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THE TIMES

Electricity: Why so many people are switched off, page 8

Moscow regards new Warsaw leader as Poland's last chance

Western diplomats believe Moscow has issued a clear warning to Warsaw that the upheaval in Poland will no longer be tolerated. The appointment of a new Polish Prime Minister is regarded by the Kremlin as the last chance for Poland to put its house in order. Mr Stanislaw Kania, the Polish party leader, said yesterday that if the "chaos continued", Russian patience might run out.

Ample warning of intervention

From Michael Binyon
Moscow, Feb 10

The appointment of General Wojchiech Jaruzelski, the Polish Defence Minister, as his country's Prime Minister, is seen here as the last chance for the Warsaw authorities to bring Poland back to normal before the Soviet Union feels obliged to intervene.

Western diplomats believe the Russians have given the Poles a clear warning that they have reached the limits of tolerance—and have urged the Polish authorities to take a tougher line against the independent trade union movement and dissident groups.

This may have prompted the resignation of Mr Jozef Pinkowski as Prime Minister. Moscow may not have been consulted about the choice of his successor, though the Kremlin will clearly approve the appointment of a Soviet-trained general in the expectation that he will be more decisive in ending the chaos.

As the tone of Soviet reporting on the Polish crisis becomes daily more threatening, it is clear that the Russians regard the situation as little short of disastrous. But they are aware of the enormous political, military and economic costs of open intervention, and appear to be hoping that the situation can still be retrieved by the Polish party leadership.

Matters have already gone so far beyond what were previously regarded as the thresholds of Soviet tolerance—and so many false alarms have been given of an imminent Soviet invasion—that it is difficult to know what would finally prompt intervention and what form this would take.

Western diplomats here suggested today that the Russians would be content with a Polish government which would restore order, but which would not be a puppet regime. They would be willing to see a government which would be prepared to negotiate with Solidarity, but which would not allow the union to challenge the party's leading role in the state.

He spoke of the heavy Soviet casualties in liberating Poland at the end of the Second World War, and said it was "understandable that we cannot behave indifferently towards what is happening in Poland today and for what reasons".

Ironically the Russians gave a warning last summer that the logic of events in Poland would inevitably lead to the present chaos. Moscow appears to have had a good understanding of the Polish mood and circumstances, but—because of outside constraints and the lack of any clear alternative—was obliged to let matters there take their course.

Nearly all Moscow's gloomiest predictions have come true, and accusations being levelled by the Soviet press accurately reflect the intense concern of the Kremlin.

The main charge is that Solidarity, the independent Polish trade union organization, has set itself up as a political opposition to the Polish Communist Party, and cannot be trusted to confine itself to union activities. The Russians say the organization is influenced from outside by anti-Soviet forces.

The official Tass news agency maintains that Solidarity is conducing "deliberate and organized subversive activity". The Russians regard two recent Solidarity demands to be incompatible with communist ideology. These demands are the dismissal of local officials deemed corrupt or hostile to Solidarity, and the registration of a rural branch of the union organization.

According to Soviet orthodoxy only the party has the right to change its officials, however corrupt, or approve new appointments. The Russians ruled today, would be to set up a coordinated private sector.

The supremacy of the Polish party has also been challenged by the decision to allow Solidarity access to the media, which the Russians have long regarded as a vital instrument of party propaganda.

A Tass report last night said Solidarity had "stepped up its subversive political agitation among the population . . . the Solidarity leadership use the mass media to disseminate the calls to maintain 'strike readiness', trying to aggravate the situation".

Solidarity has also made demands that strike at the jealously-guarded system of privileges for senior party officals and state employees' privileges which the Russians dislike seeing publicised.

The Russians are particularly angry that Polish dissidents, especially the Kor group, have been allowed to operate virtually unchecked. Tass described Kor yesterday as an "Anti-socialist organization".

Other demands put forward by Solidarity members, such as a relaxation of censorship and investigations into the activities of the Polish security apparatus are seen in Moscow as a dangerous challenge to the communist system.

Above all, however, it is the seemingly endless industrial unrest that has provoked Soviet anger. The Russians cannot afford to let Poland go bankrupt, and realize that the economic crisis grows ever deeper with each new strike.

The Russians believe that each concession by the Polish Government in its negotiations with Solidarity has only led to further demands, and that the country's workers must now be made, by force if not by per-

Miners set for all-out battle over closures

By Paul Routledge
Labour Editor

Leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers are preparing for an all-out confrontation with the Government over the threatened closure of many pits and the loss of up to 30,000 jobs under a coal board scheme to meet the impact of the economic recession.

The miners had their worst fears confirmed yesterday when they met Sir Derek Ezra, the coal board chairman, for talks on the industry's future at a time of falling demand and rising output. They were told that capacity should be reduced by 10 million tonnes a year through the closure of inefficent collieries and the exploitation of highly mechanized "super-pits".

That could involve the closure of up to 50 mines over the next two to five years as the industry seeks to bring output into line with demand, and union leaders will tomorrow draw up their battle plans against the closure programme.

The scale of the cut is closing the ranks of the politically-divided national executive of the miners' union. Mr Joseph Gormley, its moderate president, said that if a joint approach to the Cabinet for more state aid fails, then a pithead ballot of the men on industrial action would be ordered.

"We will go to them and ask if they are willing to support us in national strike action as a result of Government policy", he said. The whole policy of importing coal while eight million tonnes produced in British pits were being put into stock was economic madness", Mr Gormley said. "I am not going to allow the industry to be raped in this way".

Mr Arthur Scargill, left-wing president of the Yorkshire miners, who are already planning a strike over plans to shut Orgreave colliery, near Sheffield, said: "Mrs Thatcher has been out to get the miners since 1972 and 1974 (the years of their national strikes). If she throws down the gauntlet, I can assure her of one thing: we will pick it up".

In the first instance, the miners are expected to seek a reversal of government policy through talks with ministers, arguing that circumstances have changed since the 1980 Coal Industry Act, which phases out operating subsidies over a three-



Photograph by Keith Waldegrave

Susana Kleeman, aged 10, reading yesterday from her play "Perfect Pigs", which has been chosen for production at the Royal Court Theatre Upstairs in London. Report, page 5.

Fish buyers seek cover from police

By John Roper

Grimsby fish merchants sought police protection yesterday for their drivers because of what one described as something "like a riot" when picketing fishermen attempted to stop traffic at dock entrances.

It was claimed that there were up to 16 pickets at each entrance and that they stopped consignments of cod from Scottish ports from entering the dock.

The fishermen had mounted the pickets in protest at cheap foreign imports which they say are keeping prices for British fish low.

Mr Jenkins defines his policy for new party

By Fred Emery
Political Editor

As Mrs Shirley Williams confirmed last night that she would be leaving the Labour Party "very soon" and forming a new party, Mr Roy Jenkins, one of her leading social democrat partners, defined their practical policy. He advocated government intervention to bring down the rate of sterling and once it was lower, for Britain to join the European Monetary System (EMS).

In a speech to the American Chamber of Commerce in London, Mr Jenkins predicted a major political realignment within six years. He also claimed that the events of the past two and a half weeks since he, Mrs Williams, Dr David Owen and Mr William Rodgers launched the Council for Social

ary effects of its earlier policies."

If the Government was allowed to continue, we should come to curse North Sea oil as the pathway to irreversible disaster, not a national benefit.

Mr Jenkins called for an urgent change in what he called the "policy of government indifference" to the exchange rate. It must come sooner rather than later and by sooner, he meant "now".

Three steps needed to be taken in combination. First, the Government must "talk down" the pound; the markets at the moment did not believe the Government would intervene. Secondly, interest rates should be lowered significantly and thirdly, constraints should be considered on foreign capital inflows, as in Switzerland and

Swiss help American journalist to leave Iran

From Tony Allaway
Tehran, Feb 10

A new passport, produced overnight by Swiss diplomats, enabled Mrs Cynthia Dwyer, the American freelance journalist, to fly from Iran to freedom today after nine months in Iranian prisons.

Mrs Dwyer, aged 49, should have been deported yesterday after being convicted last week on spying charges but was refused permission to leave by airport immigration officials because she had no passport.

She was slipped secretly into the airport this morning by three Swiss diplomats. One, a consular official, joined Mrs Dwyer on the flight to Dubai

though the Russians would clearly prefer to wait until after the Soviet Party Congress is over, they would have no compunction in taking action if it was felt vital Soviet interests were threatened.

The overriding interest, as Mr Pyotr Abrasimov, the Soviet Ambassador to East Berlin, made clear in an interview with West German television yesterday, was the reliability of Poland as a member of the Warsaw Pact.

officials in Poland's southern provinces as a capitulation—signalling a loss of the party's monopoly of power and thereby setting a dangerous precedent.

The registration of an independent union for rural workers is an even greater challenge to the Soviet conception of a communist state. According to ideological purists, private farmers are tolerated on sufrance—to organize them into a union, or even an association as the Polish Supreme Court

Moscow is hoping the new Government will take a tougher line, that the Polish party will pull itself together and reassert its supremacy and that the anarchy on the Russians' doorstep will end.

If not, the Soviet Union has already given the world ample notification of its intention to act to secure its own vital interests and those of its East European allies.

Jaruzelski profile, page 7
Leading article, page 15

Farmers allowed association but not a union

From Dessa Trevisan
Warsaw, Feb 10

The Polish Supreme Court today rejected a request to legalize a farmers' union but simultaneously announced that there was no legal impediment to the farmers forming an association.

The decision paved the way to a possible solution to the deadlock over the farmers' request to form an independent union which has been a cause of tension for several weeks.

Several thousand farmers stood patiently in front of the court building for five hours while the court was sitting. The decision puts off a final solution but Mr Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, the free trade union organization, called it a "draw".

"With calm and patience and reason the farmers, together with the workers, can bring this issue to a successful conclusion", he told the farmers

The farmers, in a good humoured and patient mood then walked to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier where they cheered the Polish Army, sang the national anthem, listened to a Roman Catholic priest, and then dispersed, in buses and on foot, to their villages all over Poland.

Yesterday, the Communist Party central committee hinted strongly that the party would no longer tolerate political strikes. The Army also made a spectacular entry into the Polish crisis with the appointment of General Wojchiech Jaruzelski, the Defence Minister to replace Mr Jozef Pinkowski the Prime Minister. Mr Pinkowski's resignation did not come as a surprise as the Government came under strong public criticism for delays and hesitation in implementing the agreements with the workers signed last August. Under the new Government the reforms will be accelerated, but the central committee has also let it be known that all means will be used to reassert the party's authority against "counter-revolution".

Mr Stanislaw Kania, the party leader, left no doubt that the current tension represented a serious threat to Poland's independence.

[Mr Kania said in his speech to the central committee that Moscow's patience might be running out, Reuter report. "In these difficult moments we have found understanding on the side of our friends, especially the Soviet Union. They understand us and are not pressing for our obligations. But they will not be in a position to understand us if the chaos continues", he said.]

Obviously Poland has been under strong pressure from its allies. There have been alarmist reports in the east European press and in East Berlin the Soviet ambassador said flatly this his country could not remain indifferent to the situation in Poland.

It was against this background that the central committee yesterday made the spectacular decision to entrust the Government to a soldier.

Cabinet by argument, and left-wingers on the executive will push for a ballot authorizing the union to take strike action in defence of jobs. The highly-emotional issue of pit closures takes on extra significance this year in the build-up to the election of a new national president.

In his four-point plan put to union leaders of the miners, pit deputies and colliery managers yesterday, Sir Derek argued that the industry must bring supply and demand into closer balance during the current recession by maximizing sales, expanding output at pits with access to viable reserves and diminishing capacity where realistic reserves are exhausted or where, for geological or other reasons, "there can be no long-term contribution".

Stocks of about 37 million tonnes this spring (including those at power stations) are at a record level, and the coal board could not add to the coal mountains. It would be "extremely difficult" to achieve further price rises, even in line with general inflation, and the board therefore had no option to adjust supply by reducing capacity.

Yesterday's talks in London were described by one coalfield leader as "disorderly, angry and frustrated".

Gunmen kill UDR man

A part-time member of the Ulster Defence Regiment was shot dead at his workplace in Londonderry yesterday. Mr Samuel Montgomery, aged 27 and unmarried, was shot by two men at a timber yard in Strand Road.

talks Mr Peter Walker, Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food, accused the French of being "totally unreasonable" in blocking an agreement by demanding that under EEC free trade rules, they should be allowed to fish in British waters "right up to the beaches".

Mr Walker is arguing for almost exclusive rights for the British fleet within the 12-mile limit. When Britain joined the EEC it was agreed that the 12-mile limit would remain in force for 10 years. The French claim that ruling allows them to fish up to the beaches from January, 1983.

British fishermen want a deal, but Mr Walker says that he will veto any transaction which does not secure the prosperity of the British fleet. Demands include a 50-mile exclusive zone around the north of Scotland limited to vessels under 80ft and an exclusive 12-mile limit off the east and west coasts of Scotland, the British side of the Irish sea and down the east coast from Bridlington to Margate.

France claims that its fishermen catch 45,800 tonnes of fish worth £28m inside the British 12-mile limit and that it cannot allow its vessels to be barred from those lucrative grounds.

More than 2,000 British boats are staying in port in protest against the dumping of cheap fish in Britain. Filleters at a frozen fish factory at Grimsby walked out in support of the fishermen yesterday after Dutch codling arrived for processing.

