ibrahim Churki sent his Socialist Workers' Party delegates into the mosques to rant against the Christians and Jews.

SADAT TOOK STOCK OF THE SITUATION. If he did nothing, he was finished. The only forces he could count on were the army and his secret service. If he used them, the United Nations General Assembly and the American press would tear him to pieces. On the other hand, would he have time to make his visit to Washington? If he failed to keep his appointment with Reagan the world would know that his position was shaky at home.

The man was superb. There was not a sign that he was sitting on a volcano as he was photographed, smiling, beside the American President. Admittedly, there were factors in his favor: There was no Carter telling him to "liberalize," as Carter did to the Shah, who knew there was no alternative between the rule he was giving Iran and the murderous chaos that replaced it. No mature American teacher, on nothing but the word of students, had left places like Syracuse University and flown to spread revolution in Cairo. No Patricia Derian had been sent to Egypt to pour oil on the flames and General Robert Huyser had not been secretly dispatched to tell Generals not to save their President.

WHEN SADAT RETURNED TO CAIRO IN AUGUST a hundred thousand students shouted insults in the streets outside his Abdin Palace, each trying to prove himself braver than the others in the anonymity provided by numbers. Again it was a repetition of Iran. Green streamers were strung across the streets, some bearing verses from the Koran as protection for the incendiary ones that read: "No True Believer Will Choose a Jew For a Friend!"

Sadat looked at the mob led by over-age students and turned to the reports prepared during his absence. It was then that he made his decision. But he knew the importance of timing. Not a move must be made before his meeting with Menachem Begin in Alexandria in late August. Begin had promised to discuss final arrangements for the return of the Sinai and any failure to live up to all the terms of that agreement must be on Begin's

shoulders, not Sadat's. Sadat must go to Alexandria as the leader of a stable and united Egypt, with no fear that his commitments might be repudiated in the future, as Begin's were being threatened by land-grabbers in the Sinai at that minute.

BEGIN WAS FAR FROM AT EASE AS THE TWO LEADERS MET. His own fanatics were holding a knife at his back at home, and he knew something was in the air in Egypt. Just before their meeting, Israeli agents told him that Sadat had suddenly ousted his intelligence chief and removed the governor of Alexandria. Sadat was serenity itself. "No," he assured his guest, "Everything is normal," which by the standards of Near East politics was not a lie.

Begin went back to Israel and on September 2 Egypt's universities opened for their fall term. The following morning, between 3 a.m. and 10 a.m., the blow fell. Moving like clockwork the Egyptian police and military swung into action. It was as though everything had been rehearsed. The 1,536 trouble makers and leaders of the opposition were brought in without a shot being fired. Coptic and Moslem dignitaries, leaders of the Moslem Brotherhood and even the hitherto unseizable Mohammed Heykal, who had been the faceless power behind Nasser, were taken to the old citadel of the capital or the military base at Tourah. All were courteously invited to accompany the officer sent to get them and by ten in the morning Cairo was calm.

The Coptic Patriarch who had refused to help Sadat in June was shown every consideration as a chauffeur drove him to a monastery in the desert and an officer politely requested him to stay out of politics. A group of young Coptic priests hastened to announce: "We are soldiers of Sadat."

A proclamation appeared in Egypt's 40,000 mosques announcing: "Fanaticism will not be acceptable." Two days later, on September 5, Sadat went before Parliament to tell what he had done and why. In private, he said of the men he had arrested: "I am not going to keep them in prison. They won't be there very long. All I want to do is let them know who is running the country and that the laws will be respected." Within twentyfour hours the revolutionary mullahs and civilians had shaved off their beards. No more recorded calls to revolution came out of the mosque of the blind Imam Kishk.

Once more the only leader in the West who had had the courage to stand by the Shah, whom everyone had courted when he was in power, showed himself a great man. This does not mean the battle is won. KGB sleepers are still in Egypt, though Ambassador Vladimir Polyakov has been expelled and Russian diplomatic representation reduced to the number of Egyptian diplomats in Moscow. All that can be said for the moment is that Egypt has a great leader and the future depends on how many Heads of State will rise to the occasion when the same intelligence and courage is demanded. The shock waves of Sadat's defiance of the KGB are reverberating through Poland, Afghanistan and nations where they were needed most.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor

PARIS

Eleventh hour

A readjustment of western thinking is in order as 1981 draws to a close. All of the old organizations that paralyzed America during the war in Vietnam and gave Seymour Hersh a career because Lieutenant William Calley took action to save his men in Vietnam are being brought out of mothballs. From Scandinavia to West Germany the cities of Europe are being tied up by red-directed marchers screaming for peace and disarmament. The disarmament conferences that follow are diversionary actions.

THE BLUNT FACT IS: THE WORLD IS ALREADY AT WAR. The days of Pearl Harbors are over. The act of formally going to war involves risks which a nation that has perfected subversion — and is the only one pledged to impose its ideology on the world — is not going to take. Moscow knows that Pearl Harbors bring Hiroshimas and democracies do not think of war in terms of terrorism. The new form of war is through terrorism within nations for which the aggressor can deny responsibility. The objective of all wars is to destroy the enemy's capability of continuing the war or the will of its people to wage a war. Destabilization through terrorism accompanied by subversion accomplishes the same objective. The first move in the softening of a nation is to lead its press to attack any manifestation of loyalty as "super-patriotism." In war there is no substitute for patriotism. After that, move to the enemy's planning table. If one were to write on a piece of paper the names of the three leaders who represented a threat to the enemy's plans, the list would read: Pope John Paul II, President Ronald Reagan, and President Anwar Sadat.

A NEW PRESIDENT HAD BEEN SWEPT INTO THE WHITE HOUSE with the declared intention to restore America's strength and to cease undermining the leaders of countries in which there is no middle road between firm government and murderous anarchy. Russia feared him. Libya's Muammar Qaddafi, the financer of terrorism, saw him as a personal enemy. Castro saw his plans for a Communist Latin-America in danger. The new President never concealed his intention to help run the Russians out of Angola, Mozambique, Libya and Syria. A change of policy towards South Africa was in the works. On March 30, 1981, a 25-year-old young man named John Hinckley wounded the President as he emerged from the Washington Hilton Hotel. Hinckley was unemployed. He had been able to pay his bill in a motel for 21 days before the crime. Each noon he waited near a booth for a telephone call, though a phone was in his room. He had a 22-caliber handgun with explosive bullets and a secret paper detailing the President's security precautions when he was arrested. The record of his arrest in Nashville, Tennessee, with three guns in his possession, in October 1980, on a day when President Carter was there, had been removed from the files through payment of a \$62 fine to a local judge.

To the directors of Terrorism International it made no difference which President was shot. The assassination of either would destabilize America. Reagan's death would remove the obstacles to everything Brezhnev, Castro and Qaddafi had planned. Carter's

elimination would permit the three to cry that the American right had murdered the man of peace and human rights, and what would happen afterwards would never in the world be called a witch-hunt. CIA and the FBI reported that the crime was not political, but the press classified Hinckley as a militant of the right. The attempt failed but fact two we in the works.

DEFENSE MINISTER MARSHAL DIMITRI USTINOV presided over a secret meeting of the Warsaw Pact nations in Bucharest in November 1980 to which no Polish delegate had been invited. Among themselves the Eastern bloc representatives decided that Moscow and the Polish Communist Party could cope with Lech Walesa and the Polish labor movement if it were not for the support and encouragement they were receiving from a Polish Pope. The result: On May 13, 1981, a Russian-trained Turk who later boasted that he would be out of prison before Christmas, attempted to kill the Pope in crowded St. Peter's Square. On the word of no one knows what authority, the press provided a defense for the gunman and a block to any further investigations by proclaiming that the professional killer was an unbalanced loner.

IN THE SHADOWS, LIBYAN HIT MEN WERE ROAMING THE WORLD. They had carried out more than a dozen political assassinations in Britain, West Germany, France, Lebanon and Greece in 1980. In the first week of March 1981 Colonel Qaddafi celebrated the fourth anniversary of his establishment of "People's Congresses" as a form of government by identifying himself with the masses of his country and declaring that the masses have a right to liquidate their enemies at home and abroad. At that time Qadaffi had the specialists of a dozen nations teaching his killers the "dirty tricks" and commando methods they had learned in their countries' armies. Egyptian intelligence reported that over 2,000 Russians were in Libya as advisers and terrorist instructors. After the Russians came some 750 Cubans, around 500 East Germans, 150 North Koreans, twenty-some Syrians and an unknown number of American leftists. Some of the Americans were reported to have enlisted and gone through the Green Beret training school solely for the military education they would be able to use against America. Others were there because military defeat in the field, particularly defeat forced on an army capable of victory, breeds revolt among the indignant at home.

As far back as 1972 it was known that Libyan embassies were recruiting volunteers for what Qaddafi and his foreign theorists saw as the perfect form of war. For what is terrorism but unilateral warfare against a passive enemy? There is no front and nations under attack never know when or where a blow is going to strike. By making the offensive force international, often with the terrorist a citizen of the country in which he acts, an aggressor national is able to deny responsibility and escape reprisal. In late 1972 Israel proposed hitting terrorism at its source, and London's leftist OBSERVER, of November 26, 1972, headlined its story out of Tripoli: US WARNS ISRAEL TO LAY OFF QADDAFI. "The reason is not far to see," wrote OBSERVER correspondent, Patrick Seale. "The young Libyan colonel, an Islamic prophet crying in an oil-rich wilderness, has emerged as the greatest scourge of international communism since the late John Foster Dulles."

An example of the effectiveness of unilateral warfare fought by surrogate forces came four months later when a U.S. Air Force Hercules C-130 with electronic equipment was shadowing Russian fleet movements 83 miles off the Libyan coast. Russia wanted the unarmed C-130 out of the way but not through Russian action. Qaddafi obligingly dispatched a plane which attacked the Hercules but did not bring it down, and though it had already been established that he was behind the murder of two American diplomats in Kartoum, the March 21, 1973, attack on our C-130 over international waters was pardoned and forgotten. Nations which stick to the rules are helpless against those which flout them. On two occasions President Anwar Sadat of Egypt proposed a lightning move to rid Libya of Qaddafi. Libya already had three times as many tanks as the whole French Army and bulging arms depots which, in a country of less than three million inhabitants, could only mean that a stockpile was being created for an outside army which at a given signal could be flown in. On both occasions, Libyans dissatisfied with Qaddafi or loyal to the aging King Idriss whom he had deposed and who was then living in Cairo, were waiting to make Sadat's lightning strike a fait accompli. Again Washington prevented Sadat from

acting when there was yet time. NEWSWEEK, of August 16, 1976, carried an interview with President Jaafar Numeiry, of the Sudan, in which Numeiry branded Qaddafi "a madman" who must be destroyed. Numeiry had just survived the fourth coup d'etat attempt mounted by Qaddafi and had enough, but he too was restrained by America.