Fishermen at North Shields yesterday were reviewing their position after an incident on Monday in which they claim a lorry delivering British fish charged through a picket line.

Photograph, page 2
Brussels deadlock, page 6

remarkable level of response

Mr Jenkins was clearly out to give some policy teeth to the new grouping which Mrs Williams agreed was "not so much toothless as amorphous" until it had fleshed out its ideas.

In his sharpest criticism of the Thatcher Government policies since he returned from his post as President of the EEC Commission, Mr Jenkins insisted that a soaring pound had helped intensify manufacturing decline in Britain.

"This British Government has pursued a militantly non-interventionist policy on the exchange market, partly out of fear and partly out of hope. Fear that anything else would have given it even less control over the money supply than the limited control it has achieved and hope that a rising rate for sterling would at least mitigate some of the inflation-

Continued on page 2, col 1

panacea, but in combination they could get the pound lower and at that stage Britain should join the EMS.

In the first instance, to enjoy maximum flexibility, Britain might use the EMS's wider 6 per cent margin, which Italy used, Mr Jenkins suggested.

While Mrs Williams, appearing in a succession of television interviews, confirmed that she was leaving the Labour Party, at one point saying "it's as agonizing as breaking up a family", Mr Jenkins wanted no one to underestimate the realignment he saw coming.

"I would like to express my conviction that we are at a moment of flux in British politics such as very rarely occurs in our somewhat rigid and ossified structure." He noted that politicians and journalists

the four Britons imprisoned in Iran are near release. A highly informed source said further talks with Iranian officials today produced no results.

No one is saying exactly what role is being played by Mr Terry Waite, the special representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

It seemed clear that Mr Waite was acting entirely separately from the efforts of Swedish and British diplomats here, to the point of not even keeping them fully informed of developments.

With the vehement denials of reports by the BBC that Mr Waite was negotiating a swap of the four Britons with two Iranians jailed in Britain, it could be assumed only that there were some religious problems still to be settled.

Clashes feared, page 7

Brandt move to save party unity

From Patricia Clough
Bonn, Feb 10

Herr Willy Brandt, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) was today preparing a five-point programme to save the party's unity and the government coalition amid the worst internal crisis since it came to power.

The plan will be discussed tomorrow night at a meeting of the SPD executive summoned by Herr Brandt to heal, above all, the growing rift between Herr Helmut Schmidt, the Chancellor, and sizeable sections of the party.

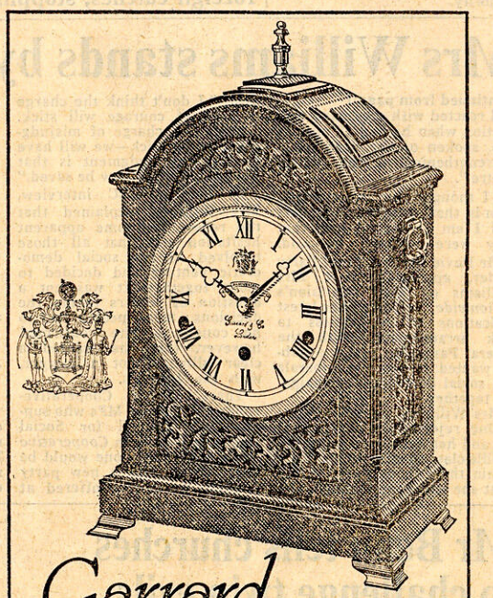
The left wing, in particular, feels that many of the Chancellor's policies go against the real wishes and principles of grass root members. They are at odds with him over a series of issues, including nuclear energy, plans for arms exports to Saudi Arabia and Chile, and the modernization of Nato medium-range nuclear weapons.

The disputes have been heightened by conflicting interviews given by leading figures which led last night to an open clash between Herr Brandt and Herr Herbert Wehner, the SPD's Bundestag floor leader.

Herr Wehner gave a warning that the party was in danger of splitting. At a meeting of the party Praesidium in Berlin last night Herr Brandt called for an end to the "irritating" public comments.

But no sooner was the meeting over, than Herr Brandt himself broke the truce

Another issue which could have intensified the problems was defused tonight to a certain extent by a compromise. The Hamburg city government voted by seven to six to hold up the building of the controversial Brokdorf nuclear power station for nearly three years. A previous decision by the city's SPD, which governs alone in Hamburg, to withdraw from the project was a serious psychological blow to Herr Schmidt.



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Sharp rise in spending figures for January

Central government spending continued to rise sharply in January. The month's surplus of £1,714m was significantly lower than a year earlier, and consolidated fund expenditure was up by 29 per cent. The increase has been exaggerated by additional payments to local authorities but there are few signs of a drop in the growth of spending which the Government had been expecting towards the end of the financial year. However, monetary growth in January was contained to an estimated 0.75 per cent

Page 17

President Sadat puts Palestinian case

At the European Parliament President Sadat of Egypt called for additional security guarantees as a European contribution to peace in the Middle East and for the establishment of "a Palestinian entity after a transitional period" as a positive development to stabilize the region. He was given a standing ovation by MEPs as a "pilgrim of peace"

Page 6

Move to ban tapping for political reasons

A Conservative backbench MP is supporting an opposition amendment to the Telecommunications Bill which would require the Home Secretary to issue a warrant before telephone messages could be intercepted and would ban tapping for political reasons. During a parliamentary committee debate an MP attacked the "distasteful twilight area" of growing numbers of private and illegal tapping

Page 2

U S defence cash plea

The Pentagon is reported to want an increase of about $32,000m (£13,675m) in American defence spending over and above the record military budgets submitted by former President Carter for this year and next. The proposals are in line with military priorities outlined by President Reagan during the election campaign

Page 7

Wembley finalists

West Ham United play Liverpool in the League Cup final at Wembley on March 14. The East London club beat Coventry City 2—0 to win 4—3 on aggregate. Liverpool drew 1—1 with Manchester City to win 2—1 on aggregate

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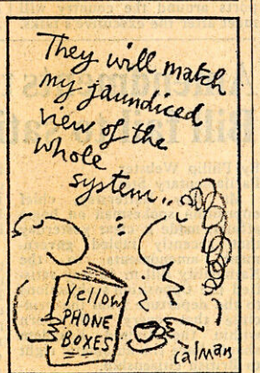
Trevor Fishlock talks to Ben Kingsley, who plays Gandhi in Richard Attenborough's film; Paul Barker reviews *Edwardian Childhoods*, by Thea Thompson
Business News, pages 17-22
Stock markets: Selective buying in a thin market again provided equities with further impetus but gilts drifted despite the banking figures being in line with expectations. The *FT* Index rose 4.6 to 485.5
Business features: David Hewson examines the growth of British television sales overseas
Business Diary: BL's advertising standards



Classified advertisements: Personal, pages 24, 26; Le crème de la crème, 23, 24

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HOME NEWS

Telephone tapping may be curbed as Tory MP backs Labour move in parliamentary committee

By Patricia Tisdall
and Michael Hatfield

The Government faces the possibility of legal constraints being imposed on telephone tapping for the first time..

A Labour-sponsored clause to the telecommunications Bill, now at a Commons committee stage, imposes those conditions and has the backing of a Conservative backbencher, Mr John Gorst ; that backing could carry a vote inside the committee tomorrow.

Mr Gorst is expected to come under pressure from government whips to have second thoughts but at the same time it is possible that Mr Kenneth Baker, Minister of State for Industry, may produce a compromise.

The clause would require the Home Secretary to issue a warrant before telephone messages could be intercepted and would ban taps for political reasons.

During the debate, Mr Kenneth Weetch, Labour MP for Ipswich, attacked the present "distasteful twilight area" of growing numbers of private and illegal taps. He gave three instances where organizations, suspecting that their telephone calls had been intercepted, had stage-managed incidents that had led to the police arriving. The organizations concerned were the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), union leaders in the steel dispute and the Grunwick strikers.

Faced with possible defeat on the issue, the Government delayed a vote until it could ensure its full complement was present.

The proposed measures define strict legal boundaries for telephone tapping. Warrants would be restricted to authorities concerned with investigating crime "of such severity that a person with no previous record could reasonably be expected to be sentenced to three years' imprisonment for it" fraud serious enough to damage the national economy and "major terrorist or espionage activity that is likely to injure the national interest". In each case normal methods of investigation must have been tried first.

The measures would also give individuals whose telephone calls were intercepted the right to be told afterwards whether the authorities' suspicions proved groundless. The Home Secretary's decisions would be subject to scrutiny by an independent panel of three people.

A further proposal is for an annual audit that would enable Parliament to receive a report on the number of warrants issued with comments on the effectiveness of interceptions.

The regulations would carry penalties of fines of up to £5,000 or three years' imprisonment.

Government inquiry into rise in water charges

By Christopher Warman
Local Government
Correspondent

An urgent government Inquiry is under way into the increase in water charges for 1981-82, which range from 14 to 33 per cent.

The Prime Minister announced in the Commons yesterday that independent accountants were conducting the inquiry and said she was very aware of the growing resentment at the size of the increases.

The inquiry was ordered by Mr Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment, last week and is expected to be completed within seven days.

It is being carried out by three firms, Arthur Andersen and Company, Coopers and Lybrand, and Price Waterhouse and Company. They began work on Friday.

Replying to a question from Mr John Hannam, Conservative MP for Exeter, Mrs Margaret Thatcher said the investigation had been launched with the cooperation of the chairmen of the nine English water authorities.

The consultants' brief is to discuss the water authority budgets and to see whether there is scope to reduce the levels contemplated.

Thames Water, the largest of the authorities, yesterday announced a 14 per cent increase in charges, raising the average domestic bill for the year from £47 to £54. It said it had offered all facilities to the consultants.

The authority added, however, that it was surprised that an inquiry should be started, and argued that a 14 per cent rise was reasonable.

Mr Timothy Whiteley, the authority's finance chairman, said the authority had been required by the Government to end the subsidy to domestic consumers, which amounted to about 30 per cent in 1974, by April, this year. That process was almost completed.

Free World organization formed to defend Western democracy

New group opposes totalitarianism of the left

By Ian Bradley

The Western alliance, and Britain in particular, have been engaged in political disarmament for a long time, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson, professor of Russian history at London University, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the launching in London of the Committee of the Free World, a group of academics, journalists, politicians and others who see the values of Western democracy and civilization as threatened by totalitarianism of the left.

Professor Seton-Watson said that he hoped the committee would not simply be an anti-communist organization. He said : "If it is, it will not have me as a member for very long. The question is how we can act to defend Western values."

Lord Chalfont, another member of the committee's board of directors, said : "I think what we are concerned with is the bias against Western values in the media in this country.

"If anyone doesn't think there is such a bias, he should read Sir James Goldsmith's evidence to the media committee of the Conservative Party."

He admitted that the election victories of Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan suggested a change of climate in Britain and the United States. However, there was still a tendency among intellectuals in particular, to denigrate Western society and look for civilized values elsewhere.

The committee's manifesto states : "We believe that holding cheap the values, the achievements and the institutions of Western civilization has led in the past, and may lead again, not to something better but to something immeasurably worse, not to peace but to war ; in the generation of the 1930s to totalitarianism of the right, in our time to totalitarianism of the left".

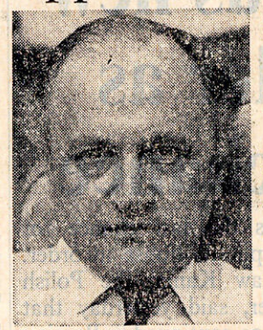
The committee, which was launched at the same time in New York, includes many prominent European and American intellectuals. The British members, of whom some were approached and others offered themselves, include Lord Blake, the historian, Mr Tom Stoppard, the playwright, Lord Bullock, Sir Max Beloff, Sir Huw Wheldon and several figures associated with the Conservative Party.

The only Labour MPs on the committee are Mr Mike Thomas and Mr Neville Sandelson, both supporters of the new Council for Social Democracy, and the only British trade union leader is Mr Frank Chapple, general secretary of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union.

Lord Chalfont said the committee had approached Mrs Shirley Williams, but had not yet heard from her.

Mr Sandelson said after yesterday's meeting that he was sorry the committee had not tried to attract wider support in the Labour Party. He said : "I hope they will be inviting some democratic socialists, and I include people to the left of Denis Healey, as well as social democrats".

The committee's main activities will be holding conferences, expanding membership and publishing pamphlets and books. It will take no money from governments and will be constituted as a public company with its finances open to inspection.



Lord Chalfont : Concerned about "bias against Western values in the media".



Mr Tom Stoppard, the playwright, who is a member of the group.

Mr Healey at meeting of moderates

By Our Labour Staff

Mr Denis Healey, deputy leader of the Labour Party, attended a private meeting called by senior moderate trade union leaders last night to build a strong caucus aimed at reversing the left wing's recent successes in the party.

The union leaders, who were joined by some influential right-wing Labour MPs, took the first step in a programme intended to reverse the Wembley decision on an electoral college for choosing the party leader and to shift the political balance on the party's national executive committee.

Mr Denis Howell, MP for Birmingham, Small Heath and president of the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs (Apex), who chaired last night's meeting in a London hotel, said that Mr Healey had attended as an observer at his invitation.

Lord Underhill, former Labour Party national agent and author of the report on Trotskyite infiltration, on which the party' right wing has consistantly saught action, was also present.