UNDER AMERICA'S PROTECTIVE UMBRELLA QADDAFI CONTINUED TO OPERATE. He knew that Israel had stock-piled enough weapons to wipe out every Arab capital, so in 1979 he hijacked a truck carrying 20 tons of di-uranate powder near his common border with Niger. Diuranate is basically uranium ore which has been milled to remove impurities. Qaddafi sent the ore to Pakistan where Dr. Abel Qader Khan, the greatest atomic spy since Klaus Fuchs, was perfecting the nuclear arm for Qaddafi's arsenal. While the eyes of the world were concentrated on Qaddafi's spending of millions to acquire the nuclear weapons he had set his heart on, something potentially more important had been going on for at least three years. In war by terrorism Americans would be the best agents within America. Qaddafi also knew that as a result of the Vietnam war the United States has developed the world's most sophisticated arms of destruction, from miniaturized gadgets to guided missiles. Only through Americans could be obtain them and Libyan or other terrorists be taught to use them. Quietly, he began recruiting Americans. Two types were available: Revolutionaries only too ready to work against their country for a price and technicians thrown into unemploy by the cessation of the war in Vietnam. If the latter were patriots, the solution was to convince them they were on a mission for CIA.

ON NOVEMBER 9, 1981, CIA OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON denied that its former agents had been involved in any illegal acts. The worst the Agency would admit was that some employees, out of loyalty that develops among men of the same service, had provided support to two men, 41-year-old Frank Terpil and 52-year-old Edwin Wilson. Aside from this, the Agency had looked into the allegations of misconduct on the part of current and past employees and found none. European findings were vastly different. Two events had set all the wheels of intelligence services in motion, searching for every grain of information on the foreigners instructing Qaddafi's terrorists. The first event came on August 19 when two Libyan SU-22 fighters attacked two of America's formidable F-14 Tomcats in the Gulf of Sirte (sometimes spelled Sidra). Less than a month after entering the White House President Reagan had rescinded the Carter order denying American pilots the right to return fire even if attacked. There were a number of interesting things about that attack. It could not have occurred without Qaddafi's express orders, but Qaddafi was purposely in South Yemen at the time, signing a friendship treaty with South Yemen and Ethiopia. South Yemen and Ethiopia face each other across one of the most strategic bottlenecks in the world: The opening to the Red Sea through which the Suez route of the world's oil lanes passes. By being in South Yemen, Qaddafi could disclaim responsibility for the attack by two obsolete planes outmatched by the Tomcats with elite American pilots, but the provocation value of the action was there. Qaddafi's holding company for Libyan subversion had been quietly set up across Europe to handle any assignment given it, much as Moscow's World Peace Council serves as the mother organization for Russian propaganda, espionage, recruitment and subversion. Qaddafi's organization is called "European People Sympathetic to Colonel Qaddafi and Liberty in the World." It was ready and waiting. Immediately after the downing of the two SU-22s in the Gulf of Sirte, the above body issued a communiqué addressed to the American people which one would have expected Jack Anderson and the Washington Post to take up. Instead, very few newspapers mentioned it. Gist of the warning was: "The European People Sympathetic to Colonel Qaddafi and Liberty in the World wish to draw America's attention to the fact that Colonel Qaddafi does not stand alone. His allies are everywhere and Americans are not aware of the dangers to which the adventurous acts of their President is exposing them." The Qaddafi front announced: "Embassies, airlines, international companies, individual Americans and even the pirate President himself will be our targets when we hit." The end of the communiqué was explicit: "We give you one month to oppose the imperialistic policies of your President if you do not want to pay dearly for the results of those policies." In sum, a call to revolt.

QADDAFI ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS READY TO GO TO WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES. America, he said

was planning an invasion of Libya and there would be no end of American fanaticism until they have suffered another Vietnam. Actually, all that America had demanded of Libya was that Qaddafi cease arming and financing the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the IRA and other international terrorists, that he cease executing his opponents wherever they had taken refuge, that he cease meddling in the internal affairs of his African neighbors, halt the exportation of revolution and pay for the damage done to the American embassy in a riot which his government had inspired in Tripoli in December 1979, during the Carter Presidency. Qaddafi's wild talk would have been written off as more of what had been going on for years if at that moment reports had not started arriving at the desks of European intelligence services that Qaddafi was offering \$2.5 million to anyone who would assassinate President Reagan. The money would be deposited in a foreign bank. If captured, the best legal talent money could buy would take on the killer's defense. With the death penalty ruled out in advance, the plea that the crime had been committed by an unbalanced loner, associated with no ideological group, unless a connection could be traced to some organization on the right, would have the assassin free and rich in a few years, after a return to mental responsibility in prison. The complaint of security officials in Europe is that the courts of the democracies have taken to treating killers as victims and society as the guilty party in every crime. From the moment reports of Qaddafi's offer to hit men, preferably American, began pouring in, intelligence services put one team to work watching Qaddafi's movements and another assigned to maintaining an up-to-date appraisal of his resources.

ON SEPTEMBER FIRST A CELEBRATION WAS STAGED IN TRIPOLI. The 12th anniversary of Qaddafi's siezure of power. It was a mass intoxication operation to prepare Libyans for an alliance with the Soviet camp. Leaders led the crowd in chanting "Crush the Americans!" Yasser Arafat sat in the reviewing stand with representatives of Syria, South Yemen and leftwing Arab groups as Qaddafi took the salute. The emotional binge over, Qaddafi spent the rest of September negotiating treaties with the communist bloc while engineers put finishing touches to the 81 landing fields he had enlarged to take Russia's Backfire bomber. A realistic way to put it would be to say that Qaddafi is Europe's Castro, astride the Mediterranean, one foot planted in Africa and the other in the Arab Near and Middle East. By September's end a string of agreements promising communist aid satisfied Qaddafi that help would come at his bidding if plans to stage an uprising in Egypt brought retaliation. His 10,000 armored transports, three thousand combat tanks, all the North Koreans, East Germans, Russians and a handful of Italian mercenaries manning his aircraft and his four Foxtrot submarines were on a standby alert. Humiliated and mortified over the downing of his two SU-22s, Qaddafi not only swore that he was ready to provoke a third world war to settle his score with America, but he believed it himself. Here America helped his game by the heavy-handed way in which the sale of AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System planes) to Saudi Arabia was dragged through the mud of press and congressional opposition which in Saudi eyes became at times insulting.

Long before the \$5,800 million deal went through, delaying tactics of the lobbyists made it clear that America could not be counted upon for future supplies or parts. Qaddafi knew that Moscow was exploiting every American gaffe in her campaign to restore diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia which had been broken for thirty years. The only reason the Saudis went on with the AWACS deal, Qaddafi was convinced, was because to drop it would be regarded as a victory for Israel. He was continuing to help Moscow in her plan to cut the Mediterranean in two by acquiring Russian naval bases in Sicily and Greece to add to her four anchoring facilities at sea off the coasts of Tunis, Libya, Crete and Syria, when at 2 minutes after noon on October 6, 1981, President Anwar Sadat was assassinated by plotters manipulated from Libya. It was then that intelligence services of Western Europe began to study in earnest the foreigners in Qaddafi's service, and the importance of the American connection emerged.

REPORTS OF AMERICANS IN QADDAFI'S SERVICE WERE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY AT FIRST. A prime reason was that Seymour Hersh, whose meteoric rise dates from his exploitation of anti-war-in-Vietnam sentiment and propaganda, was playing the CIA-in-Libya story for all it was worth in the New York Times, in June 1981. Overnight Hersh had become a name-writer when funds from the Stern Family Foundation enabled him to help send a U.S. Army lieutenant

to prison because he had shot enemy snipers and observers to save his unit, in March 1968. Mr. André Pierrot, the French consul in Danang, called it an every day occurence when Hanoi used the very young or the very old to kill Americans, then found them more valuable as propaganda material if they were killed than as snipers and spotters when they were alive. Consequently, it was not surprising that Hersh's expose of the operations of Frank Terpil and Edwin Wilson was at first regarded as another leftist attack on a legitimate agency. Then the London weekly OBSERVER, of July 19, 1981, followed with a story that CIA analyst Kevin Mulcahy was on the Terpil-Wilson hitlist for telling the FBI of Terpil's meetings with IRA terrorists near Brighton. Mulcahy told of a picnic near Oxford with the wanted international terrorist, Carlos - real name Illich Ramirez Sanchez - who killed two French agents on June 27, 1975. That was when French agents began digging. On November 16, Reagan ordered the FBI and CIA to work with police and immigration forces on the lookout for Libyan commandos attempting to enter America. An hour after Reagan's order was issued a report passed over the desk of SEDCE (Service of External Documentation and Counter-Espionage) officers in Paris. In a secret note addressed to the heads of security agencies the President warned that killers of American nationality were reportedly being sent to America to assassinate top personalities in government and if possible the President himself. The threat was serious since some in the hit team were former soldiers of elite groups such as the Marines and the Green Berets. Others were former CIA agents working as highly-paid mercenaries for Qaddafi. A more detailed report added that whether American or not, the commandos being sent abroad by Qaddafi were trained in Tripoli in a special school for terrorism headed by former instructors from Fort Bragg. "They are familiar with the modern techniques perfected by American specialists and equipped with ultra modern combat arms produced by American laboratories," the flash to French Intelligence concluded. A Washington CIA official was quoted as telling his French counterpart, "It is not inconceivable that former CIA men now working for Qaddafi, may clash in the United States with their own colleagues trying to arrest them." One of the thoughts which lurked in many minds but was never mentioned was that there would be no CIA traitors exposing the names of their former team-mates or entering the service of men like Qaddafi had Mr. Thomas Braden not succeeded in introducing the Braden doctrine for recruitment which held that only men and organizations of the non communist left would be acceptable for CIA employ. There is no such thing as a permanent non-communist left, for vast areas exist where the interests of communist and non-communist leftists overlap. Non-communist leftism is a fluctuating term covering communists who claim to be socialists and socialists who, like the French Socialist Party at the Congress of Tours in December 1920, will become communists when that stage of their leftist evolution is reached.