Most of the union leaders present would prefer the old method of choosing the leader by the parliamentary party, but they are certain to discuss with their executives the formation

Thatcher warning on unfair dismissals

By Hugh Noyes
Parliamentary Correspondent
Westminster

The Prime Minister gave a clear warning in the Commons yesterday that cases of unfair dismissal resulting from a refusal to join a trade union would weigh heavily with the Government in coming to a decision whether to introduce further legislation to restrict trade union immunities.

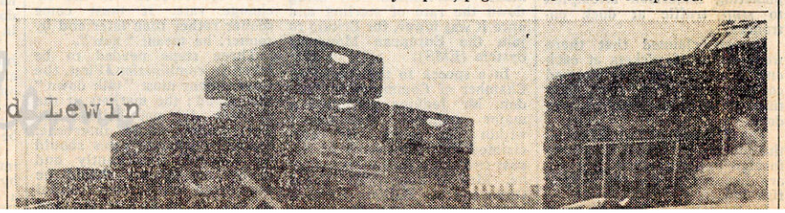
Asked about the case of Miss Joanna Harris, the West Midlands poultry inspector who has been threatened with dismissal by Sandwell council for refusing to join a union, Mrs Margaret Thatcher told MPs that the Government was reviewing the law in the light of the discussion paper on trade union immunities. In deciding what to do, the Government would be taking the Sandwell case and other instances into account.

She agreed with the view that a person's right to work should not depend on union membership and that in these circumstances a closed shop was a denial of free choice. The Prime Minister hoped that those affected in such a way by the operation of a closed shop would take full advantage of the change in the law in the Employment Act, 1980.

Mrs Thatcher was referring to the change in the law under the Act by which loss of job for refusal to join a union became an unfair dismissal. Until the 1980 Act such a dismissal was counted as fair.

The law at present permits the person who has lost a job to appeal to an industrial tribunal which can award damages up to a maximum of £17,000.

Parliamentary report, page 9



Fondazione Alfred Lewin

'Times' NUJ backs interim deal

By Donald Macintyre
Labour Reporter

Unions at Times Newspapers yesterday seemed a stage further towards agreement with News International Ltd, prospective owners of *The Times*, *The Sunday Times* and the three supplements.

Continuing negotiations with individual chapels today and probably tomorrow will determine whether agreement can be reached ahead of the deadline of midnight tomorrow required by Thomson British Holdings as a condition of sale.

The National Union of Journalists' chapel (office branch) at *The Times* and supplements empowered its negotiators to sign an interim agreement subject to clarification of minor obscurities in the disputes procedure initialled by printing union leaders on Monday night, and an agreement by management to renegotiate *The Times* journalists' house agreement at its expiry date on December 31, 1981.

The move followed talks between union general secretaries and News International management on Monday night at which it was also made clear, among other points, that demanning would be achieved by voluntary redundancy.

The Times NUJ chapel also passed a resolution opposing removal of the editorial staffs of the three supplements from Gray's Inn Road and saying that "hiving off the supplements and basing their editorial staffs in separate locations will damage their quality".

The chapel further called for *The Times Educational Supplement Scotland*, with offices and a small staff in Edinburgh, to be retained.

As negotiations with chapels, including representatives of National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel machine-room staff, continued, Mr Owen O'Brien, general secretary of that union, said : "I believe we are 75 per cent towards a settlement."

Mr O'Brien added : "I believe there will be problems. The time factor is working against us, but given goodwill on both sides I think we can solve the problems. I would love more time, but I hope that if there are one or two fairly minor problems to be sorted out after the deadline expires there might be a day or two more to do that."

Negotiations particularly involving some chapels of Natsopa, which represents about 2,000 employees of Times Newspapers, were thought to be focusing in part on the numbers to be fixed as agreed establishments in individual departments.

Mr O'Brien said he had been heartened by a meeting at the union's head office of chapel fathers yesterday at which he said "an appreciation was passed of the conduct of negotiations so far by the national officers and general secretary".

Woodland order is too late

By Michael Horsnell

An ancient woodland Suffolk was felled by a farmer who owns it last wee end while lawyers worked in vain to prepare a preservation order in time to save it.

Last night Mr William Battell, the unrepentant farmer, told indignant members of Mid-Suffolk council : "It is my land and I am entitled to do what I want with it. You were too late."

Councillors are insisting the preservation order will remain in force in an attempt to prevent him from ploughing up the roots of the 900-year-old 1.6-acre woodland, a local beauty spot where nightingales nested.

Mr Guy McGregor, the councillor who pressed for the order, said : "Mr Battell knew perfectly well the order was being prepared.

At the centre of the dispute is Rectory Farm, Mellis, near Eye, owned by Mr Battell. It includes a 500-yard green lane, known as Cow Pasture Lane with an ancient hedge border-

Soviet threat likened to

Work on weapon likely to go on without US aid

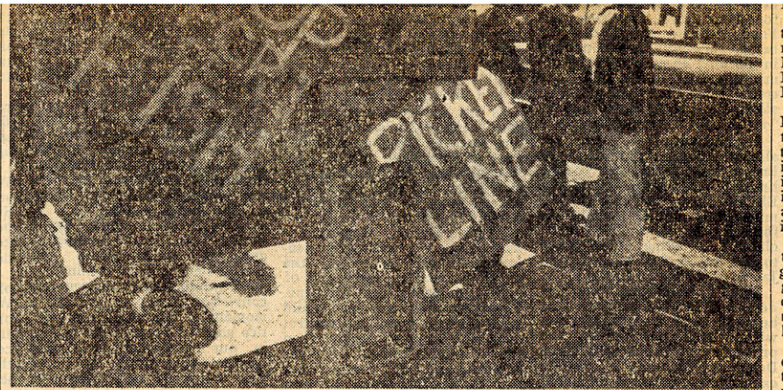
and centre wings with a good chance of victory.

Such unity in part eluded the right at Wembley because the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' delegation was mandated to oppose any proposal that did not give MPs a say of more than a half in leadership elections.

Militant selected by Labour

Mr Rod Fitch, aged 33, a member of the Militant Tendency, was selected last night as Labour prospective parliamentary candidate for Brighton, Kemptown.

Mr Terry Harrison, another militant, was recently selected candidate for Liverpool, Edge Hill. The Kemptown seat is held by Mr Andrew Bowden, a Conservative, with an 8,008 majority.



Picketing fishermen who are protesting against landings of cheap foreign catches, stopping a van at North Shields fish quay yesterday.

By Our Political Staff

An unusual parallel between the Soviet and Nazi threats was raised last night by Mr John Nott, Secretary of State for Defence, in urging that Britain's guard be not dropped.

In a speech prepared for the Electrical Contractors' Association dinner in London he said that the Kremlin produced, with its declarations of peaceful intent, as many assertions of the inevitable advance of socialism and the role of military power in promoting it.

"Let us not forget that in the 1920s and 1930s another godless and authoritarian regime gave ample warning of a vision of political destiny which it did not hesitate to translate ruthlessly into action", he said.

Mr Nott said he would emerge from his purdah of on-the-job-learning in about three weeks to make a statement on the need for strong defences.

He grasped enthusiastically the nettle of Ministry of Defence and service training of unemployed youth. The Government recently said there would be no uniformed ventures and no conscription.

Mr Nott disclosed that he had, in his first weeks of office, been reviewing how the ministry and the services could make a greater contribution. "If we can conceive some new ideas, albeit on a small and experimental basis which will help a few young people in difficult times I think we should grasp them with enthusiasm."

Duke criticized: A group of Labour MPs tabled a Commons motion yesterday urging the Duke of Edinburgh not to be "the mouthpiece of a bellicose, reactionary Government" (the Press Association reports).

In a reference to his speech in Cambridge on Monday when he emphasized the need for a powerful deterrent, the Labour party's international committee accused the Duke of breaking the convention that members of the Royal Family abstain from political controversy.

continue to develop an airfield attack weapon for the RAF although the United States, its partner in the £130m project, has decided to pull out.

Senior RAF officers, bitterly disappointed by the American decision, say the weapon, an advanced bomb known as JP233, is vital to the future of the new £11m Tornado strike aircraft. One source yesterday went so far as to say they might as well scrap the aircraft if JP233 was prematurely abandoned.

A memorandum of understanding to develop JP233 was signed by Britain and the US more than two years ago and was described as an outstanding example of transatlantic cooperation.

Although the Americans were to pay half the costs, most of the work would be carried out in Britain by Hunting Engineering, of Ampthill, Bedfordshire. About 1,200 jobs in Britain were said to be involved.

JP233 is being designed to

Pentagon demand, page 7

Forces pay warning: The Government has told the Armed Forces Pay Review Body that it wants a settlement well within single figures (our Economics Editor writes). Mrs Margaret Thatcher pressed the board to keep its award, due to take effect in April, within the 6 per cent guidelines.

However, the board, which is chaired by Sir Harold Atcherley, told Mrs Thatcher that as an independent body, it could not be party to any award which went against the principle of comparability, which in practice rules out conforming to a 6 per cent target. It said that if the Government wanted to make forces' pay fit in with pay in other parts of the public sector it will have to do so by openly breaking its pledge to use comparability as the test for determining pay levels.

An award of about 11 per cent is emerging as a strong possibility.

preservation order.

Last Friday the council decided to go ahead with the order but it was not until Monday that Mr Richard Wassell, the landscape officer, was able to serve it. Mr Wassell said: Mr Battell told me when I served the order that he knew it was coming. But by then the chain saws had been humming."

On Sunday Mr Battell and two other men went to work destroying one side of the hedge, including nine species of trees, and 90 per cent of the copse.

Conservative MP to retire

Mr Percy Grieve, QC, Conservative MP for Solihull since 1964, will not stand at the next general election. After he retires, Mr Grieve, who is 66, will continue as a Recorder.

General election: W. P. Grieve (C) 45,027; D. J. A. Hallam (Lab) 10,820; L. Gillett (L) 10,214; D. Stevenson (Nat Front) 978. C majority 32,207.

Mrs Williams stands by decision

Continued from page 1

had reacted with scepticism and caution when he had 15 months ago, spoken of the need for a "strengthening of the radical centre".

"I thought they were wrong then in their cautious comments and I am convinced now that they were wrong", he said.

Mr David Steel, Liberal Party leader, appearing after Mrs Williams on BBC television's *Nationwide*, welcomed her latest indications of willingness to seek arrangements with the Liberal Party. He said the public wanted to see the Liberals and social democrats campaigning together.

Mrs Williams, on ITN's *News at One*, rejected the charge that she and her colleagues were too middle-class to stick to the fight within the Labour Party. After what she had gone through, she said, "I don't think the charge of lack of courage will stick. I think the charge of misjudgment might stick—we will have to see. Our judgment is that the party cannot now be saved."

In another BBC interview, Mrs Williams explained that the reason for some apparent hesitation was that all those involved in the social democratic venture had decided to move together. It was not a question of leaders taking the decisions; many people had to be consulted. She confirmed however, that she wanted a clear alliance, not a merger, with the Liberals.

Three of the Cooperative-sponsored Labour MPs who support the Council for Social Democracy write in *Cooperative News* today that none would be prepared to join a new party "unless we felt it offered at least as good a chance of achieving the cooperative ideals we aspire to as the Labour Party".

The three MPs, Mr John Roper (Farnworth) Mr Mike Thomas (Newcastle upon Tyne, East) and Mr Ian Wrigglesworth (Teesside, Thornaby), suggest that the consideration of their position within the Labour Party "ought to be paralleled by a wider discussion in the Cooperative movement as a whole".

However, Mr Wrigglesworth, in a speech in London, said he expected to have made his mind up "within the next couple of weeks".

The House of Lords is to debate today the 10-point economic programme proposed by Mr Steel, and the topic of realignment and social democrats is certain to be raised.

Hopes grow of agreement in seamen's dispute

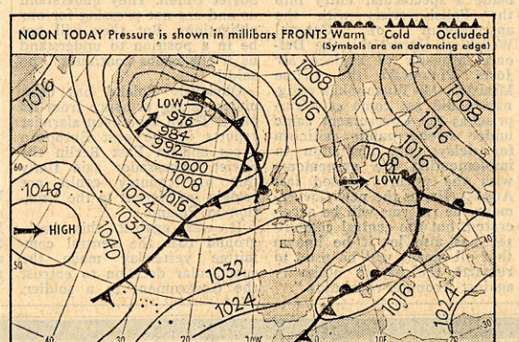
By Our Labour Staff

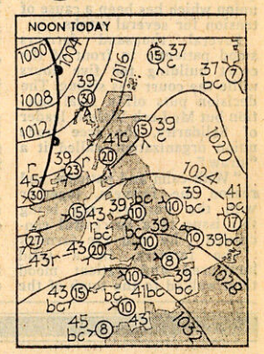
Hopes rose last night that terms would be agreed today for an arbitration hearing to settle the seamen's dispute. The National Union of Seamen's executive is to discuss those terms today.

The general policy committee of the General Council of British Shipping last night considered the union's conditions for going to arbitration and a spokesman said later that he was hopeful agreement could be reached today.

The arbitration would be carried out under the auspices of the Advisory Concilliation and Arbitration Service. Shop stewards and officials from ports around the country will meet after the executive's talks.

Weather forecast and recordings





Today

Sun rises: 7.22 am **Sun sets:** 5.08 pm
Moon sets: 12.17 am **Moon rises:** 10.43 am
First quarter: 5.49 pm.
Lighting up: 5.38 pm to 6.50 am.
High water: London Bridge, 6.01 am, 6.8m; 3.42 pm, 6.5m. Avonmouth, 11.40 am, 11.8m; 11.58 pm, 11.1m. Dover, 3.15 am, 6.3m; 3.48 pm, 6m. Hull, 10.49 am, 6.8m; 11.05 pm; 7m. Liverpool, 3.32 am, 8.5m; 3.55 pm, 8.06m.
1ft=0.3048m 1m=3.2808ft

A ridge of high pressure will decline as a warm front crosses NW parts.

Forecasts for 6 am to midnight:

London, SE, central S England, E Midlands, Channel Islands: Sunny periods, frosty start, becoming cloudy later; wind light and variable, becoming SW, moderate; max temp 5° to 6°C (41° to 43°F).

East Anglia, E England: Frosty start, some wintry coastal showers at first, sunny intervals, becoming cloudy later; wind light and variable, becoming SW, moderate; max temp 5°C (41°F).

W Midlands, SW, central N, NE England: Frosty and sunny start, becoming cloudy with some rain later; wind mainly SW, light, increasing fresh; max temp 7°C (45°F).

Wales, NW England, Lake District, Borders, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen: Frosty but bright start, becoming cloudy with occasional rain; wind mainly SW, light, increasing fresh; max temp 7°C (45°F).

Isle of Man, SW, NW Scotland, Glasgow, Argyll, N Ireland: Mostly cloudy with rain at times; wind SW, moderate, becoming fresh or strong; max temp 7°C (45°F).

Central Highlands, Moray Firth, NE Scotland, Orkney, Shetland: Frosty start, soon becoming cloudy with rain preceded by snow in places; wind light, becoming S, fresh or strong; max temp 6°C (43°F), after cold start.

Outlook for tomorrow and Friday: Unsettled with showers or longer outbreaks of rain; mostly rather cold.

Sea passages: S North Sea, Straits of Dover, English Channel (E): Wind W, moderate; sea slight.

WEATHER REPORTS YESTERDAY MIDDAY: c, cloud; f, fair; r, rain; s, sun; sl, sleet; sn, snow.

	C	F		C	F		C	F		C	F
Akrotiri	c	13	55	Copnhgn	sl	2	36	Lisbon	s	12	54	Nice	s	14	57
Amstrdm	c	4	39	Dublin	s	4	39	Locarno	c	8	46	Oslo	f	−6	23
Athens	s	15	59	Edinburgh	s	3	37	London	c	6	43	Paris	c	6	43
Bermuda	c	19	66	Flornce	fog	9	48	Luxembrg	c	2	36	Rome	c	13	55
Barcelona	c	12	54	Funchal	f	13	59	Madrid	r	2	36	S Fcisco	f	12	54
Beirut	s	16	61	Geneva	c	4	39	Majorca	r	14	57	Stockholm	s	−2	28
Belfast	r	2	36	Gibraltar	c	13	55	Malaga	f	17	63	Tel Aviv	s	15	59
Biarritz	f	8	46	Guernsey	s	7	45	Malta	s	15	59	Toronto	sn	−1	30
Birmnghm	s	4	39	Helsinki	s	−3	27	Manchstr	s	4	39	Vancouvr	s	−2	28
Bristol	s	5	41	Innsbruck	f	2	36	Miami	c	26	79	Venice	c	5	41
Brussels	f	4	39	Istanbul	s	10	50	Moscow	c	−3	27	Vienna	c	6	43
Cardiff	r	4	39	Jersey	s	6	43	Naples	c	13	55	Warsaw	c	2	36
Cologne	c	4	39	L Palmas	f	18	64	New York	c	8	41	Zurich	r	4	39

Yesterday

London: Temp: max 6 am t 6 pm, 7°C (45°F); min 6 pm t 6 am, 2°C (36°F). Humidity, 6 pm, 59 per cent. Rain, 24 hr to 6 pm, 0.02in. Sun, 24 hr to 6 pm, 5 hr. Bar. mean sea level, 6 pm 1028.9 millibars, rising. 1,000 millibars=29.53in.

b—blue sky; bc—half clouded; c—cloudy; o—overcast; f—fog; d—drizzle; h—hail; m—mist; r—rain; s—snow; tr—thunderstorm; p—showers; prs—periodical rain with snow. Wind speed in mph.

Overseas selling prices

Australia $2; Austria Sch 20; Bahrain ... 0.650; Belgium B frs 55; Canaries Pes 100; Cyprus 450 mils; Denmark Dkr 5.00; Dubai Dir 7.00; Finland Mkk 5; France Frs 4.50; Germany Dm 3.00; Greece Dr 50; Holland Gl 2.50; Iran IR 155; Iraq D 500; Irish Republic 20p; Italy L 1100; Jordan LD 0.425; Kuwait KD 0.450; Lebanon Ll 4.00; Luxembourg Lf 33; Madeira Esc 50; Malta 20c; Morocco Dir 5.00; Norway Kr 6.00; Oman OR 0.700; Pakistan Rps 10; Portugal Esc 50; Qatar QR 7.50; Saudi Arabia SR 3.25; Singapore $4.5; Spain Pes 100; Sweden Skr 5.00; Switzerland S Frs 3.00; Syria LS 5.50; Tunisia Din 450; Us and Canada $1.50; UAE Dir 7.00; Yugoslavia Din 40.

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Mr Benn tells churches to challenge twin evils

By Michael Hatfield
Political Reporter

Religious leaders were urged last night by Mr Wedgwood Benn to speak out against the twin evils of monetarism and militarism.

Mr Benn said he was not suggesting that the churches should come out in favour of one political party or another, but added: "It is not good enough to plead for moderation, or to ask the rich to be good and the poor to be patient."

His appeal was made at a senior church leaders' conference held at St George's House, Windsor Castle, entitled "Authority in the World and in the Church." It was attended by representatives from the Methodist Church, the United Reform Church, the Salvation Army, and the Church of Scotland.

Mr Benn said that ritualized religion or appeals to individuals to seek personal salvation, or await justice in the world to come, were not an adequate response.

"A clear moral challenge to evil ideas is needed. If this is not forthcoming other voices will emerge and become dominant as occurred in Germany before the war," he said.

Christians in Britain should speak up loud and clear against monetarism and militarism which now directly threatened our lives, he said. Monetarism, or the use of profit and loss as the main criterion for judging human activity "is a cancer eating into our society".

Mr Benn said: "All moral values are then subject to the religion of the market place, where those with wealth enjoy economic and political power and then use it to advance their own narrow and selfish interests, regardless of the consequences for the rest of society".

Laggers' dispute flares over peace formula

By Our Labour Staff

The simmering inter-union dispute at the Isle of Grain power station site in Kent came into the open yesterday when the executive of the General and Municipal Workers' Union called for implementation of the formula agreed last year when two unions were threatened with expulsion from the TUC.

The executive authorized Mr David Basnett, GMWU general secretary, to press the TUC for immediate implementation of the formula, which the GMWU has complied with, on who should do lagging work on the site. Some unions fear that if the dispute is not resolved the Central Electricity Generating Board may announce up to 500 redundancies.

The dispute is about 54 substitute laggers whose unions will not let them leave the site unless they get other work or "golden handshakes".

Amendments to Nationality Bill fail to satisfy Labour

By Philip Webster
Parliamentary Staff

Mr Roy Hattersley, chief opposition spokesman on home affairs, made it clear yesterday that recently tabled government amendments to the Nationality Bill in no way satisfied the Opposition's objections to the departure from the principle that every child born within the United Kingdom should have the automatic right to British citizenship.

At the first meeting of the Commons standing committee on the Bill, Mr Hattersley moved an amendment to reestablish that principle, saying that it had been the right of every child born in this country since the thirteenth century to be a British citizen.

Under the Bill a person born in the United Kingdom shall be a British citizen if at the time of birth his father or mother is a British citizen or settled in the United Kingdom. "Settled" is defined as someone who is ordinarily resident, or not subject under the immigration laws to any time limit on his length of stay.

Last week the Government tabled amendments providing that a child born in the United Kingdom who did not acquire citizenship at birth could obtain it after 10 years' continuous residence, and that people acquiring British citizenship by registration or naturalization could transmit it to their children born overseas.

Mr Hattersley said that although the amendments might mollify the breach of principle, the principle remained wrong if it no longer stated that every child born in the United Kingdom was automatically a British citizen without qualification.

Discussion on the amendment will continue at the committee's sitting tomorrow.

Fondazione Piero Piccioni

Il presidente egiziano giunto a Parigi da Lussemburgo

Le minacce di Gheddafi in Africa tema dei colloqui Giscard-Sadat

I due statisti preoccupati dopo l'intervento libico nell'ex colonia francese - Netto miglioramento dei rapporti tra i due Paesi - Riavvicinamento sul nodo medio-orientale

Dal nostro corrispondente

Parigi, 11 febbraio

«Valéry Giscard d'Estaing è un buon amico, ma non approvo né la sua politica, né i suoi metodi». Questo diceva nel maggio scorso il presidente egiziano Sadat, ad un inviato del «Washington Post». In questi ultimi dieci mesi le cose sono in parte cambiate e Sadat ha sempre meno motivi per essere in disaccordo con Giscard, il quale lo ha ricevuto stamani con una pompa ed un entusiasmo non giustificabili, visto che quella del capo di Stato egiziano è una visita privata.

A costo di annoiare il lettore ripetendo spesso il concetto, è bene ricordare che la campagna presidenziale francese incalza. E Giscard, comprensibilmente, sfrutta ogni occasione per mettersi in buona luce presso l'elettorato. Una settimana fa a far da spalla è stato uno sbiadito Helmut Schmidt, oggi è un Anwar el Sadat reduce dal successo personale di fronte agli euro-parlamentari rimasti a Lussemburgo, i quali si sono spellati le mani nell'applaudirlo.

Una larga parte dell'opinione pubblica francese non ha mai visto di buon occhio la politica decisamente filo-araba di Giscard. Filo-araba non significa solamente anti-israeliana, ma contraria anche agli accordi di Camp David. Per non parlare degli ebrei (una comunità di circa 700 mila persone) che se non costituiscono una «lobby» hanno la loro influenza e, ovviamente, votano.

Mostrandosi solidale con Sadat, oltre che amico, Giscard può dunque cercare di recuperare un elettorato ostile. E' farlo non gli costa nessuna fatica né rinunce. Occorre precisare che per la Francia di Valéry Giscard d'Estaing la diplomazia significa soprattutto affari. Fino a ieri, affari con l'Egitto se ne potevano far pochi: la sua situazione economica, sinistrata dalle guerre, non permetteva guadagni. Ma con i pedaggi del Canale di Suez, il petrolio del Sinai (12 milioni di tonnellate nel 1980), le rimesse degli emigranti e gli aiuti internazionali (Occidentali e dei Paesi arabi moderati) franco-egiziano. Gheddafi e Sadat si odiano: il primo ha definito il secondo un «criminale», e l'altro ha risposto con un «Gheddafi non è altro che un malato mentale». Il colpo di mano di N'Djamena — sebbene stia registrando battute d'arresto — preoccupa sia il Cairo che Parigi. Con una differenza: che l'Egitto ha una lunga linea di frontiera con la Libia e quindi sperimenta le ambizioni gheddafiane «in corpore vili». La Francia deve solo difendere il suo prestigio in Africa.

Giscard naturalmente si affretterà a dire che dedicherà ogni sua energia per bloccare l'espansionismo di Gheddafi. E Sadat, forse, potrà rispondergli che non è certo ospitando e addestrando militari libici a Marsiglia che si raggiunge il miglior risultato. Insomma, sarà un colloquio animato.

Paolo Granzotto

Le reazioni di Israele

Gerusalemme, 11 febbraio

In termini cortesi ma fermi, Israele ha reagito oggi al discorso tenuto ieri dal presidente egiziano Anwar el-Sadat al Parlamento europeo a Lussemburgo, affermando che esso contiene alcune osservazioni che deviano da quanto stabilito negli accordi di Camp David (Usa), sui quali si basano il trattato di pace israelo-egiziano e i negoziati sull'autonomia palestinese in Cisgiordania e a Gaza.

«Non siamo d'accordo con le dichiarazioni del presidente Sadat sul diritto all'autodeterminazione dei palestinesi e sulla creazione di uno Stato palestinese (in Gisgiordania e a Gaza, ndr)», ha detto a Gerusalemme un portavoce del ministero degli Esteri, aggiungendo che «tali espressioni non compaiono negli accordi di Camp David e anzi deviano da quanto è stato sottoscritto in quella sede».

Il funzionario ha però rilevato che Israele accoglie «con piacere le dichiarazioni del presidente Sadat con le quali si conferma che gli accordi di Camp David sono la base per un accordo di pace generale in Medio Oriente».

«Troviamo inoltre molto positivo — ha aggiunto il portavoce — l'impegno del presidente Sadat per una soluzione pacifica del conflitto in Medio Oriente. Sadat ha sottolineato la necessità di usare solo mezzi pacifici per conseguire tale obiettivo».

Burrascosa la conferenza di New Delhi

La Cambogia divide i «non-allineati»

Bellicose dichiarazioni del rappresentante vietnamita, che ha giustificato l'intervento a Phnom Penh - Il discorso del segretario dell'Onu Waldheim

New Delhi, 11 febbraio

I profondi contrasti politici fra i Paesi non-allineati sono ancora una volta emersi alla conferenza di New Delhi. Oggi sono state le acute divisioni sulla rappresentanza della Cambogia a balzare prepotentemente alla ribalta del consesso a seguito dell'intervento del ministro degli Esteri vietnamita.