THE SEAT OF FRANCE'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS KNOWN AS "LA PISCINE," the "swimming pool." "President Reagan wants to know to what extent certain CIA officials have let this explosive situation develop without taking action" was the word passed from desk to desk. Whether by request from Washington or a higher-up in the "swimming pool" was never stated. Was their high level complicity with the men whom Qaddafi was making millionaires, or had old comrades closed their eyes out of organization loyalty, became the important question. As the Paris files began to bulge it came out that two Americans 52-year-old Edwin Wilson who had entered CIA in 1955 when Allen Dulles' man, Edward Lansdale, was destroying the anti-communist forces in Vietnam and rigging a plebiscite against the nation's Emperor, and another agent, 41-year-old Frank Terpil, were at the top of the American network in Libya. In 1976, when Billy Carter was having his profitable flirtation with the Libyans, Wilson and Terpil visited the Libyan embassy in London and made contact with Qaddafi's cousin, Sayad Kadhafadam, listed as First Secretary but really Qaddafi's mystery man in Europe. Sayad never went anywhere without the company of his giant body-guard, Mustapha, a ferocious-appearing individual who tasted all dishes set before his master. Sayad's mission abroad was to acquire the most sophisticated weapons available. Price was no object. One of his first propositions to Terpil was: "I'll give you \$2.5 million dollars for a Red-Eye missile.: This is one of the most revolutionary weapons in the American arsenal, a ground-to-air missile capable of reaching the stratosphere. "What do you want it for?" asked Terpil. Sayad was perfectly frank: "My cousin wants to be able to shoot down a Boeing 747. There are certain people he wants to get rid of." Terpil knew he had stumbled onto a gold mine. French files describe him as a former specialist on

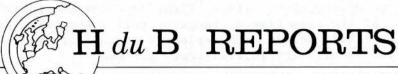
the Middle East and parts of Asia. He had left CIA under a shadow after an affair dealing with smuggling in India but he still had top contacts in Langley, a home on Connecticut Avenue in Washington and a Japanese style house in Langley, not far from the HQ of CIA. Senators, congressmen, high government officials and CIA men were often his guests. French investigators name one Ted Shackley as Terpil's most important man on the inside. Shackley was a CIA station chief in Saigon from 1968 to '72. When it became apparent that Vietnam was doomed, Shackley still according to French files, escaped damage to his reputation by moving upward as director of CIA's Far East Division and from there into the office of covert operations as assistant-director. His closest friend through these moves was the two hundred-pound expert at Judo and close combat, Edwin Wilson, who became the third man in the team formed by Terpil and Qaddafi's cousin, Sayad. Wilson became the organizer of the trio, setting up companies in London, Switzerland, Beirut, Malta, Brussels and even Virginia. Fronts such as "Around the World Shipping and Chartering, Inter-Technology, Delex International, Western Recruitment, Ltd.," and a Liberian firm known as "Commercial Services" are only a few of the companies through which they acquired anything Qaddafi wanted. Wilson's property south of London was listed in the name of a real estate and investment corporation. The purchase of over half a million detonators for terrorist operations was one of their most famous deals, made possible, French files disclose, through the cooperation of one John Harper who then left CIA to set up a laboratory in Tripoli. Harper's job was to turn out umbrellas that would shoot, telephones that would blow up and any other form of gadget that could be used to kill.

Terpil, in the meantime, was told he could name his price if he could deliver RDX explosives, Ingram light machine guns and CH-47 Chinook helicopters. But Qaddafi also needed instructors. He wanted to know all the dirty tricks the Green Berets had invented. This is how recruiting operations through a negro at Fort Bragg began, and most of the trusting Americans flown to the Zurich office of Western Recruitment went there under the impression that they were on secret missions for CIA. One team became disillusioned when ordered to prepare a plan to blow up the Aramco pipeline in Saudi Arabia. Another American became suspicious when interrogated on the use of paralyzing gas. Most of the others, like Robert Hitchman, the hero of Korea and Vietnam who has charge of Qaddafi's 20-some Chinook helicopters, gradually joined Terpil and Wilson, convinced that becoming millionaires under Qaddafi in a new kind of war is more than compensation for the eventual loneliness of exile. The causes are probably many: The failure of their country to stick by its soldiers when they were fighting in Vietnam and rampaging students stuck flowers in the muzzles of the rifles of national guardsmen at home is one. The attacks against patriotism, the making of no-winism an objective, the nation's infatuation with detente and refusal to use the enemy's methods, when the boys on the inside already knew that the war is being fought and is all but lost because of another form of treason at home, all these have played a part in what is happening. Terpil was sentenced, in absentia, to 53 years in prison on June 8, 1981, but is living at present in Beirut with his girl friend, Ruth, a beautiful former cosmetics salesgirl from New York. Wilson left his mansion in England with Scotland Yard on his heels, at Washington's request. His present address is unknown but he still has a home in Tripoli.

Viewed with the perspective of distance, cynicism is the principle emotion the affair of American traitors in Libya inspires. A nation that bars any applicant to the right of the non-communist left from the service on which its existence depends should not be surprised that their recruits are not patriots when they are offered a fortune for moving further to the left. The attitudes of our press, TV and scores of organizations when treasonable demonstrations for Hanoi were in fashion could only make shooting of the President for money seem unimportant.

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Moscow role in general's kidnap

The Fiat 238 van which drove up to the unguarded door of Brigadier-General James Lee Dozier, in Verona, Italy, around 5:00 P.M. on December 17, 1981, was followed by a white Mercedes with an attractive girl at the wheel. Two men were in the white Mercedes and five others in the van. While seven men dressed as plumbers entered the building where the Doziers lived, the white Mercedes moved into a parking place across the street. The girl driving it was later identified as Barbara Balzerani, one of the toughest members of the Italian Red Brigade. General Albert Della Chiesa, the commander of the antiterrorist force in Italy, had decapitated the Genoa branch of the brigade when he captured 50 of its top leaders in a brilliant coup in June 1981. Since then Barbara Balzerani has been the brains of the Genoa network. In mid-November she was summoned to Lausanne, Switzerland for a summit conference of international terrorists which leaders of the German Red Army Faktion, the IRA, the ETA Basque organization, the PLO, a number of Qaddafi's hit-men and other Italian Red Army leaders attended.

This was a momentous meeting marking a change in international terrorist operations. In the past every precaution had been taken to conceal Russian involvement, but this time an action was being planned that would combine intelligence with terrorism. It meant the end of any pretense that Moscow has nothing to do with the new kind of guerrilla warfare plaguing the West. DIGOS, the Italian Secret Service, received a report of the Lausanne meeting and knew that a spectacular operation against NATO was being planned, but figured the blow would be against NATO headquarters in Naples. Security measures were taken accordingly but the Americans did nothing to protect their officers in Verona. This was fatal because Red Brigade look-outs were probing for the weakest link. The attack against the Americans was no sudden decision.

IN FEBRUARY 1977 MOSCOW'S PLANNING AND COORDINATION OFFICE issued a 60-page instruction book on the new kind of warfare. Its title was "Resolutions and Strategic Directions for Red Brigades." Leaders were told: "At first we will operate in small groups carrying out minor operations. As we grow stronger and the public becomes accustomed to break-downs of law and order we will conduct more complex operations involving apparently unrelated groups. These will be fast hit-and-run attacks. Gradually, we will move to more prolonged operations such as kidnappings which will keep the population in fear and suspense. This will have immense propaganda value and give us the status of an armed force. Our Red Brigades will be recognized as the leaders of European terrorism."

During the war in Vietnam America had been a testing ground for the use of mobs in the streets, demonstrating against the existing system. No more perfect example can be found of communists mobilizing non-communists for their own ends. Now the same technique

was to be applied in an international, emotion-packed movement for neutralism and pacifism that would make America's allies clamor for nuclear disarmament. One of the moves ordered in the 1977 instruction book was formation of a "Fighting Communist Party" which would coordinate the actions of national revolutionary and terrorist groups. It was one of the arms of this "Fighting Communist Party" which handled the Dozier kidnapping. At the same time a change of policy was being announced in Moscow: The KGB is to occupy itself solely with espionage in the future. Killings and kidnappings will be handled by military intelligence, the GRU.

BARBARA SAT IN HER WHITE MERCEDES while the terrorists dressed as plumbers knocked-out General Dozier and bound his wife, then ransacked the apartment for military intelligence. After about half an hour, when Barbara figured the search had gone far enough, she sauntered across the street and pressed the inter-phone button in the hall, as though announcing her arrival to friends. Acting as though no one had answered, she walked back to her car. In a few minutes her team emerged carrying the general in a trunk. The trunk was hoisted into the rented Fiat and the two cars drove away. It was three hours before the bound and gagged Mrs. Dozier was able to attract help. By then the team was in a safe house, out of the country, or aboard a fast boat bound for one of Qaddafi's island hide-outs.

AMERICAN SECRET SERVICE MEN AND THE PRESS laid the abduction to laxity of security. I place it on the shoulders of Senator Lowell P. Weicker, of Connecticut, and leftist lawyers of the Civil Liberties Union, who used every legal tactic to block the investigation of American civilian and military personnel working with terrorist factions abroad. General Dozier's kidnapping was an inside job made possible by Americans informing on his movements, just as was the August 1974 theft of 90 lightweight anti-tank missiles from an American Army base in Miesau, Germany, a few miles from the German base where Red Army Faktion sympathizers assisted in the theft of 90,000 rounds of ammunition.

EARLY IN 1973 GERMAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE urged the intelligence chief of American forces to investigate service men and civilians reported to be passing military papers, copies of instructions and reports on the movements, addresses and telephone numbers of their officers to the German Red Army Faktion. A verbal warning was added: "Don't let the German Federal Government know what you are doing." After years of effort a small group around Chancellor Willy Brandt, which included Leo Bauer, imprisoned in Switzerland from 1942 to '45 as a Russian spy, the East German spy, Gunther Guillaume (real name Peter Lohse) and the powerful Egon Bahr, who had been the East German agent of Moscow's Colonel Tulpanov from 1945 to '47, had succeeded in ousting General Reinhard Gehlen from command of West German Intelligence in 1970. Since then, West Germany has had no secrets from the East.

Major-General Harold R. Aaron, Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence in the U. S. Army headquarters at Heidelberg, went back to the case of four U.S. soldiers killed in suspicious bomb attacks on American installations in 1972 and began looking for links. There were too many cases of arson, sabotage, thefts of machine-guns and explosives, and even the theft of an important missile, to rule out assistance from the inside.

AS SOON AS MAJOR GENERAL AARON'S INVESTIGATION STARTED, an appeal went over the leftist network to Washington to take off the heat. Senator Weicker demanded that the investigation be dropped. The liberties of American citizens abroad were being interfered with, he charged, as though cooperation with international terrorists is an American right. "Somebody has got a helluva lot explaining to do!" he bellowed. (TIME, August 13, 1973) The "Lawyers' Military Defense Committee" in Heidelberg swung into action. At home the American Civil Liberties Union took up the fight. The investigation was halted and the kidnappers of General Dozier had a clear field. Now Senator Wiecker "has got a helluva lot of explaining to do" to Mrs. Dozier.

The Rome correspondent of the London Sunday Telegraph reported that one of the kidnappers

spoke perfect English, with an American accent. A communiqué released by the terrorists on December 27 announced that "the people's trial" of the general had started and bore a photo which appeared to be an identity photo stolen from an old file. The use of an old identity photo rather than the usual polaroid photograph increased suspicion that the investigators were facing an inside job, which considerably lessened chances of finding the general alive. President Sandro Pertini told the Rome diplomatic corps that the coup had probably been masterminded by a foreign power - meaning Soviet Russia or Libya acting on Moscow's behalf. If it were true that an American took part in the kidnapping, it could have been a member of the civilian or military personnel whom Major-General Aarons was prevented from investigating or one of the former Green Berets in Libyan employ. Some officers on General Della Chiesa's team are convinced that only the kidnapping was handled by the Red Brigade, that from there on General Dozier was taken over by the specialists from the East. One thing is certain: The international aspects and European ramifications of terrorist networks has been underestimated.

THAT THE TERRORISTS WERE WAGING AN INTERNATIONAL WAR WAS NEVER CONCEALED. The two main objectives of the Italian Red Brigade in alliance with the German Red Army Faktion are:

1. To enlarge the army of sympathizers being recruited among the young through a campaign of selective pacifism — meaning the approval of Soviet missiles but opposition to Washington missiles pointed toward the East, and 2. To drive a wedge between America and her NATO allies. In their rambling 188-page communiqué found in Milan, NATO, President Reagan and every American general who served in Vietnam is in the defendant's box. A helping hand is offered to all European pacifist movements and homage rendered to "the brave Libyan people who are victims of American imperialism." The hand of Libya's Qaddafi is never completely absent. Highly-placed Americans also bear heavy responsibility for what we are now facing.

IN MARCH 1960 MR. ALDELKADER CHANDERLI, THE ALGERIAN REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK, flew to Havana to negotiate a treaty with Fidel Castro. Officials in Washington were not only aware of what was afoot but cooperated by calling our ambassador to Cuba, Mr. Philip Bonsal, home for talks until the Cuba-Algeria deal was consummated and Mr. Chanderli had flown back to New York on March 20, 1960. (H. du B. Report, May 1977). The official Algerian propaganda organ, El Moujahid, featured the Chanderli-Castro treaty with photos, but not a word appeared in the New York Times, whose man, Joe Kraft, had been living with Algerian terrorists in what they told him was "liberated" Algerian territory. On March 11, 1960, Tunisian delegates to the Cuba-Algeria treaty conference issued a call for volunteers of any origin, particularly technicians. This was the first concrete move of the new International Alliance of Revolutionaries which was preparing to have a trained force on hand, for lightning attacks on persons and organizations in Africa, America or Europe.

AFTER FOUR AND A HALF YEARS OF UNDERGROUND CONSPIRACY the plan was ready to come into the open. Moscow held a meeting in Cairo on September 2, 1965, to plan the official setting up of a base in Havana for allied revolutionary groups from Europe, Africa and the It would be known as the Tricontinental and would carry out missions in the three continents without involving Russia. A meeting would be held in Havana in January 1966 to iron out the details. Slated to head the flying force of terrorists from three continents was a cunning Moroccan who never would have emerged from the oblivion of coffee house politics had American labor's roving ambassador not selected him to replace his King. From the day Mr. Irving Brown, then organizing labor unions in North Africa, decided to make Mehdi Ben Barka the first President of a Moroccan Republic, the immense propaganda machine of American labor was set in motion to build him up. An empire of former colonies headed by labor leaders who would be loyal to Walter Reuther was the goal of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels, which had been financed by American labor for the purpose of using its some 120-member unions as pressure groups in their respective countries. With the support of member unions behind them, labor leaders would decide policies and make and unmake heads of state.

If a serious researcher were to go through the TIME-LIFE index compiled by TIME-LIFE

magazine in its Rockefeller Center offices in New York and trace the rise of Mehdi Ben Barka from the first brief mention of his name to the reams of glowing publicity when in 1977 he was received by President Eisenhower in the White House, he would be forced to recognize the artificial creation of a leader. Even the most sceptical would have to admit that faceless men were at work and conspiracy was not a myth when, three years after being honored at the White House, Mehdi Ben Barka was to accept the leadership of the terrorist Tricontinental. TIME of September 9, 1957, extolled him as the bright-eyed young man, "brought to the U.S. by State Department last March," who had 40,000 volunteers in the Riff from which the brightest were lectured "on such matters as the rights of a citizen and the democratization of Morocco." Democratization meant destruction of the throne and a labor boss in power. TIME of September 21, 1959, when he had already been named to head the Tricontinental, had nothing but praise for Ben Barka as the "fiery-eyed grocer's son...who has been in rebellion against one thing or another since earliest youth." Fortunately, the amateur sorcerers who had conjured the leader of the terrorists of three continents out of a vase were thwarted.

BEN BARKA REMAINED IN CAIRO FOR ALMOST A MONTH AFTER MOSCOW'S MEETING OF SEPT. 1965. This was a month of secret conferences in the offices of the "Moroccan Anti-Monarchist Movement" which Nasser had provided. Then the Moroccan flew to Geneva to pick up 500 million francs from the Red Chinese network Teng Hsiao-ping had spread across Europe in 1963. In late October he flew to Paris to discuss production of a film on decolonization with himself as the hero. Men loyal to the throne were waiting for him. He was picked up on Boulevard St. Germain at 12:15 P.M. on Friday, October 29, 1965, and, through no fault of America's, Morocco was saved from becoming another Libya. Mehdi Ben Barka was never seen again but the Tricontinental Conference took place in Havana, in January 1966, as planned. A hand-picked Russian Moslem named Rachikob took Ben Barka's place at the head table with over 500 delegates present to plan a global war against American imperialism. Russia sent 19 representatives and Red China 43. The number in the American delegation was kept secret. Out of this war council the alliance between the German Red Army Faktion and the Japanese and Italian Red Army Brigades was cemented.

THE STUDENT RIOTS OF MAY 1968 IN PARIS were a trying of the levers in France. Student armies directed by experienced revolutionaries using walkie-talkies all but brought the French Government to its knees. While de Gaulle was buying the loyalty of the French Army by releasing the generals he had imprisoned for refusing to accept defeat in Algeria, a Hanoi "negotiating" team was meeting nightly in the Hotel Lutetia with Professor Herbert Marcuse, of California, as adviser. This was the period when the campaign to regiment protesters as a prelude to upgrading them into terrorists reached its peak. At the top was Moscow's World Congress for Peace. Down through chains of command formed by professors, lawyers, preachers and a host of others who knew nothing of Vietnam, came orders which sent mobs swarming over campuses and goading national guardsmen who they knew had orders not to shoot. Full pages were bought in American papers for petitions signed by thousands, without a Vietnam authority among them — with many of the signatures representing people who did not exist.

Britain boasted 31 organizations opposing the war in Vietnam and calling for the destruction of the United States, according to the London Sunday Telegraph of January 17, 1971. John Le Carré, supposed authority on communist espionsage and subversion that he is, was helping American deserters in London. In Germany, pro-Hanoi Movements were prep schools for larger movements to destroy NATO and mobilize the Red Brigades of the future. If Stockholm was the preferred destination of American draft-evaders and deserters, Paris was the nerve center, and no publication worked harder than the Parisbased International Herald Tribune (owned by the Washington Post and New York Times) to picture every American soldier and officer in Vietnam as a war criminal, deserving of anything that might happen to him in the years to come. That the flood of hate mail against America in the letters-to-the-editor columns of the Herald Tribune was written by Americans only served to push the violence level upward in London, Bonn, West Berlin, Amsterdam and Brussels. Without a thought for the massacres that always come with

communist conquests, the possibility of deaths in "re-education camps" and suicidal attempts to escape, an orchestrated campaign worked to fix in the mind of public and police alike the idea that student violence was an expression of idealism, a revolt in which the student was victim and his country guilty. It should have been seen at the time that the end objective was to make attacks on NATO and the kidnapping of generals inevitable acts to be committed with impunity.

A PRINCIPAL CENTER OF ANTI-AMERICAN ACTIVITY IN PARIS was the American Friends' Service Center at 114 bis, rue de Vaugirard, where a man known as "Mr. Cook" was building up the chain of safe houses, producers of false passports and identity papers, and the transportation facilities of an underground railway. Deserters from NATO bases criss-crossed Europe, receiving resident permits and in some cases workers' papers as they passed over the route Cook was building up with Vietnam as a pretext and a larger offensive his objective.

Only with important accomplices in high places is the operation of an underground rail-way possible. On every American base in Europe a newsletter called ACT was circulated telling servicemen how to desert and where to go. Stamped on each was an invitation: "Want more? Write to Jean-Paul Sartre, P. O. Box 130, Paris 14." Behind ACT was RITA, for "Resistance inside the Army" and FRITA, for "Friends of RITA," appealing to soldiers to remain in the American armed forces and help destroy them from within. They also used the post box address of Jean-Paul Sartre, still described by the world press as a philosopher. By pamphlet and word of mouth the word was spread: "Go to Mr. Cook in Paris." Under de Gaulle, Cook was able to set up news conferences for deserters at which American newsmen cooperated with a will. Deserters, fake or real, moved in shadow form behind sheets, telling stories which newspaper and TV men never attempted to verify. Whether "Buster," behind the sheet, was a deserter from a German base or a hanger-on being fed by Cook was immaterial to them. In effect, the most expensive TV chains on earth gave millions of dollars of free time to the enemies of America.

It is estimated that Cook passed some 300 American deserters on the route to Sweden. LIFE, of December 11, 1967, gave him a page and a half, but by June 27, 1969, the treason show was over. De Gaulle was gone and President Pompidou expelled Cook from France despite the efforts of his highly-placed protectors. By 1971 Cook was back in the news again. The West German Red Army Faktion had received orders from Moscow to make America's 210,000 soldiers and airmen in Germany their target, and Cook was the expert with friends on the inside.

GERMAN INTELLIGENCE TURNED THE SPOTLIGHT ON THE MAN HOVERING AROUND AMERICAN BASES. They found that there was not one Mr. Cook but many of them. Cook was born under the name of Schweitzer in Vienna in 1928, which explained his command of German. His psychoanalyst mother took him to America while he was young. As soon as he was old enough to strike out on his own he migrated to Israel and from there to Paris where his American passport made him invaluable to the French red network.