Il rappresentante di Hanoi, Nguyen Co Thach ha difeso l'intervento militare del suo Paese in Cambogia ed ha fatto presente che quelle truppe vi rimarranno «sino a quando il pericolo della Cina non finirà». Thach ha anche sostenuto che i vietnamiti sono andati in Cambogia perché invitati dalla fazione di Heng Samrin. Difendendo l'intervento vietnamita del 1979 che estromise il primo ministro Pol Pot, Thach ha dichiarato che è «dovere» dei Paesi non allineati sostenere i «movimenti di liberazione» come il Vietnam ha fatto in Cambogia.

Mentre Vietnam e Cuba appoggiano il regime di Samrin, installato dai vietnamiti a Phnom Penh, Singapore, Indonesie Malaysia sostengono quello di Pol Pot il cui rappresentante tuttora occupa il seggio della Cambogia all'Onu. Singapore ed Indonesia, hanno anche chiesto che la conferenza condanni l'attacco vietnamita in Cambogia. Thach ha replicato oggi che «la presenza delle truppe vietnamite è solo temporanea e che saranno ritirate quando cesserà il pericolo proveniente dalla Cina e con l'accordo del Laos e della Kampuchea (Cambogia)».

In una successiva conferenza stampa Thach ha difeso l'operato di Hanoi dicendo: «Noi abbiamo il diritto di combattere il colonialismo e nessuna forza su questa terra può privarci di questo diritto». Egli ha accusato Singapore «di fare un gran chiasso sui problemi» e di cogliere tutte le occasioni «per calunniare l'India e Cuba» perché lunedì il ministro degli Esteri di Singapore aveva contestato la leadership cubana del movimento dei non allineati per la stretta alleanza fra l'Avana e Mosca.

Sull'Afghanistan si è riaffermato il segretario generale delle Nazioni Unite, Kurt Waldheim il quale ha auspicato «una equa soluzione politica» grazie alla quale il suo popolo «sia in grado di decidere il proprio destino libero da interferenze e interventi stranieri».

Waldheim non ha citato l'Urss, ma ha rilevato che l'Assemblea generale dell'Onu «si è già pronunciata sui principi connessi e sull'azione richiesta»: l'Onu infatti ha approvato due risoluzioni che chiedono il ritiro delle truppe straniere dall'Afghanistan. In mattinata Waldheim si era incontrato separatamente coi ministri degli Esteri del Pakistan e dell'Afghanistan.

Passando alla Cambogia, Waldheim ha espresso profondo rammarico che negli ultimi due anni non sia stato possibile raggiungere una soluzione globale.

Quanto al Medio Oriente, il

L'hotel Hilton di Las Vegas trasformato in un inferno di cristallo

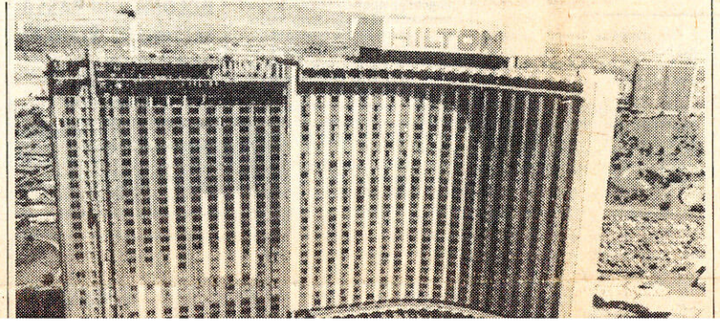
Brucia il più grande albergo Usa otto clienti morti e più di 250 feriti

Quasi certamente l'incendio è doloso - Le fiamme divampate contemporaneamente in 4 punti diversi

Las Vegas (Nevada), 11 febbraio

Il grattacielo dell'hotel Hilton di Las Vegas, il più grande albergo degli Stati Uniti ed il secondo del mondo con 2783 stanze, dopo il Rossiya di Mosca che ne conta 3.200, si è trasformato in un autentico inferno di cristallo. Il bilancio della tragedia che riporta sinistramente alla mente quella ancor più grave verificatasi tre mesi fa al vicino MGM Hotel (ci furono 84 morti ed oltre settecento feriti) è di 8 morti e più di 250 feriti, persone in gran parte intossicate dalle esalazioni di fumo.

Le fiamme si sono propagate quasi contemporaneamente da



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Suez. Il petrolio del Sinai (12 milioni di tonnellate nel 1980), le rimesse degli emigranti e gli aiuti internazionali (Occidentali e dei Paesi arabi moderati), le cose vanno molto meglio, e la Francia è balzata al secondo posto, dopo gli Stati Uniti e prima della Germania, come «cliente» dell'Egitto: 5 miliardi di franchi (100 miliardi di lire) in esportazioni.

Inoltre a Giscard, sensibilissimo in tali questioni, non è sfuggita la repentina ma non inattesa «rivalutazione» del Cairo nel corso del vertice islamico di Taif.

L'estate scorsa il vice presidente egiziano, Mubarak è venuto a Parigi. In inverno la signora Giscard si è recata al Cairo in viaggio semi-ufficiale. Segni di un disgelo facilitati dalla presa di posizione della Comunità europea che prima a Venezia, quindi al Lussemburgo, ha riconosciuto la validità agli accordi di Camp David. Insomma i «due poli del Mediterraneo, del Mare nostrum» come il presidente francese aveva definito il suo Paese e l'Egitto nel 1975, si stanno riavvicinando. Con beneficio reciproco: di Sadat che ha bisogno di appoggi morali presso Reagan, di Giscard che deve recuperare gli elettori scontenti.

Il capo di Stato francese non riuscirà a strappare (dal punto di vista elettorale, beninteso) granché da Sadat, uomo politico di levatura internazionale, scaltro, abile, coraggioso. Probabilmente di Camp David e della pace in Medio Oriente non ne parleranno nemmeno avendo il premier egiziano detto la sua ieri, davanti ai rappresentanti dell'Europa. Ma un argomento di conversazione sicuro sarà il Ciad.

E' questo il terzo motivo che facilita il riavvicinamento

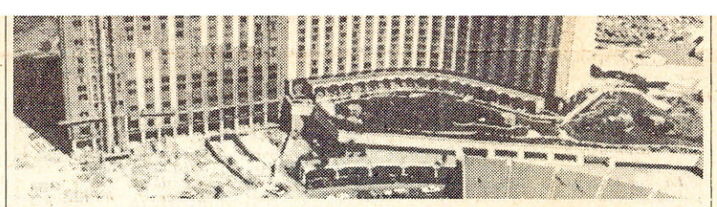
e di 8 morti e più di 250 feriti, persone in gran parte intossicate dalle esalazioni di fumo.

Le fiamme si sono propagate quasi contemporaneamente da quattro diversi punti del complesso ed il particolare induce a ritenere dolosa la tragedia. La polizia ha fermato alcuni uomini e li sta interrogando, ma secondo quanto ha dichiarato l'ispettore Michael Brady, della squadra omicidi della contea di Clark, nessuno dei fermati è accusato di incendio doloso. «Stiamo interrogando sei persone che potrebbero aver approfittato dell'incendio per compiere atti di sciacallaggio».

Il grosso dell'incendio ha interessato il lato sudorientale dell'ottavo piano. Le fiamme divampate alle 20.05 (locali) si sono estese rapidamente ai piani sovrastanti mentre un autentico muro di fuoco alto oltre trenta metri lambiva la torre orientale dell'Hilton. A distanza di venti-venticinque minuti altri tre focolai d'incendio venivano segnalati in una diversa ala dell'albergo. Le fiamme divampavano da una lavanderia sita al secondo piano, dal terzo e dal nono piano.

Dopo circa un'ora i 450 vigili del fuoco accorsi sul posto riuscivano a circoscrivere le fiamme.

Nel sinistro si sono ripetute le scene di panico di sempre. Centinaia di clienti hanno abbandonato il grattacielo mettendosi quasi subito in salvo; altri hanno raggiunto il tetto e le terrazze dove hanno atteso di essere evacuati dagli elicotteri. I più minacciati dalla muraglia di fuoco e dalle esalazioni del fumo hanno cercato di raggiungere la salvezza facendosi scivolare lungo le lenzuola annodate a mo' di funi; qualcuno non ce l'ha fatta ed è precipitato.



Il gigantesco complesso dell'Hotel Hilton di Las Vegas

fondo rammarico' che negli ultimi due anni non sia stato possibile raggiungere una soluzione globale.

Quanto al Medio Oriente, il segretario dell'Onu, ha detto che «la situazione è diventata ancor più complicata per gli sviluppi che si sono verificati l'anno scorso». Senza menzionare alcun Paese ha auspicato che le Nazioni Unite rimangono la sede per trovare una soluzione a questi problemi.

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Oggi in Grecia i funerali di Federica l'ex re potrà partecipare alle esequie

Ridda di ipotesi sul «sì» del governo di Atene - In realtà Costantino ha ancora il passaporto ellenico

Nostro servizio

Atene, 11 febbraio

All'ex re Costantino di Grecia non è stato mai tolto il passaporto ellenico. Perciò non si può vietare né a lui né agli altri membri dell'ex famiglia reale di rientrare nel Paese per motivi strettamente privati. Questo l'argomento espresso dal portavoce del governo di Atene a chi protestava contro il benestare concesso per il funerale e la sepoltura in Grecia dell'ex regina madre Federica morta improvvisamente a Madrid.

Da quel momento si era scatenata qui una ridda di ipotesi sulle intenzioni che potevano esservi a monte della decisione presa dal governo. C'era chi attribuiva al partito caramanlista della «Nuova Democrazia» l'intenzione di guadagnare voti a destra per impedire il successo elettorale del maggior partito di opposizione, quel Pasok di Andrea Papandreu che non nasconde le proprie speranze di mettere alle corde, nelle elezioni del prossimo novembre, il partito di maggioranza, arbitro sinora pressoché assoluto del potere.

L'altra ipotesi, che appare più vicina alla realtà, è quella che Costantino Caramanlis, raggiunto il vertice della carriera politica con l'elezione a presidente della Repubblica, abbia voluto con il suo «parce sepulto», affermare che anche la moderazione è una qualità essenziale della democrazia. Non va dimenticato che nel 1963 Caramanlis aveva lasciato la Grecia, per andare in esilio volontario all'estero, anche per contrasti con la corona. Il suo atteggiamento aggiunge dunque dignità alla Repubblica greca sancita dal referendum popolare del 1974.

L'opposizione ai funerali in Grecia, che era stata espressa nei limiti democratici da tutti i partiti del centro e della sinistra, non ha creato turbamento nel Paese. Solo alcuni gruppuscoli extraparlamentari di sinistra hanno inscenato una manifestazione contro la posizione assunta dal governo Rallis.

Domani, avverranno regolarmente le esequie di Federica, nella residenza estiva dell'ex casa reale a Tatoi, dove si trova la tomba di famiglia. Dovrà essere rispettata rigidamente la regola stabilita di non mescolare le questioni politiche con la cerimonia funebre. D'altra parte non ve ne sarebbe neanche il tempo, poiché la permanenza dei familiari e degli intimi dell'ex regina è limitata a poche ore. Intorno a Tatoi, per un raggio di vari chilometri nessuno potrà avvicinarsi. Da stamane, tutta la zona è sorvegliata dalla polizia.

Neppure i giornalisti — e questo ci sembra un eccesso di prudenza — potranno essere presenti, salvo due rappresentanti della stampa greca, due corrispondenti esteri e due fotografi, che potranno assistere però solo all'arrivo del feretro e dei partecipanti al funerale nell'aeroporto di Tatoi che si trova a breve distanza dalla villa.

La salma di Federica sarà tumulata accanto a quella di re Paolo, alla presenza dei tre figli, Costantino, Sofia e Irene. Ci saranno anche re Juan Carlos di Spagna, Filippo di Edimburgo ed Enrico d'Olanda. Tutti arriveranno verso mezzogiorno e il pomeriggio alle 5, stando ai patti, tutti saranno già partiti dallo stesso aeroporto.

Clinio Ferrucci

Anche a New York presentato il «Comitato per il mondo libero»

New York, 11 febbraio

Il «Comitato per il mondo libero» inauguratosi ieri a Londra, e del cui organo direttivo fanno parte Indro Montanelli, Enzo Bettiza, Norman Podhoretz ed altre personalità dell'ambiente culturale e politico internazionale, ha tenuto ieri sera una manifestazione gemella a New York nella «Automation Automathiouse».

Erano presenti i numerosi membri del «comitato» residenti negli Stati Uniti, tra i quali la signora Jeane Kirkpatrick, ambasciatore americano all'Onu, lo scrittore Saul Bellow, il presidente dell'Afl-Cio, Lane Kirkland, il «futurologo» Herman Kahn, lo studioso di problemi comunisti Robert Conquest, lo storico Michel Ledeen, i giornalisti Arnaud de Borchgrave e Mauro Lucentini, corrispondente del «Giornale» e numerose altre personalità.

Tra le prime iniziative del comitato sarà l'organizzazione di conferenze sui problemi della libertà davanti a un pubblico di studenti nelle principali università americane.

Niente trionfalismi a Teheran nel 2° anniversario della rivoluzione

Teheran, 11 febbraio

Niente trionfalismi in Iran per il secondo anniversario della rivoluzione islamica: sia Khomeini sia il presidente Bani Sadr hanno evitato qualsiasi retorica commemorativa andando piuttosto al sodo dei gravi problemi interni e internazionali che l'Iran del doposcià si trova ad affrontare.

Khomeini si è occupato del conflitto con l'Irak, delle rivalità che tengono in cronica crisi di incertezza la scena politica interna e delle «macchinazioni» delle superpotenze. In un discorso letto a suo nome dal figlio, in occasione di un raduno svoltosi a Teheran, con la partecipazione di migliaia di persone, Khomeini ha affermato che il pericolo del comunismo non è in nessun modo inferiore a quello del capitalismo e che la nazione iraniana deve opporsi alle manovre degli Stati Uniti e dell'Unione Sovietica. A proposito degli Stati Uniti, l'ayatollah ha messo in guardia contro «il pericolo americano nel mondo, ma specialmente nella regione mediorientale e in Iran» ed ha affermato che «tutti coloro che sono uniti contro la Repubblica islamica sono legati all'America».

Quanto alla lotta per il potere in atto nel Paese tra la fazione laica, che ha in Bani Sadr il suo punto di riferimento, e la fazione religiosa, Khomeini l'ha condannata, ammonendo in particolare il clero islamico a non immischiarsi in questioni che non lo riguardano.

Dal canto suo Bani Sadr, parlando al grande raduno di «Piazza della libertà» sotto le arcate in cemento del gigantesco monumento fatto costruire dal defunto scià, ha centrato il suo discorso sulla crisi politica interna e sulla crisi economica, avvertendo da un lato che l'Iran rischierebbe l'isolamento se la politica estera non fosse lasciata nelle mani di «dirigenti responsabili», e rendendo noto dall'altro che l'embargo americano ed europeo, imposto a seguito della crisi degli ostaggi, ha profondamente inciso nelle riserve di valuta estera facendole piombare da 10 a 4 miliardi di dollari.

Bani Sadr ha bloccato la nomina del nuovo ministro degli Esteri, rifiutandosi di ratificare le proposte del primo ministro Rajai, che il presidente accusa di «incompetenza» ma che vanta l'appoggio del potente clero islamico. Senza una politica estera competente, si è giustificato Bani Sadr, i nemici potrebbero isolare la rivoluzione islamica.

Denunciando quindi lo stato di disordine morale e giudiziario in cui versa ancora il Paese, il presidente ha aggiunto: «Si possono ancora bruciare libri nelle strade, attaccare dormitori, chiudere scuole, assassinare gente nelle strade, il tutto in barba alle leggi. Come l'imam Khomeini ha detto tre giorni fa, il Paese non può risolvere i suoi problemi mentre continuano fatti del genere».



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Cl. 6

Fondazione Ugo La Malfa

We - a group of intellectuals and religious leaders - applaud American policy in El Salvador.

In what the State Department accurately describes as "a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers," El Salvador has been under military attack by a coalition of guerrilla groups whose ability to wage war depends on weapons supplied by the Soviet Union through such client states as Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, and others.

That these guerrillas, dominated by the Salvadoran Communist party and other Marxist-Leninist factions, should be getting weapons from the Soviet bloc is not surprising. If they succeed in taking over El Salvador, another country in this hemisphere would be added to Cuba and Nicaragua as instruments of the further expansion of the burgeoning Soviet empire. Nicaragua, for example, is among the few countries to have acquiesced in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and Cuban troops have been used in Africa and the Middle East to serve in the coming to power of parties subservient to the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Soviet bloc has been pouring arms into the arsenals of the guerrillas in El Salvador is, then, not surprising. What *is* surprising is the support the guerrillas have received from liberals and socialists both in the United States and abroad.

These non-Communist apologists for the guerrillas tell us—and themselves—that the war in El Salvador is caused by intolerable local conditions and not by outside intervention. Yet the government in El Salvador, backed and encouraged by the United States, has been working to improve those conditions. It has inaugurated a program of land reform so extensive that the extreme Right has turned against it with as much murderous vehemence as the extreme Left. Without intervention by the Soviet bloc there would be less violence and a better chance for the reforms to take hold, as well as for the present government to bring the anti-democratic Right under control. Indeed, we believe that only American protection, and aid, will make it possible for the Salvadorans now to create their own free and stable society, secure against depredations of both Left and Right.

The apologists also tell us, and themselves, that the insurgents are supported by the people of El Salvador. Yet the failure of the most recent military offensive launched by the guerrillas is acknowledged even by their allies in Cuba and Nicaragua to mean that they have not succeeded in enlisting popular support.

The apologists also tell us, and themselves, that by opposing the guerrillas the United States is aligning itself with the forces of "right-wing repression" and against the forces of "progressive change." Yet it is the government of El Salvador that today represents progressive change. As for the guerrillas, similar movements which have come to power in Cuba, Vietnam, and Cambodia have brought not "progressive change" but totalitarian regimes far more repressive than even the most repressive of the regimes they have replaced. Moreover, being so much more ruthless in dealing with opposition than those earlier regimes, they are much less likely to be liberalized. Nor are they likely to be overthrown in their turn by movements genuinely seeking greater democratization and more protection for human rights.

Finally, the apologists tell us, and themselves, that "another Vietnam" is in the making in El Salvador. Yet there is little likelihood that American military and economic aid to the government in El Salvador will lead either to the commitment of large numbers of American troops or to a defeat of the forces we are trying to help.

There is, however, a sense in which El Salvador *could* become another Vietnam. If we abdicate and allow the Soviet bloc to force a Communist regime into existence there, El Salvador will suffer the same hideous fate that has befallen Vietnam since that country was unified under totalitarian Communist rule: a new Gulag, thousands upon thousands of refugees driven into the sea, the destruction of any hope for future liberalization, and the creation of another armed instrument of Soviet imperialism..

Because the United States has a vital stake not only in holding the line against Soviet expansionism and the totalitarian horrors that follow in its train but also in helping the Salvadoran government to strengthen democratic institutions through free elections and further land reform, we deplore the misguided support being given by non-Communists to the forces opposing these aims. We applaud the determination of the United States government to assist the government of El Salvador which is working, against armed opposition, to build a more stable and equitable society and thereby add to the sum of freedom in the world.

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to allow American journalists and officials on Russian television. But that's a disingenuous cover. I don't believe for a minute that an old pro like General Haig really expects the Soviets to offer Americans a forum they deny to their own citizens who dissent from the official view of reality. The Soviets are a closed society. They don't do that kind of thing, because it contains counterrevolutionary possibilities that could not be contained once they've sprouted.

No, General Haig sent the Soviet debater packing for another reason. The State Department has known for at least a month that Georgi Arbatov was to take part in the debate. Coming as it did this late, too late really for Moscow to dispatch a suitable replacement without losing face, the decision was meant to send the Soviets another "We're as tough as you are" message. It was bound to raise Russian hackles, to back them into a corner so that they would find it well-nigh impossible to do anything but withdraw the other contestants once their senior man had been displaced. And that's what happened. The debate is off. It's not the end of the world, of course. We'll be here with a broadcast, all the same. But in miniature, it is a reflection of how the world might one day end. One side takes a step designed to show how tough it can be. The other side, not wanting to be pushed around in public, retaliates in a way that not only makes it difficult for the first party to reconsider its original folly, but requires that folly to be compounded. The second party replies again, in kind, until both sides are now carried along on an escalator of hostility neither can control.

This time it was a mere televised debate—small potatoes—but who knows if next time it might not be small bombs, and then, big ones. That's the brink we're all living on right now, when everything becomes a pawn to Soviet-American rivalry. And it's why one hates to see General Haig and his lieutenants infect every transaction between the two countries—journalistic, cultural, educational, scientific—with the fever of cold war. That happened in the 50s and left a poison in our lives which lingers to this day. No Russian anywhere can say anything to damage this Republic as much as we injure ourselves when we forget who we are, and why.

Culture War II

In the April 6 edition of *The New York Times* appeared a full-page ad with the headline, "We—a group of intellectuals and religious leaders—applaud American policy in El Salvador." The sponsor of the ad was given as The Committee for the Free World, Midge Decter, executive director. But to read the names of the signers of the ad is to experience a sense of *déjà vu*.

The Committee for the Free World is a new international organization formed to combat Soviet totalitarianism and to defend "the values, the achievements and the institutions of Western civilization." A galaxy of 400 intellectuals, artists and scholars from a dozen countries have joined it, including authors Saul Bellow, Herman Wouk, Paddy Chayefsky and Jerzy Kosinski; playwright Eugene Ionesco; columnist Max Lerner; TV commentator Eric Sevareid; columnist and editor R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., and scholars Bruno Bettelheim, Gershom Scholem and Oscar Handlin. Midge Decter, the writer and wife of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, recently resigned as an editor at Basic Books to become executive director of the committee.

Aside from some glittering new names, however, the committee bears a striking resemblance to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which thrived during the cold war from 1950 to 1966, until it was exposed as a Central Intelligence Agency front by *The New York Times* and other publications. The C.I.A. secretly supported the congress as a means of enlisting intellectuals and opinion makers in a war of ideas against Communism.

An obvious link between the congress and The Committee for the Free World is the fact that the same people are involved. For example, Sidney Hook, the philosopher and author, and Raymond Aron, the French sociologist and political commentator, were delegates to the 1950 Berlin conference that launched the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Hook later served as chairman of its American branch, and Aron was on the international executive committee. Hook is a founding member of The Committee for the Free World, and Aron is its international chairman. Leopold Labedz, who, along with Midge Decter, had the original idea for The Committee for the Free World, was an editor of *Soviet Survey*, which was funded by the congress. Labedz serves as European chairman and head of the London office of the committee. Melvin Lasky, the first general secretary and organizer of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and later an editor of *Encounter*, also subsidized by the congress, is on the committee's board of directors. Irving Kristol, who resigned as executive director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom in 1953 to become an editor of *Encounter*, is another board member.

Not all who were invited to join the committee accepted, however. For example, Prof. Ralf Dahrendorf, director of the London School of Economics and a prominent sociologist, declined to sign up. Although he had many good friends on the committee, Dahrendorf explained, he thought it strange that people who represented the current political trend to the right and had access to positions of power seemed "so defensive."

Although the Free World committee claims in a press release that "no money will be sought or accepted from any government or government agency," several foundations that provided nearly half its seed money have close ties to the C.I.A. The Smith Richardson Foundation of North Carolina and the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts of Pittsburgh each put up at least $25,000 of the approximately $125,000 initially raised by the committee. The Smith Richardson Foundation, which has C.I.A. officials among its consultants reviewing grants, provides management training to C.I.A. and Defense Department employees through an affiliate. [See Friedman, "Public TV's C.I.A. Show," *The Nation*, July 19-26, 1980.] Richard M. Scaife, a trustee of the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts, was listed as the owner of Forum World Features, a C.I.A.-funded news

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

rvice," according to a 1975 *Washington Post* article.

Convinced that "the struggle for freedom may in the end be won or lost not on battlefields but in books, newspapers, broadcasts and classrooms," according to a press release, the Free World committee plans "to conduct a vigorous battle in the cultural arena." It will sponsor conferences, publications, a speakers' bureau and a monthly bulletin to "monitor" press reports, much as the Congress for Cultural Freedom sponsored conferences and a range of publications to fight the cold war. (In addition to *Soviet Survey* and *Encounter*, the congress subsidized more than ten magazines around the world and scores of books, including, in 1954, *McCarthy and the Communists* by James Rorty and Moshe Decter, former husband of Midge Decter.)

Through organizations like the congress, the Government subsidized editors and scholars who were selected for their correct cold-war positions rather than for their talent or merit, enabling it to rig the free marketplace of ideas. In effect, as Jason Epstein noted in a 1967 *New York Review of Books* article, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, "ostensibly devoted to cultural freedom," as its name implied, was "based upon lies." The formation of The Committee for the Free World, in 1981, revives important issues about the relationship between intellectuals and government. Its advent is a sign that a new cultural cold war is about to erupt, along with a renewed arms race. JOHN S. FRIEDMAN

John S. Friedman is a Washington-based journalist who specializes in the politics of the arts.

Space for Peace

The launching of the Space Shuttle opens up the prospect of the industrialization of space, which could produce major economic returns for the United States and other nations in the areas of communications, manufacturing and energy. Finally, a direct payoff for America's space investment seems at hand.

But despite the vast economic promise of space industrialization, the U.S. civilian space program, under the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, is a victim of neglect. It lacks a clear mission, adequate funding and political support.

In a report released last January, the General Accounting Office warned that unless the United States steps up its commitment to technological leadership in space, other nations will overtake us in ways that will be difficult to overcome. Several countries are already taking a more aggressive posture than the United States, including France, West Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union.

Space industrialization can play a major role in making the U.S. economy as a whole more productive. Were the government to channel funds into research and development activities for a program of space industrialization, technological innovation in the rest of the economy could be stimulated, as the various spinoffs from the Apollo program show.

A second major consequence of space industrialization would be its impact on the U.S. industrial structure. The communications satellite industry is about to undergo enormous change and exponential growth. As a result of these revolutionary changes, there is the possibility for a new industrial sector—the telecommunications industry—to emerge.