Through 1957 and 1958 French reds worked to sabotage the war effort in Algeria and Schweitzer became the courier between French reds and Americans supporting the Algerian FLN, building up credit for the debt French reds were to repay during our war in Vietnam. During this period Schweitzer helped produce a number of propaganda films for the Algerians and his French wife, Nicole, worked in the Trotskyite headquarters in Algiers.

When the Algerian war ended Schweitzer found that it was easier to make headway with American servicemen and civilians at the bases in Germany if he operated as another American, so he adopted the name of Cook. In time other names became necessary as security services maintained a watch for him. On occasions he was Herr Doktor Schweitzer, of the Karl Ruprecht University in Heidelberg. Among the names in his false passports were: Max Watts, Poncho Peterson, Max Cook, Tommy Stevens, William Roy Cook and Joseph Liebowitz. Large sums of money went through his accounts in the

American Express, the Swiss Banking Corporation, the Overseas Development Banque of Geneva and the Credit Commercial in Paris. From where, no one knows. While Cook made friends among civilian and military personnel providing files on the movements and records of their officers and details on their bases, an army of sympathizers and protectors was built up on the outside. From Heidelberg information lines as well as the underground railway linked all of the red militants of Western Europe. German intelligence watched correspondence between Vanessa Redgrave in London and Mary Jo Liebowitz in Paris as best they could, but without cooperation from American commanders it was impossible to break through the ring circulating papers on American bases which referred to officers as pigs and told soldiers how to assert their rights. Why didn't officers do something on their own, in spite of Senator Weicker's concern over the "liberties of Americans" abroad and the associations of leftist lawyers lying in watch for a case? Major-General Edwin Walker tried to combat the red penetration of American bases a little over twenty years ago and was ruined for his efforts. When he started making speeches in America, the Kennedy brothers railroaded him into a mental institution, using the best KGB procedure, and a U.S. Director of Prisons obediently signed an order spiriting him over four states into an asylum where, but for the indignation of Texans, he would have disappeared for as long as it suited his captors to keep him silent.

THE KIDNAPPING OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL DOZIER SHOULD COME AS A SURPRISE TO NO ONE. It was a natural development in a planned and programmed process that has been going on for years. So solicitous were officials in Washington over the red moles boring into our German and Italian bases, Senator Weicker sent his staff investigator, William E. Wickens, to Europe to see that security officers were not keeping watch on the reds who were campaigning for Senator McGovern in the Presidential campaign of 1972.

Whether the Tricontinental, the Libyan network, or the Red Brigades acting under orders issued at the mid-November meeting in Lausanne carried out the Dozier kidnapping is incidental. What is important is that Americans recognize that all of these brigades are pawns on a monster table, moved at will by a foreign power which it is needless to name. Whether the English-speaking member of the kidnap gang was a traitor from Italy or Germany, or an American ex-serviceman in the pay of Libya, his presence lessens the chances of Brigadier-General Dozier being seen again alive. It is not the custom of Red Army brigades to leave anyone who can identify their members alive.

In the opinion of the best authorities on terrorism in Europe, Moscow has picked this moment of the Polish and Afghan crises to goad America into attacking the firmly-entrenched Red Army groups which have had years in which to prepare every play. The violence that will follow will then be turned against the West. Our own social and political systems will be blamed for the chaos that will follow, and 1982 will bring an inevitable showdown.

The Dozier kidnapping is a milestone in a path that was planned as far back as the founding of the Tricontinental in Havana. Militarily it is diversionary, destabilizing in the ranks of NATO and divisive in the tribune where men like Senator Weicker have a voice.

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A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER



PARIS

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REALITIES

The confrontation towards which we are marching daily may come in 1982. It is almost certain to come before the end of the decade. The exiled Russian, General Pyotr Grigorenko, sighed at the naivete of westerners making a human rights agreement with the Russians at Helsinki in 1975. In May 1980 he declared in London: "The West is complying with its provisions while the Soviet Union, under cover of the agreement, has, in my estimation, pocketed 20-some countries since it was signed." The London DAILY TELEGRAPH predicted on January 18, 1980, that Russia will expand in the mid-80s. East Berlin, Europeans believe, is an important symbol for which West Germany is ready to sacrifice her freedom in an emotional swing towards pacifism. Monsieur Guy Doly, the French military writer, wrote in his book, "La 6e Colonne," that the invasion of Western Europe by Warsaw Pact armies will take place at the beginning of a weekend over a religious holiday, while troops are on leave, barracks empty, and roads congested with families.

The way will be cleared by agents planted long in advance and members of national communist parties whom Boris Nikolaievitch Ponomarev, the director of foreign Communist Parties, has been preparing for sabotage and espionage for over 20 years. Destabilization of blocs of nations which thought they were working towards one-worldism will be carried out by international terrorist movements, 72 of which took part in the formation of the Tricontinental in Havana in January 1966. Over 100,000 KGB agents roam the West, recruiting and directing terrorists and spies.

LATIN AMERICA IS ONE OF MOSCOW'S CHOSEN BATTLEFIELDS. When Che Guevara entrusted the girl he called Tania with a secret mission to La Paz in 1964 he did not know that Mr. Koudriatzev, whose KGB code name was "Mr. Leon," had put her where she was solely to keep a watch on Guevara. While Koudriatzev was funneling \$330,000 into the Venezuela network through Pajetta and Seccia, of "the Italy Section of the Latin-American Revolutionary Command," Mr. Emiliano Hernandez, the KGB agent assigned to serve as Castro's chief of staff in the July 26 Movement, was dispatching an order to Senor Lopez, Castro's man in Paris. Lopez was told to contact a Frenchman named Regis Debray through a communist publisher named François Maspero and send Mr. Debray to Havana. In Havana Debray was given the code name "Danton" and in February 1967 sent to Che Guevara's camp in Bolivia. But Che did not want the young "intellectual" hanging around. He was a talker, not a fighter. Another glory-seeking Malraux. Guevara told him he could better serve the revolution on the outside. "Go back to France and organize a supporting network for the revolution in Latin-America," Guevara advised. While Debray was on his way out the Bolivians arrested him in Muyupampa on April 20, 1967. But the left takes care of its Cyrus Sulzberger threw the full weight of the New York Times behind Debray with pleas to "let the hippy go."

It took a long time to carry out Guevara's order, but Debray never faltered. Fourteen years later he became adviser on Latin-American Affairs to the new socialist President of France and, though French firms were going bankrupt and unemployed neared the two and a half million mark, French arms began flowing to the Nicaraguan communists for whom America had toppled their anti-communist President. FIGARO, magazine of January 16, 1982, tried to jolt the French public into opposition by publishing statements by prominent Americans demanding the withdrawal of American troops from Europe. The first American quoted was Berkeley's far-left political science professor, Paul Seabury, a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and Committee on the Present Danger. The danger America and the West face is posed by those whom Paul Seabury has always supported and any demand by Mr. Seabury that America pull her forces out of Europe is not inspired by anger over French shipments of arms to Nicaragua but his determination to leave Europe naked. What we are watching is a chain reaction in which a regional brushfire in Latin America or the third world may ignite Europe, Africa or the Middle East.

"My mistake was in thinking that peasants CHE GUEVARA SAW THE LIGHT BEFORE HE DIED. could be turned into revolutionaries," he told his followers. "All peasants want is to be left alone. We must organize urban guerrillas - terrorists. Their importance has been under-estimated. It is in the cities that the revolution will be won." By attempting to disassociate herself from international terrorists, orthodox communist Russia seeks to establish herself as a restraining force worthy of confidence - a power with which the West can negotiate for peace. While doing so, reaction is made to appear more vicious than the action which brings it on. Governments must be goaded into reacting against terrorism, so that terrorists may take advantage of the violence which follows. The credibility of a social and political system is destroyed and the climate for revolution is reached. Thus international terrorism, known as "The Fifth International Terrorist," was born. Guevara's instructions to Regis Debray have been carried out and on the advice of Debray, President François Mitterand, lionized in America by the Rockefellers and Teddy Kennedy, the Foreign Policy Association and Americans for Democratic Action, has invited Fidel Castro to visit Paris in the spring. The diversionary action in America's back yard may lead to any number of consequences.

EVENTUAL RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN POLAND IS CONSIDERED INEVITABLE. That it has not happened sooner is because after two years of combat Moscow is still on the defensive in Afghanistan. Russian forces are sitting out the winter. Marshal Ustinov, the Minister of Defense, and the late Mr. Suslov, who helped formulate orders for foreign communist parties, long ago faced the fact that détente is dead. The drive to wipe out Afghan resistance will come in the spring and summer of 1982 and then Russia will turn her attention to Poland, if she does not do so sooner. The consequences of a fight to the finish with the Poles are unpredictable, and in spite of Russia's tanks, helicopters and dreaded yellow gas, there is no certainty that the Afghans will be a push-over. Here is a case where America should be doing for the Afghans what Moscow did for Hanoi.

THE AFGHAN MOST FEARED BY MOSCOW IS SAID NASIM. He is 35 years old and was a major in the Afghan Army at the time of the Soviet invasion. Russian commanders were so sure of him that through 1978 and '79 they taught him everything they knew about mines and explosives. Now he is turning every trick of the Russians against his former instructors, with countless improvements of his own. His audacity is unbelievable. Said Nasim began by mining the roads around Kabul. In six months he destroyed over 70 Russian tanks. His thousands of personally-trained guerrillas work in small groups of 15 men with women acting as message bearers and ammunition carriers. Afghan police refuse to search under their skirts and the Russians dare not. Said Nasim is the brains and the spirit behind the battle for Kabul. In one of his daring raids he captured 28,000 Soviet winter combat uniforms. Now he is preparing to meet the offensive on which the Russians will stake everything when the winter is over. Medicines and arms from the West could mean the difference between defeat and victory.

Kurdistan, the fight is between Arabs and Persians, between Sunni Moslems and Shi-ites. There is little hope of negotiations, since Teheran will not talk until Iraqi forces withdraw, and Iraq is equally inflexible in her refusal to withdraw until Iran recognizes her control of the Shattel-Arab waterway. Iran recently envenomed the conflict by executing 1,500 Iraqi prisoners. This war has been going on for seventeen months and the longer it continues the more certain its chances of escalation become. Iran has made some advances but only by sacrificing thousands of lives in human waves. victims have been the fanatical Pasdaran-el-Enghleb, "revolutionary guards" who are to the Ayatollah Khomeiny what the SS was to Hitler. With Iran having three times the population of Iraq, she cannot fail to win in a war of attrition, unless the other Arab states lay themselves open to an attack by Israel in coming to Iraq's aid. This will confront America with a decision which eventually she will have to make. While the revolutionary guards enforce their own type of brutal discipline on the army, Iran's communists watch and wait. The monarchist army under General Aryana, which has liberated Chapur, inside Iran, continues to grow as deserters straggle in to swear allegiance to their new Shah. 1982 will be a bloody year for Iran. Meanwhile, former leaders in the Carter Administration are waiting also, like conscious bankrupts dreading the day of their own disclosure.

THE MOST DAMAGING BLOW TO AMERICAN CREDIBILITY will come on April 26 when the fact will have to be faced that Camp David was a Carter political ruse at President Anwar Sadat's expense. With it will come realization that Sadat died in vain, either because he believed in Carter, or thought that by pretending to have faith in Carter's and Begin's promises he would show himself before history as the honorable man of the three. To explain how Sadat was undermined and the American public duped it is necessary to go back to the Camp David talks and what the public was told. America rejoiced when President Carter was lauded as the man who had made peace between Israel and the Arabs. It seems unimportant that nothing was said of Jerusalem or the Golan Heights. What mattered was that Israel had agreed to withdraw from Sinai and Gaza on April 25, 1982, according to the flood of propaganda pumped out by the Carter machine and a biased American press.

It could not have been by accident that the most important clauses of that agreement were never mentioned, or, if mentioned at all, were played down. Prime Minister Menachem Begin actually made no concessions in the agreement which President Sadat signed. What the secret clause of the agreement stipulated was that Israel would withdraw from the territory mentioned on April 25, 1982, and give the Egyptian West Bank and Gaza "full autonomy" for a five-year period, after which "negotiations will take place to determine their final status." (Emphasis ours)

Even the term "full autonomy" was misleading, because it was limited to administrative autonomy and not legislative. The point was to leave the ultimate fate of Sinai and Gaza open. Israel would have a five-year period in which to consolidate the hundreds of settlements which no Israeli government will have the power to remove, so that by 1987 the issue will be closed and no withdrawal formula can be worked out. Through the 5-year interim period non-Israelis will enjoy "full autonomy" in the administration and enforcement of laws and regulations already in effect, but no power to legislate new laws or abrogate the old ones.

The Arabs have never believed that Mr. Begin, whose Likud coalition government has a majority of one in the 120-seat Knesset, would live up to the withdrawal agreement. The western press has for months been preparing public opinion for the reneging that is certain to lead to trouble. The public has been told that religious fanatics of Gush Emunim are responsible for the massive implantation of villages in Sinai and Gaza and threats to resist removal. The London TIMES of January 27, 1982, stated that "since the Likud government came to power in 1977, it has taken the initiative in planning, financing and carrying out the settlement activity, with the aim of securing not merely the Jordan Valley and the surroundings of Jerusalem as Israel's permanent territory (which was the objective of the previous government) but the West Bank - 'Judea and

Samaria' - as a whole." The leftist International Herald Tribune, owned by the New York Times and the Washington Post, declared on January 19, 1982, that "the Movement to Stop Withdrawal From the Sinai" is composed of "dissidents who openly threaten civil disobedience and violence, admit that their aim is to subvert the last withdrawal by provoking the government into abrogating the Camp David Agreement." As the fatal date approaches, Arab doubts are understandable. Maier Asher, writing from Jerusalem, reported in the London Sunday Telegraph of December 27, 1981: "Israel has lost faith in the U. S. " It is logical that the Arabs should reason: If Israel distrusts the country that has kept her afloat since 1949, why should the Arabs trust her? America guaranteed Israel's borders. If Israel had any faith in that guarantee, annexation of the Golan Heights would not be necessary for her security. On April 25 President Reagan is going to have to face Arab demands that the Camp David Agreement be carried out and the secret clauses exposed. Confronting him will be 21 Arab nations plus such Moslem countries as Malaysia and other nations with powerful Moslem minorities. Together they form the empire of Islam which every Israeli act is serving to unite. Holding a knife at the President's back when he makes his decision on April 26 is a minority with American nationality but capable of ousting from office politicians who criticize, much less vote against, the interests of the country to which they are emotionally attached.

Rabbi Haim Druekman, Israel's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, went to America well before the day of verity that is going to come in April. On January 18, 1982, Mrs. Ella Weizman, of the "Stop the Withdrawal From Sinai Movement," left to help him "drum up American support," as the press put it. The statement is misleading. The two are going over the President's head, not to appeal to America but to mobilize their own people in America. This is one of the time-bombs ticking in 1982, as one by one the smaller pieces of the globe's strategic mosaic are turned against America. Poland is a powder barrel, Western Europe is drifting towards anti-Americanism disguised as a neutralist approach to peace. Whether Islam will be alienated or won over remains to be seen. In non-Arab Africa, only the southern tip has not been handed to leaders who vote against the West in U.N. and will provide cannon fodder against the West when the conflagration comes. Having learned nothing from history, American and European politicians are working with suicidal frenzy to push South Africa the way of Rhodesia. is self-evident that all these facts constitute a mortal danger for America and the free world. President Reagan's solution has been to appoint some new members to a fiveyear-old committee.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER is one that should be analyzed, member by member. That so many leftists are on a committee to face a danger which leftists created can only have one of two explanations: These are the people who have powerful support, or, two: They were chosen for the purpose of saddling them with responsibility for the disaster which those who are trying to get out from under now realize is about to come. There are 32 members on this committee. Heading the list is Kenneth L. Adelman, a U.S. representative to U.N. Richard V. Allen was an original member. Whether he was permitted to remain there after the press which gave America the worst congress she has ever had squeezed him out of his post as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs is still not known. On ceasing to be the President's security adviser, he joined Heritage Foundation.

Martin Anderson, Assistant to the President for Policy Development and James L. Buckley, brother of the fake conservative, but himself an acceptable public servant, are on the list. W. Glenn Campbell, who is with Mr. Leo Cherne on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, is a member. Mr. Campbell's qualifications as an intelligence expert are unknown, but Mr. Cherne, who headed the intelligence advisory body under President Ford and has been on every civilian Intelligence Advisory Committee for years, is a disastrous liability. Under the spell of Joseph Buttinger, the Austrian socialist, naturalized American, who blatantly lied and distorted in his own Praeger-published books on Vietnam, Mr. Cherne was carried away with enthusiasm for Ngo dinh Diem, of whom he really knew nothing. Through 1958 Mr. Cherne demonstrated his unfitness for hardheaded intelligence work by holding meetings where, as an economist, he urged Americans

to make private investments in Vietnam. They could not lose, he told his listeners, because the government would guarantee their investments. In his hatred of those who would have prevented the present danger, Cherne denounced the late Joe McCarthy as even more sinister than the press depicted him.

William J. Casey, the director of CIA, is also a member of the Committee on the Present Danger. Let us hope that he has forgotten everything he was told when he accompanied Leo Cherne and Bayard Rustin on a "fact-finding" mission to Asia in February 1978. John B. Connally, also on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, is as able a political maneuverer as America has ever produced, but political wheeling and dealing is a long way from foreign intelligence. Liz Carpenter, Lady Bird Johnson's ex-press secretary, once called him "a political transvestite who at the battle of the Alamo would have organized Texans for Santa Ana," but it must be remembered that that was when Mr. Connally quit LBJ's camp.

Joseph D. Douglass, Jr., Assistant Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; John S. Foster, Jr., of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board; Amoretta M. Hoeber, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Development, and Fred Charles Ikle, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, follow. Then we come to Max M. Kampelman, Chairman of the U. S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Kampelman rose high and fast through the labor movement of Polish-born Dave Dubinsky. He was a socialist-pacifist supporter of Norman Thomas, chairman of the public affairs committee of the ultra-leftist Americans for Democratic Action and a campaigner for "democratic social ownership of America's major industries," in the past. Millions of dollars went down the drain through his influence in the Agency for International Development when our unpaid loans to India were made. He is a national council member of the pro-communist Foreign Policy Association and a director of the leftist-internationalist Atlantic Council of the United States.

Leaving alphabetical order for a moment, let us point out that three other members of the Committee on the Present Danger, along with Mr. Kampelman, are listed in the 4volume Biographical Dictionary of the Left. They are Paul H. Nitze, Chief Negotiator for Theatre Nuclear Forces; and Eugene V. Rostow, the socialist who attended Pugwash Conferences and worked for no-winism in Vietnam so that that country could join the bloc of "energetic and ambitious communist regimes," as he expressed it. Then comes Paul Seabury, the fire-breathing red from Berkeley Campus who helped glorify communists in R. Harris Smith's book, "OSS-The Secret History of America's First CIA." In Europe Seabury is best known for his work with the American-European Conference Movement, which the Polish-born U. S. former labor attaché, now known as Joseph Godson, directs from offices in Benjamin Franklin House, at 36 Craven Street, in London. The purpose of this movement is to bring the U.S. into a socialist one-world federation erected on the foundation of the ever-expanding Common Market. Seabury is a fitting companion for Nitze who, while acting as JFK's security adviser, told a seminar in California that America should not seek nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, and that our Strategic Air Command should become a NATO command, under the General Assembly of U.N.

The overlapping of the Committee on the Present Danger with other committees and groups such as the National Security Council and Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board gives an impression of gears meshing to form a monster machine. Geoffrey Kemp is a member and so is U.N. representative, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, an estimable lady but she <u>is</u> a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, which would have us moving towards one-worldism through sacrifice of sovereignty to the European Community, or Common Market.

Navy Secretary John F. Lehman is a member, and it is enough to send chills up a good intelligence officer's spine to note that Clare Booth Luce is a member of both the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the Committee on the Present Danger. Clare is socially a charming lady but completely unstable when tossed by her emotions. If one reads her hysterical defense of Madame Nhu in "The Lady is for Burning," which Clare wrote with the certainty of ignorance and Bill Buckley published, it is hard to reconcile

Madame Luce's indifference to hard research in this case with her present position on any intelligence advisory board, where sound facts should be a must. Mr. Buckley's printing of Mrs. Luce's outpouring is understandable. Bill was moved by the highly exploited piety of the Diem family as Catholics, particularly since he had a close personal relationship with Harold Oram, the non-Catholic public relations huckster who spent hundreds of thousands of dollars of American aid money to keep that aspect of the Ngo dinh family in the American mind. When Diem nationalized the Chinese in Vietnam and attacked their tradition of ancestor worship by making them take Vietnamese names, his image-maker put a man named Bernie Yoh on the payroll in order to have a Chinese extolling the family that was despoiling his people. (Yoh is now number two in Accuracy in Media)

Both Buckley and Mrs. Luce should have known that a government half way around the world, in this case America, could not take a northern Catholic family, without a party, and set it up in power in a Buddhist nation in which the majority were actively anti-Catholic. For over six months before our present adviser on foreign intelligence unburdened herself by writing drivel which made her look foolish, Madame Nhu and her husband had been negotiating with the enemy which American boys were fighting. On September 18, 1963, Hanoi broke off the talks, knowing that if Madame Nhu and her husband carried out their part of the bargain and got the Americans to leave, Hanoi would have to take over the job of forcing Nhu and his wife on the South. On September 21, 1962, Madame Nhu left for Belgrade to try to get the communists to take over the American load and leave her and her husband in power. The answer was no, so she went to Paris. De Gaulle, whose Saigon ambassador had been her intermediary with the north, refused to see her. There was nothing else to do but go to America and tell Mr. Randolph Kidder, the former chargé d'affaires in whom she had invested so many favors, that he had to keep American support behind her husband or she would talk.