Space manufacturing also could have major implications. The virtual lack of gravity in space makes it possible to manufacture a wide array of products, including new optical glass, high-strength permanent magnets, large semiconductor crystals and large-scale integration circuit chips, and organic products like certain enzymes, vaccines, blood cells, nerve cells and hormones. Consequently, a program of space manufacturing could generate growth of two advanced high-technology areas—electronics and biochemicals.

Thus, space industrialization could become an integral part of a national reindustrialization effort. It could stimulate productivity, help restructure the economy, create jobs in new industries and bolster our international trade position.

But this optimistic future is clouded by a growing drive to militarize space. While the civilian space budget has leveled off over the last ten years, the military space budget, under the Department of Defense, has increased, and this trend is likely to accelerate under the Reagan Administration. One of the more ominous developments is the research being done on killer lasers stationed in space.

The challenge ahead is to oppose the militarization of space and in its place work for the establishment of a permanent peaceful presence. The Princeton-based Space Studies Institute, under the innovative leadership of physicist Gerard O'Neill, has developed plans for a basic general-purpose industrial capability in space that could be accomplished at a cost well below the Apollo level, perhaps in the neighborhood of a $6 billion to $8 billion investment. In this scheme, such investment within this decade could result in a partially automated industry that would be capable of producing 100,000 tons of products annually, with a value of more than $10 billion.

Twenty years ago John Kennedy committed our nation to landing a man on the moon in under a decade. Do we have the political will to make an equally important commitment to space industrialization? STEVEN KARGMAN

Steven Kargman, a former intern at The Nation, *is studying at Swarthmore College.*

FORUM ON EL SALVADOR
And U.S. Policy in Central America

Keynote speaker: Carlos Fuentes. Tuesday, April 14, 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. Place: New School Auditorium, 66 W. 12th Street, New York City.

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400 Intellectuals Form 'Struggle for Freedom' Unit

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Four hundred intellectuals, warning that the Soviet Union is an increased danger to democratic societies, have announced the formation of an international committee to lead a "struggle for freedom."

They said that this struggle, to be conducted by their Committee for the Free World "in the world of ideas," may be won in books, newspapers, broadcasts and classrooms.

The committee, with Midge Decter, the writer, as executive director, has set up a three-room headquarters in New York at 211 East 51st Street and another office in London. Its members are prominent writers, publishers, academic figures, scientists and labor leaders from a dozen countries, including Britain, Canada, Australia, France and West Germany

"Our aim is to alter the climate of confusion and complacency, apathy and self-denigration, that has done so much to weaken the Western democracies in the face of a growing threat to their continued viability and even their existence as free societies," the committee said in a policy statement signed by the members. It ended with a commitment to defend the non-Communist world "against the rising menace of totalitarianism."

Miss Decter, whose husband, Norman Podhoretz, is editor of Commentary, said the idea for the committee emerged almost two years ago after she and others attended a meeting in Jerusalem on international terrorism. She said she came away convinced of the need for action against those who kidnap and throw bombs, many of whom are trained in the Soviet Union and Cuba, but also concerned about a spreading practice of indulging in self-criticism to the point of condoning terrorism as being justified. The committee wants Israel's future to be secure, she said, but Middle East policy is a general concern, not an overriding one.

The American members appear to include many writers and political scientists frequently identified with the neoconservative viewpoint, meaning critics who have moved to the right and advocate a more assertive American foreign policy. Besides Miss Decter and Mr. Podhoretz, they include Irving Kristol, editor of The Public Interest; Seymour Martin Lipset, Nathan Glazer and James Q. Wilson, sociologists, and Sidney Hook, the philosopher.

Miss Decter said the group intended to sponsor conferences here and abroad, the first a meeting this fall on Soviet expansionism. She said the committee intended also to "monitor" news reports and publish a monthly bulletin to answer articles that it thought were faulty in logic or in fact.

Initial financial support of $125,000 was provided by individual contributors and foundations such as Pittsburgh's Scaife Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation of Missouri and the Smith Richardson Foundation of North Carolina, which have a reputation for supporting conservative causes.

Not all those invited to sign the policy statement agreed to, and Prof. Ralf Dahrendorf, director of the London School of Economics, for one, publicly acknowledged his refusal in a German-language weekly. Reached in London, he said that although he had many good friends on the committee, he regarded it as strange that people who represented the trend of the times — meaning the political swing to center right — and had access to positions of power seemed "so defensive."

By contrast, an enthusiastic endorsement of the committee was expressed by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the chief American delegate to the United Nations, who said she was compelled to suspend her membership because of her new post.

The New York Times

above: news story from The New York Times, appeared February 19, 1981

below: news story from Il Giornale (Italy), appeared February 8, 1981

Un «Comitato per il mondo libero» scudo ideologico contro il totalitarismo

Della nuova istituzione fanno parte personalità della cultura, dell'arte e del giornalismo - Tra i promotori Indro Montanelli, Enzo Bettiza, Saul Bellow, Milovan Gilas

Dal nostro corrispondente

Londra, 7 febbraio

Cercare di ridefinire quello che è attualmente rilevante della tradizione liberale e democratica alla luce dell'attacco crescente che il totalitarismo muove alle società occidentali: è questo l'obiettivo del «Comitato per il mondo libero», un'iniziativa internazionale che verrà lanciata contemporaneamente a Londra e a New York nei prossimi giorni.

Costituito da autorevoli personalità del mondo della cultura, dell'arte, della scienza — Raymond Aron, Saul Bellow, Indro Montanelli, Norman Podhoretz, Hugh Thomas, Leo Lebedz, Leszek Kolakowski, Enzo Bettiza, Tom Stoppard, Lucio Colletti, Arthur Koestler, Milovan Gilas, Golo Man, per fare alcuni nomi – il «Comitato» si è prefisso lo scopo di modificare il clima di confusione e compiacimento, di apatia e autodenigrazione che ha tanto contribuito ad indebolire le democrazie occidentali di fronte ai continui attacchi che minacciano la loro stessa esistenza di società libere.

Orwell — ha ricordato Alain Besançon, illustrando gli scopi della nuova iniziativa — diceva che pochissime persone furono in grado di capire la vera natura del regime di Hitler o dei sistemi comunisti. Oggi queste persone non sono tanto più numerose. «I fallimenti della "detente" derivano dall'incapacità dei leaders occidentali di percepire la realtà dell'Unione Sovietica per quella che è. Ma a questo riguardo — ha aggiunto Besançon — le responsabilità degli intellettuali sono cruciali perché essi sono sia strumenti che vittime di questa cecità».

Quali che siano le manifestazioni materiali di questa minaccia (dai missili sovietici al cartello monopolistico dell'Opec al terrorismo internazionale), l'evidente riluttanza delle democrazie occidentali a difendersi con la necessaria urgenza e con vigore è largamente dovuta all'influenza pervasiva di un certo numero di idee sbagliate. Nonostante assumano una varietà di forme — precisa l'appello del Comitato per il «mondo libero» — queste idee possono essere riassunte in diverse proposizioni manifestamente false: che i sistemi politici delle società in cui viviamo sono fondati sull'oppressione interna; che la libertà che essi pretendono di offrire è un inganno; che la loro prosperità dipende dallo sfruttamento e dal saccheggio del Terzo Mondo.

In molti luoghi queste affermazioni hanno quasi assunto, coscientemente o incoscientemente, lo «status» di una ortodossia: nei mass-media, in istituzioni universitarie e in genere tra gli intellettuali. Alcuni sostengono che il modo di vita che abbiamo sviluppato degrada l'individuo ed è incompatibile con la crescita della cultura, che la democrazia occidentale non merita di essere preservata e difesa.

«Noi respingiamo — continua l'appello — queste proposizioni e le idee false su cui si basano. A queste affermazioni contrapponiamo la nostra coscienza storica e la nostra convinzione che la civiltà occidentale, sviluppando le istituzioni per una libera ricerca e un confronto ragionato di argomenti, ha fornito e continua a fornire più libertà politica e culturale, un maggior grado di ugualianza, più prosperità relativamente meglio distribuita, più opportunità per la piena realizzazione dell'individuo — mantenendo al tempo stesso le condizioni per delle trasformazioni pacifiche della società — di qualsiasi altro sistema sociale e politico finora immaginato».

Il carattere dell'iniziativa (che prevede, tra l'altro, il coordinamento e lo scambio di informazioni e di idee, un'attività editoriale, l'organizzazione di convegni e seminari di studi) è essenzialmente «libertario» e costituisce un punto di riferimento che va al di là degli stereotipi convenzionali di destra e sinistra. Difatti i conflitti e i problemi più importanti del nostro tempo non possono più essere espressi nei termini della distinzione tradizionale tra destra e sinistra e molte divisioni politiche ereditate dal diciannovesimo secolo, hanno perso significato.

Dice Leszek Kolakowski, l'ex filosofo marxista polacco ora esule in Occidente: «Credo che le idee del nostro comitato siano accettabili se si condividono due semplici premesse: 1) che le istituzioni democratiche e le libertà della civiltà occidentale sono minacciate, meritano di essere difese e che occorre un grosso sforzo per proteggerle; 2) che la maggiore minaccia, anche se non l'unica, a queste istituzioni proviene oggi dall'espansione del totalitarismo sovietico.

Questo non vuol dire, continua Kolakovski, che la sinistra sia necessariamente totalitaria. Visono forze antitotalitarie sia nella sinistra che nella destra tradizionali.

Naturalmente, ha precisato Hugh Seton Watson nel presentare l'attività del «Comitato», «non tutti i nostri nemici e non tutte le nostre difficoltà sono dovuti all'influenza dei sovietici. Ma la politica dell'Unione Sovietica tende invariabilmente ad assistere e aiutare i nostri nemici».

Gino Bianco

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above right: news story, Die Welt (Hamburg, West Germany) appeared February 12, 1981

below right: news story, Neue Zurcher Zeitung (Zurich, Switzerland) appeared February 12, 1981

below left: story on "Kulture" page of Die Welt, appeared February 11, 1981

FREIE WELT / Intellektuelle bilden Komitee

Zur Abwehr von Ideologien, die den Westen schwächen

PETER MICHALSKI, **London**

„Der Kampf um die Freiheit wird vielleicht letzten Endes nicht auf Schlachtfeldern gewonnen oder verloren, sondern in Büchern, Zeitungen, Rundfunksendern, Klassenzimmern und in allen öffentlichen Institutionen, wo die Entschlossenheit, frei zu bleiben, gestärkt oder untergraben wird."

Mit dieser Mahnung stellte sich gestern in London das neugegründete „Komitee für die freie Welt" vor, dem rund 400 Persönlichkeiten aus Politik, Publizistik, Wissenschaft und Gewerkschaften angehören.

„Unser Ziel", so heißt es in der Gründungserklärung, „ist eine Veränderung des Klimas der Konfusion und Selbstgefälligkeit, Apathie und Selbstherabsetzung, das soviel beigetragen hat zur Schwächung der westlichen Demokratien im Angesicht einer wachsenden Bedrohung ihres Fortbestandes als freier Gesellschaft."

Zu den Mitgliedern des Komitees zählen die Schriftsteller Eugene Ionesco, Wladimir Bukowski und Saul Bellow, die Professoren Golo Mann und Erwin Scheuch, die Verleger Gerd Bucerius („Die Zeit") und Sir James Goldsmith („L'Expres" und „Now"), der Publizist Johannes Gross, der stellvertretende WELT-Chefredakteur Günter Zehm – sowie die CDU-Politiker Kurt Birrenbach und Ernst Majonica. Das stärkste Kontingent stellen die USA; die Bundesrepublik ist mit zehn Mitgliedern vertreten.

Eindringlich gewarnt wird in der Gründungserklärung vor dem „durchdringenden Einfluß einer Reihe gravierender Fehlauffassungen" in der freien Welt, die vielerorts „fast schon den Status einer Orthodoxie" erlangt hätten. Dazu zähle die Ansicht, das politische System sei auf die Unterdrückung des eigenen Volkes gegründet, ebenso wie jene, daß die westlichen Demokratien ihren Wohlstand nur der Ausbeutung der „Dritten Welt" verdanke.

Dazu das Komitee: „Die westliche Zivilisation bietet mehr politische und kulturelle Freiheit, ein größeres Maß an Gleichheit, mehr Gelegenheit zur Selbsterfüllung des einzelnen bei gleichzeitiger Aufrechterhaltung der Möglichkeiten zum friedlichen Wandel als jedes andere je erdachte gesellschaftliche und politische System." (SAD)

Lord Chalfont und das Komitee für die freie Welt

Ein Macher wird gesucht

Ich stehe auf, um besser gehört zu werden", sagte Lord Chalfont auf halbem Wege. Er hatte es nicht so gemeint, doch wenn man genau hinsah, war es der zutreffendste und programmatischste Satz der Veranstaltung. Es war die Gründungsversammlung jener, die nicht mehr sitzen bleiben, sondern zum Wort stehen wollen, des „Komitees für die freie Welt".

Man stand und saß im 16. Stock des Londoner Neuseeland-Hauses und schaute sich die Welt sehr von oben an – in Räumen und bei Getränken, die eine Aperitif-Firma gestiftet hatte, und rückte einander nicht allzu nahe, weil es die Baupolizei so wollte. Es war also alles irgendwie locker, der Rahmen, die improvisierten und zum Teil akzentgeladenen Reden und die ge-



Gegen den Verlust an intellektueller Ehrlichkeit: Lord Chalfont
FOTO: CAMERA PRESS

samte Organisation. Und das war wohl gut so; denn diese ganz unaufgeregte, gelassene Atmosphäre zerstörte von Beginn an jene Legende, die diese Veranstaltung mit dem Etikett behängte, daß hier eine „Verschwörung von links" geplant sei. Es ist wohl eher im wörtlichen, aber nicht martialischen Sinne ein Auf-Stand.