As Madame Nhu entered America, the State Department sent Mr. Kidder on a tour around the world, "inspecting American embassies," and Angier Biddle Duke, who had been nominal head of the Diem lobby, rented the roving official's home on Foxhall Road in Washington, so he could afford to make his trip a leisurely one. And all those years when Madame Nhu and her husband had been the real wielders of power, their intelligence chief, Colonel Pham ngoc Thao, had been a Hanoi spy! (See Stanley Karnow's syndicated column of March 24, 1981) So much for the judgment of foreign affairs intelligence adviser Luce.

Other members of the Committee on the Present Danger with overlapping affiliations, often with the Intelligence Oversight Board or Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, are: Edward E. Noble, Michael Novak, Peter O'Donnel, Jr., Richard N. Perle, Richard Pipes, R. C. Stilwell, Robert Strausz-Hupe, Charles Tyroler II, William R. Van Cleave, Charles E. Walker, Seymour Weiss and Edward Bennett Williams.

When your correspondent was a student at the Paris Institut de Science Politique, an elderly professor went to great pains to hammer into his head: "Get it right the first time. If you don't you will spend the rest of your life back-tracking to correct errors." Errors in intelligence services and the boards that advise them are paid for in lives, and the price is always high.

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PARIS

THE PROPERTY OF STREET, THE RESIDENCE AND ADDRESS ASSESSMENT

His Majesty Bao Dai and Her Highness the Princess Monique ended their American visit with a last dinner at the Harvard Club in Boston, as the guests of Mr. Robert Welch. Secretary of State Alexander Haig a few days later faced obstructive congressmen on March 2, 1982, over the Administration's policy in El Salvador. Congressman Gerry E. Studds (D.Mass.) attacked the Secretary of State's efforts to prevent the creeping communization of the lands beneath America's southern border and sneered at President Reagan's news conference remarks on the origins of the Vietnam war. Mr. Haig asked Congressman Studds, "Where were you during that war?" To quote the Washington Post of March 3, 1982, "Studds shot back that his political career began because of his opposition to what he regarded as 'the terribly mistaken' U. S. involvement in Vietnam. To which Haig replied: Oh, yes, now I remember."

HIS MAJESTY BAO DAI VISITS THE U.S.

Parliamentary politeness, or slow thinking? Mr. Haig was remiss in the performance of his duties. He should have replied: "Congressman Studds, what did you know about Vietnam? Was your political career not based on an abysmal ignorance of the terribly mistaken beginning of American involvement in Vietnam?" If Congressman Studds and those working with him to turn Latin America into a monster Cuba knew of America's arming and setting in motion a communist army in Vietnam in 1945, with no word of protest from Congressmen like themselves, perhaps they would agree with Dionysius of Halicarnassus that "history is philosophy teaching by example." Unfortunately, even had they attempted to talk to the Emperor whom the American Government and its agents betrayed, deposed and then impoverished, they would have learned little. The Son of Heaven is a product of a thousand years of culture. Locked in his armor of dignity, he must accept all. He must not complain. He must never lower himself by reproaching those who destroyed the throne and its vitalizing force of tradition.

THE TWENTY-SEVEN IMPORTANT GUESTS WHOM MR. WELCH INVITED TO THE HARVARD CLUB DINNER ON February 27, may or may not have realized that they were enjoying the privilege of walking through a tragic corner of history. Had they been reminded, they would have remembered that MacArthur saved Japan by preserving her pillar of stability, the throne, but few would have carried the thought further and reflected that had MacArthur done as CIA's Colonel Lansdale and the small group of leftist militants from Michigan State University did in Vietnam, Japan would be what Vietnam is today.

Among the twenty-seven people at the Harvard Club that night to meet the Emperor and his beautiful Princess was former Governor Thompson, of New Hampshire, who gave His Majesty a jug of maple syrup from his farm. It is a pity that a documentary film could not have flashed before their eyes showing the Austrian socialist, Joseph Buttinger, using the NEW LEADER, the official organ of American labor, of June 27, 1955, to tell trusting Americans that "Although the government of Ho chi Minh was dominated by communists (in 1945), this regime had a good chance of developing along democratic lines if French colonial policies had not driven the people into the communists' arms." (Dr. Milton Friedman wrote in NEWSWEEK, of January 12, 1981, "No communist government has ever been replaced by or developed into a democracy.")

Having failed to turn Vietnam over to Ho chi Minh the communist in 1945 without a fight, Buttinger and his friend, Leo Cherne, who for years has sat on every civilian advisory board of CIA, turned their efforts to forcing a devout Catholic, surrounded by corrupt relatives and friends, on a Buddhist, 90% anti-Catholic nation. It was a sure prescription for communist victory. Aiding them in smearing the Emperor, whom those who formed the basis of the country in the rice paddies regarded as a god, was Bill Buckley, the pseudo-conservative, supercilious in speech but too lacking in self respect to cut his hair. There was no opposition from Congressman Studds, of Massachusetts, when this "American involvement" was taking place, and Bill Buckley was entranced by the partner of the public relations huckster whom Americans were paying \$100,000 a year to pave the way to riots and surrender.

Now it was over and the "peace with honor" negotiated by Cyrus Vance and Averell Harriman had come and gone. Looking at the man at the head of the table of the Harvard Club that Saturday night of February 27, 1982, it was impossible not to think of the first photograph in the book, DRAGON OF ANNAM, which he had written with the help of Princess Monique, the 1919 photograph of the little Prince Vinh-Thuy on his miniature throne in an embroidered robe bearing the five-clawed imperial dragon of Annam's Emperors, in the old palace of Hué. Change was unthinkable. No one looking at that picture could possibly imagine that after nineteen years of reign as His Majesty Bao Dai (Protector of Greatness) he would one day be driven from his throne in a rigged plebiscite contrived by the same services which helped the communists by destroying the King in Italy and later were to do the same in Iran.

Before the dinner in Boston, at which Her Highness the Princess Monique said, "I feel that I have found a new family," the Emperor and I reminisced. "Do you remember, Your Majesty, the night we dined with Dr. Nguyen Manh Don and Prince Buu Loc in early 1965, when I told you that the civilians clamoring for more control over the military in Washington, wanted it so they could make strategic decisions, even on the battlefield, and prevent the army from winning? None of you would believe me, though every day people like Arthur Goldberg and Senator Fulbright were telling Hanoi, through television and the press, that military victory was not our objective. Only Hanoi seemed to realize that what those men were saying was 'be patient. We will leave you the field when American parents and students have been conditioned to ask for defeat.' I told Your Majesty that the war would be prolonged and every planned counter-offensive blocked, while biased TV chains, a dishonest press, leftist professors and Moscow-directed 'peace' organizations sapped morale at home, until weary patriots were ready to throw up their hands and say: 'Do anything you want to, to get us out, only do not tell us about it.'"

There is no such a thing as being too resigned, too determined not to look like a whiner. The wronged Emperor mentioned none of these conversations in his book but in private he admitted: "How could we believe you? It seemed too incredible. We knew the situation Hanoi was in. We knew that all America had to do was show that she intended to win and the war would end. We could not see why America should want to accept anything less than victory." As we went over the old memories it was a conversation between two friends, not the Son of Heaven and an ignorant westerner, and I thought of my subscriber, Steve King, out in La Jolla, California, crying "quit writing about Vietnam! It is over and we want to forget it!" "Do you remember, Your Majesty, the night we had dinner with Lucien Bodard, the real authority on Vietnam, and Philippe Devillers, the leftist intellectual who wrote in his quarterly, which the French Prime Minister subsidized, that he could not understand why first France and then America should wage war against a poor people like the North Vietnamese, who wanted only to be left alone? That people like Devillers should be flown to America, whisked into the office of McGeorge Bundy and deferred to by Arthur Goldberg, while those of us who wrote that Ho chi Minh's testament called for communization of all Southeast Asia had CIA and the State Department trying to lift our passports, that should provide your answer.

"Your Majesty must realize that the first president and founder of the United World

Federalists (Mr. Cord Myer, Jr.) was high in CIA, that men holding the levers of command in State Department CIA, and foundations forming a secret American government more powerful than the elected one have never denied that they are working for a world government in which America and Russia will merge. Only by demoralizing America through a planned defeat in Asia could they make Americans refuse to oppose communist advances anywhere, even at our own back door. We must remember that it took military defeat in winnable colonial wars to make France, Britain, Belgium and Holland surrender sovereignty to a one-worldism movement cloaked as an economic Common Market. Vietnam was America's synthetic colonial war." The Emperor had heard stories about men with no mandate from anyone gathering at international meetings to plan how they would abolish sovereignty and lead their countries into a new world order, but it seemed too far out to be taken It never occurred to him that such a conspiracy as this might have been behind his country's misfortunes and his own. When probably not an American in twenty million remembers that Marshall Shulman, President Carter's principal State Department adviser on Soviet affairs, declared that "Détente involves a long-term plan which calls for collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union for a new world order," how should an intelligent, exiled Asian remember it?

His Majesty was silent, turning the preposterous thought of wealthy men working to sacrifice their country's sovereignty over in his mind. It was time to change the subject. "What date would Your Majesty set for the beginning of the war in Indo-China?" "I would say it started on the night of December 19, 1946, when the Vietminh went on an orgy of killing, to carry out the plan they had prepared to exterminate the French. I have always thought that Vo nguyen Giap would have liked more time for preparation, but Ho chi Minh wanted the massacre at once, as an act of provocation." "Didn't Your Majesty know that a group of OSS officers had brought Ho chi Minh out of General Chang Fa-kwei's prison by changing his name and that in early February, 1945, while French resistance groups under Commandant Marcel Mingant and others were helping General Chennault, Major Paul Helliwell gave Ho chi Minh 20,000 cartridges and the guns with which he started attacking our allies? I have always regarded that as the date when the war in Indo-China commenced."

"No, the Japanese had cut me off from the outside world. I was in the palace in Hué and knew nothing of what was going on outside until the day a Japanese colonel asked to see me. He had been assigned to watch the Ho chi Minh build-up, and since Ho was preparing to fight only the French, Japanese forces had been ordered not to bother him or the Americans training his men. The colonel, however, was devoted to his own Emperor and wanted to warn me that the Americans were forming an army for Ho chi Minh. He said 'Ho's forces are not causing us any trouble, but later they are going to cause trouble for Your Majesty. If you say the word, we will cut their heads off now, while we can." This was when the Emperor made one of his greatest mistakes. He thought for a moment and replied: "No, I cannot ask you to kill my subjects, even though they are my enemies. I must deal with this myself. Already the communists and the Americans are calling me a puppet of the French. I do not want them to call me a puppet of the Japanese." Unfortunately, the Emperor, who was still pictured as a French puppet in a film circulated by American conservatives in the mid-60s - conservatives who had bought the communist line - was never permitted to deal with the communist problem himself. Sadly, he reflected as we dined together one day in the 60s: "Had your country given me onethousandth of the sum they spent to depose me, I could have won that war."

"When was the first time Your Majesty ever saw Colonel Lansdale?" I asked. He replied: "The first time I ever saw Lansdale was in Hanoi in 1945 when he was with Ho chi Minh." "Then the man who paid millions of dollars to buy off the anti-communist Cao Dai and Hoa Hao leaders (whose sects are still fighting the reds) and who tried to kill General Le van Vien, the protector of Saigon, helped place Ho chi Minh in power and was later praised in dishonest reports and a book (The Ugly American) as a hero in the war against him. By October 1955, this 1945 companion of Ho chi Minh was helping rig the plebiscite to depose you."

"Yes, the full story of those years would make an unbelievable book. I was a prisoner

and Ho dragged me to all his meetings with Colonel Lansdale and Major Archimedes Patti and later with General Philip Gallagher, the American commander who contributed to Ho's warchest. I soon realized what he was up to. His government had no official standing but by having me beside him and deferring to me he was able to confer a semblance of legitimacy on himself. He was a great actor. He would treat me with the utmost respect, constantly deferring to me and giving me precedence in the presence of others, as though he were representing me. By turns he was paternal, affectionate, or playing on his apparent fragility. Sometimes he would affect austerity or again he would use humor. Everyone who approached him fooled himself or was fooled - the Americans, Saintenny (the French negotiator) and in the beginning even myself.

"When I had the facts of Ho's past I knew what sort of a man I was up against. Behind the mask was a dedicated Marxist, hardened by over thirty years of scheming, strait-jacketed by his party, a revolutionary who knew every ruse. Capable of patience or duplicity, knowing men and their weaknesses and despising all of them. There was no limit to his perserverance. Every move was calculated to further his objectives. He could sham any emotion he wished but was unmovable when it came to a decision. He was full of subtle maneuvers, cunning and an inhuman cynicism, always ready to embrace, the better to strangle. He boasted that he had used Jefferson's preamble to the Declaration of Independence, to fool the Americans, but privately he confided contemptuously that their only thought was to replace the French. He claimed that General Gallagher, acting as intermediary for the Americans, had offered to get Indochina its independence if the State Department would be permitted to reorganize its economy and take it under its wing. Filled with satisfaction over duping the Americans, Ho said 'They are capitalists. It is in their blood. It is better that I strike a deal with the French.'"

HIS MAJESTY BAO DAI'S BOOK, DRAGON OF ANNAM, for all that it contains no word of reproach nor accusations, leaves one with the feeling that Colonel Lansdale and all those others who created the monster which cost the lives of some 50,000 Americans have enjoyed inexplicable protection from every agency in Washington, to say nothing of our media. The stories of the men who led America into the involvement of which Congressman Studds knows nothing and the stories of the Vietnamese refugees who gained fortunes and power in the years of corruption that followed and who now denigrate the Emperor in whose name the suicidal resistance struggle is being waged, these are the stories that should be written. In June 1954 Lansdale was sent back to Saigon by Allen Dulles, not to see if the Vietnamese would follow the man America was foisting on the country, but to buy off or crush every leader even though anti-communist, who refused to accept him. Army officers were told that if they did support Colonel Lansdale's man American aid would be cut off and they would not get their pay. Wealth and advancement were promised if they went along.

Congressman Walter Judd boasted in a booklet put out by socialist Joseph Buttinger and CIA advisory board member Leo Cherne that Lieut-General John (Iron Mike) O'Daniel had egged President Diem into attacking the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen forces while Ambassador Lawton Collins was out of the country. Thus the three native armies whom the communists feared (and whose sons and survivors are still fighting long after we sold them out) were destroyed. It was the first step in a no-winism war. In the first week of May 1955, Washington papers were suddenly full of stories of Vietnamese mobs trampling on the Emperor's picture and accounts of Diem summoning his rubber-stamp provisional assembly on April 30 to formally depose His Majesty Bao Dai.

After the first flurry of sensational journalism the story died as suddenly as it started. Wesley Fishel, of Michigan State University's team of leftist professors serving as "advisers" to Vietnam's President, was in Washington to run interference for the American colonel and Michigan intellectuals who on their own initiative were trying to put over Vietnam's first $coup\ d'etat$. Someone in the group behind the scenes called a halt. It was too soon.

Professor Fishel stormed into a room of the Du Pont Plaza Hotel in Washington and, livid with anger, threw a crumpled newspaper on the floor. "Those fools in the State Department," he shouted, "They are afraid of their own shadows!" It was easy to see who was behind the events in Saigon. By October the powers that be in Washington were ready for the farce of a plebiscite and the circle of events was completed. In June 1954 His Majesty Bao Dai gave Diem a check with which to hire a mob to acclaim his arrival in Saigon. Ten months later an American colonel who had been with Ho chi Minh and a clique of "democracy installers" from a Michigan university were whipping up a mob to depose the man who had paid for the phoney demonstration of enthusiasm for Diem. With the Emperor unseated, the same men had no trouble persuading their protege and his voracious brother and sister-in-law to confiscate the Emperor's belongings, in late June 1957.

This raises a delicate question. As a matter of honor, since Americans whom Congressman Studds disapproves of not at all, crammed Diem down the throats of the Vietnamese, then encouraged him to seize everything possessed by the man who appointed him, it would seem that America owes some moral debt to the destitute Emperor whom we stripped.

Lansdale was made a general and given the distinguished service medal for his success in destroying the leaders and forces capable of blocking the reds in Vietnam. A Vietnamese known as "Big" Minh got his first star as a general for his role in the deal and when the curtain fell it was he who surrendered Saigon to the victorious reds. "Big" Minh is in Paris as this is written, not lacking in money and working for Hanoi.

After Lansdale had eliminated Diem's anti-communist enemies, leaving the reds with a clear field, he changed his mind and got out from under. William Toughy wrote in the Los Angeles Times of March 26, 1967, that Lansdale had "soured" on the man he had stopped at nothing to put over. Nothing was said of the lives that were lost because he and a handful of insiders had lied, bribed and framed to win what to them was their "game."

By 1965 Lansdale was back in Saigon with the rank of minister, assigned to help Henry Cabot Lodge and the disastrous Ellsworth Bunker oust Nguyen cao Ky from power because, after the November 1, 1964, destruction of Bien Hoa airbase Ky wanted to carry the fight to the enemy, which is to say, he wanted to win.

By that time no one knew where the mysterious Captain Farris was, who was supposed to be searching for American graves at the end of 1945 but who was at Ho chi Minh's side as his American adviser, in Ho's meetings with General Raoul Salan, the French commander. These are things the twenty-seven guests who dined with His Majesty at the Harvard Club in Boston on February 27th never heard of. No American newspaper ever told them of the day in 1949 when Dr. Nguyen manh Don went to Washington as His Majesty's minister and was told by James O'Sullivan, in the office of the State Department of the most powerful nation in the world: "I will not conceal from you the fact that I and a number of my associates hope for a Ho chi Minh victory in Vietnam." No congressman such as Gerry Studds ever based a political career on this sort of "terrible mistaken U. S. involvement in Vietnam."

NOW AMONG THE COUNTRYLESS VIETNAMESE a psychological change has taken place. Cupidity and a gift for corruption was awakened in many of the foreign-educated Vietnamese who attracted attention as the country's elite. Because they have lost respect for the old ways and above all the throne, many Americans have taken their attitudes as representative. As a matter of fact, the Vietnamese swelling refugee camps in Thailand and scattered communities in America, France and Britain are not of the class that profited by courting Americans and working against their Emperor.

Having lost their country, the mass of refugees who formed the base of their society are turning to all they have left--their traditions. From young Vietnamese taxi drivers in Hawaii to refugee communities in half a dozen countries, respect for the old values and

desire for their traditional rallying pole, the throne, is emerging.

Sensing this, one of the petty generals who worked to destroy His Majesty when doing so meant advancement, recently tried the successful tactic of Ho chi Minh. He arranged a series of receptions across America at which he would gain an appearance of legitimacy for himself and bring Americans and Vietnamese to regard him as His Majesty's representative, by deferring to the Emperor and appearing at his side. It was Ho chi Minh's trickery all over again.

When the Emperor perceived what was behind the show of false deference and cut the tour short, to attend the American dinner in Boston, the general flew into a rage and tried the "mafia" tactics he had used with impunity in Saigon. He sent his daughter to tell the woman holding His Majesty's airline tickets that she and her family would be harmed if she did not hand them over. A henchman named Hoang van Duc, living at 3630 Barry Avenue, in Mar Vista, California, wrote a lying letter to the editor who had published an article favorable to the Emperor and his wife. Counting on the editor's ignorance, Hoang van Duc layed himself open to a libel suit by stating that His Majesty Bao Dai is not married and that the woman with him was the wife of Norodom Sihanouk, of Cambodia, all blatantly untrue and inspired by a desire for revenge. But these were isolated cases.

Such acts, if anything, have only increased the unpopularity of the Vietnamese with estates in Orlando, Florida, and elsewhere who rose upward and acquired wealth and power by working against the man who was a god to the people of the rice paddies and who every day is gaining respect and sympathy among the masses of the exiles.

The Free Vietnam Committee, in Britain, is pro-Bao Dai. Another Vietnamese monarchist resistance organization has formed in France. In America His Majesty is represented by his nephew, Mr. Bao Di, of 922 - 2nd Street, Old Sacramento, California 95814. With the above address as its seat an organization of Vietnamese supporting a resistance movement loyal to the Emperor whom Lansdale and the Michigan State University team deposed is being formed. It will have its own publication informing Vietnamese refugees of events in their lost country and other refugee communities in America and abroad. Victims of what Cyrus Sulzberger praised in the New York Times as "the Wilsonian credo of war without victory," which in practice means war without victory for America or the country whose fate her intellectuals have decided upon.

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