Saul Bellow hatte zum Start ein ermutigendes und bekenntnishaftes Telegramm geschickt. Milovan Djilas ließ grüßen und mitteilen, daß er nicht kommen könne, da man seinen Paß konfisziert habe. Der Historiker Lord Bullock, der kürzlich noch öffentlich ein Bekenntnis zur neuen britischen Sozialdemokratie abgelegt hatte, mußte fiebernd und bettlägerig fernbleiben.

Erschienen jedoch waren unter der Ägide des Lord Chalfont sechs Männer, die sich offen zur Sache bekannten. Zum Beispiel Leopold Labedz, einer der Gründungsväter dieses Komitees. Er beklagte den Verlust an Common sense und intellektueller Ehrlichkeit. „In den törichten sechziger und den albernen siebziger Jahren war davon nicht viel zu spüren. Deshalb steht die freie Gesellschaft der gefährlichen Dekade der achtziger Jahre mit stark verminderten Überlebensfähigkeiten gegenüber", warnte er.

Noch temperamentvoller, schärfer und illusionsloser analysierte der liberale Schriftsteller Luigi Barzini den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Niedergang seines Landes. „Freiheit existiert nur noch dank der Ineffizienz der Bürokratie und dank der Kunst vieler Italiener, Gesetze zu mißachten, die ihre Lebensfähigkeit einengen."

Eindrucksvoll und abgrenzend zugleich das Statement des Oxford-Philosophen Leszek Kolakowski. Er stellte zunächst fest, daß die demokratischen Institutionen und Bürgerfreiheiten der westlichen Welt gefährdet seien und geschützt und verteidigt werden müßten und daß die Hauptbedrohung von der Ausdehnung eines sowjettypischen Totalitarismus komme.

Zugleich jedoch gab er zu bedenken: „Es gibt antitotalitäre Kräfte sowohl in der traditionellen Linken wie der traditionellen Rechten. Ich möchte deshalb behaupten, daß die dringendsten Themen und Konflikte unserer Zeit nicht mehr hinreichend durch die alte Links-rechts-Unterscheidung ausgedrückt werden können und daß viele politische Gegensätze, die aus dem 19. Jahrhundert stammen, heute ihre Bedeutung verloren haben."

Scharf und aggressiv dagegen der Londoner Historiker Hugh Seton Watson: „Wer heute ungeschminkt die Tatsachen darstellt, wird unverzüglich zum kalten Krieger abgestempelt." Zugleich warnte er: „Ich hoffe, daß dieses Komitee nicht schlicht eine antikommunistische Organisation ist. Sollte sie es sein, werde ich nicht lange ein Mitglied sein."

Der Kölner Soziologe Erwin K. Scheuch forderte zur Rückkehr aus einer Welt des Wunschdenkens in die neue Realität auf und beklagte mit einem Blick auf die deutsche Situation die Bewegungsunfähigkeit der deutschen Regierung, die das Ergebnis einer Furcht vor der Erpressung sei.

Die Zukunft des Komitees? „Wir werden Kongresse veranstalten und Pamphlete und Bulletins herausgeben", verspricht Lord Chalfont. Sollte das wirklich alles sein? Es muß doch wohl mehr geplant sein, als Freiheit nur zum Kongreßthema zu machen. Die Gefahren des Komitees sind damit bereits erkennbar: Viele Denker und Rufer, wenige Macher.

FRITZ WIRTH

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Sorge um die Freiheit

Gründung eines «Komitees für die freie Welt»

Von unserem Korrespondenten

R. B. London, 10. Februar

Zur geistigen Verteidigung dessen, was die freie Welt im Gegensatz zur totalitär beherrschten frei macht, haben sich unter dem Vorsitz des französischen Gelehrten und Publizisten *Raymond Aron* amerikanische und europäische Künstler, Schriftsteller, Gelehrte, Publizisten, Gewerkschafter und andere zu einem «Komitee für die freie Welt» zusammengeschlossen. Sie wollen sich der politischen Begriffsverwirrung, Gleichgültigkeit und Selbsterniedrigung entgegenstellen, die ihrer Meinung nach im Westen um sich greifen und die Existenzbasis der freien Gesellschaft untergraben. Ihre Ziele sind in einer von zahlreichen namhaften Persönlichkeiten unterzeichneten Erklärung dargelegt, die am Dienstag in London und in New York veröffentlicht wurde und die am Ende dieses Berichts wiedergegeben ist. An einer Pressekonferenz in London äusserte der Vorsitzende der europäischen Sektion des Komitees, *Leopold Labedz*, die Hoffnung, dass sich möglichst viele Gleichgesinnte dem Komitee anschliessen werden.

Europäisch-amerikanische Initiative

Im *Direktorium* des Komitees figurieren neben Raymond Aron und Leopold Labedz unter anderem der amerikanische Schriftsteller und Nobelpreisträger Saul Bellow; der deutsche Historiker Golo Mann; der italienische Autor und frühere Abgeordnete der Liberalen Luigi Barzini; der englische Dramatiker Tom Stoppard; der einst in Polen, jetzt in Oxford lehrende Philosoph Leszek Kolakowski; der französische Historiker Alain Besançon und sein englischer Kollege Hugh Seton-Watson; der frühere Labourpolitiker Lord Chalfont; der amerikanische Publizist William Barrett; der Kölner Soziologe Erwin Scheuch; der Chefredaktor der Monatszeitschrift «Encounter», Melvin Lasky, sowie die Publizisten Enzo Bettiza, Indro Montanelli, Jean-Claude Casanova, Norman Podhoretz und George Will.

Von den über 350 bisherigen *Unterzeichnern* der Erklärung seien erwähnt: der Dramatiker Eugène Ionesco; der jugoslawische Autor und einstmalige Politiker Milovan Djilas; die Schriftsteller Arthur Koestler, George Mikes, Herman Wouk und Robert Conquest; der einstmalige amerikanische Stellvertretende Verteidigungsminister Paul Nitze; der frühere israelische Uno-Delegierte Chaim Herzog; der Futurologe und Leiter des Hudson-Instituts Herman Kahn; die englischen Historiker Alan Bullock und Leonard Schapiro und ihre amerikanischen Kollegen Walter Laqueur und Oscar Handlin; der tschechisch-französische Publizist Pavel Tigrid; der englische Astronom und Schriftsteller Sir Fred Hoyle; der einstmalige britische Labourpolitiker Dick Taverne sowie der amerikanische Gewerkschaftsführer und Nachfolger George Meanys, Lane Kirkland.

Wortlaut der Erklärung

Die Erklärung des «Komitees für die freie Welt» hat folgenden Wortlaut:

Wir sind eine Gruppe von Schriftstellern, Künstlern, Journalisten, Publizisten, Wissenschaftern, Lehrern und Gewerkschaftern aus verschiedenen Ländern. Weil wir erkannt haben, dass die *freie Gesellschaft* zunehmend *unter Druck* gerät, haben wir uns zusammengeschlossen, um der drohenden Gefahr entgegenzuwirken. Unser Ziel ist es, gegen das Klima von Verwirrung und Apathie, Selbstzufriedenheit, aber auch Selbstzerfleischung anzukämpfen, das die westlichen Demokratien angesichts einer wachsenden Bedrohung schwächt und letztlich ihr Ueberleben in Frage stellt.

Wie immer sich die Bedrohung materiell darstellt (sowjetische Raketenrüstung, Kartell der Opec, internationaler Terrorismus usw.), so erklärt sich unserer Meinung nach das offensichtliche *Zögern der westlichen Demokratien*, mit der nötigen Dringlichkeit eine angemessene Selbstverteidigung aufzubauen, aus dem Einfluss einer Reihe schwerwiegender *Irrtümer*. Diese sind zwar vielschichtig, lassen sich aber in folgender

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Free World organization formed to defend Western democracy

New group opposes totalitarianism of the left

By Ian Bradley

The Western alliance, and Britain in particular, have been engaged in political disarmament for a long time, Professor Hugh Seton-Watson, professor of Russian history at London University, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the launching in London of the Committee of the Free World, a group of academics, journalists, politicians and others who see the values of Western democracy and civilization as threatened by totalitarianism of the left.

Professor Seton-Watson said that he hoped the committee would not simply be an anti-communist organization. He said : "If it is, it will not have me as a member for very long. The question is how we can act to defend Western values."

Lord Chalfont, another member of the committee's board of directors, said : "I think what we are concerned with is the bias against Western values in the media in this country.

"If anyone doesn't think there is such a bias, he should read Sir James Goldsmith's evidence to the media committee of the Conservative Party."

He admitted that the election victories of Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan suggested a change of climate in Britain and the United States. However, there was still a tendency among intellectuals in particular, to denigrate Western society and look for civilized values elsewhere.



Lord Chalfont : Concerned about "bias against Western values in the media".



Mr Tom Stoppard, the playwright, who is a member of the group.

The committee's manifesto states : "We believe that holding cheap the values, the achievements and the institutions of Western civilization has led in the past, and may lead again, not to something better but to something immeasurably worse, not to peace but to war ; in the generation of the 1930s to totalitarianism of the right, in our time to totalitarianism of the left".

The committee, which was launched at the same time in New York, includes many prominent European and American intellectuals. The British members, of whom some were approached and others offered themselves, include Lord Blake, the historian, Mr Tom Stoppard, the playwright, Lord Bullock, Sir Max Beloff, Sir Huw Wheldon and several figures associated with the Conservative Party.

The only Labour MPs on the committee are Mr Mike Thomas and Mr Neville Sandelson, both supporters of the new Council for Social Democracy, and the only British trade union leader is Mr Frank Chapple, general secretary of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union.

Lord Chalfont said the committee had approached Mrs Shirley Williams, but had not yet heard from her.

Mr Sandelson said after yesterday's meeting that he was sorry the committee had not tried to attract wider support in the Labour Party. He said : "I hope they will be inviting some democratic socialists, and I include people to the left of Denis Healey, as well as social democrats".

The committee's main activities will be holding conferences, expanding membership and publishing pamphlets and books. It will take no money from governments and will be constituted as a public company with its finances open to inspection.

above: News story from The Times (of London) appeared February 11, 1981

below: Editorial from The Times appeared February 12, 1981

IN DEFENCE OF WESTERN VALUES

In many ways it is an odd time for the Committee for the Free World to bring itself into existence. At its inaugural press conference on Tuesday this multinational of concerned intellectuals said in a prepared statement that "free societies are coming increasingly under attack . . . Our aim is to alter the climate of confusion and complacency, apathy and self-denigration, that has done so much to weaken the Western democracies in the face of growing threat to their continued viability and even their existence as free societies". It went on to assert that in the mass media, institutions of higher learning and "among intellectuals generally" it had now become nearly orthodox to assert that the freedom of free societies was a sham. Such denigration of western values, it fears, could lead to totalitarianism of the left.

This is difficult to swallow. The general climate of public and intellectual opinion is probably less sympathetic towards Soviet communism than at almost any time since 1917. The Soviet model has manifestly failed wherever it has been tried, and even the attempts of the new left to attribute its failures to Russian traditions rather than structural defects has had only limited success. The intellectual challenge to the principles of plural democracy is surely on the wane, at any rate in comparison with the late sixties.

The new committee must therefore be careful about attributing the west's lack of confidence and general mental confusion to the influence of the left. The west is confused and worried because it faces huge and difficult problems. Some parts of the left aggravate these problems by conspiring within the unions and the Labour Party and by promoting policies which, if carried out, would weaken the west's military defences. Against these activities the country needs to be alerted, and indeed has already been alerted. But the notion that there is a general conspiracy of left wing totalitarianism pervading the country, and in particular the media, is exaggerated.

If the new committee is to be effective—and it deserves to be because most of its members and principles are admirable—it must avoid being regarded as a right-wing pressure group. The right has no property rights over western values. The essential basis of western political culture is the belief that nobody has access to a single truth and that we can grope forward only by jealously preserving space for the market place of conflicting ideas. In this market place the criticisms, challenges, dissatisfactions and worries of the left are as necessary as those of the right.

If the Committee for the Free World devotes itself to rational argument it will perform a very valuable function. If it occupies itself with searching out conspiracies, or if it equates criticism with subversion, it will isolate itself in an intellectual ghetto as unproductive as that in which too many leftists also seek refuge.

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

TIMES PAST THE TIMES

P.O. Box 7, 200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ. Telephone: 01-837 1234

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

One-sided views of nuclear disarmament

From Lady Wheldon

Sir, E. P. Thompson, for European Nuclear Disarmament, writes (April 21): "Every informed observer knows that there are two parties to this deadlock." This is a clever way of equating them, for they can be equated in no other way.

Unlike Mr Thompson, some of us in Europe are not disinterested observers of this "deadlock" and are partial in our choice of sides. America and the Nato countries are liberal democracies, a way of living a majority of us value; the Soviet Union is a totalitarian empire, the inhumanity, arrogance and cruelty of which are abhorrent to us. Both parties are said to be "deeply committed to theories of 'deterrence'"; we might also say that they are armed in order to defend and protect their differences, and some of us do not find this objectionable. But it is clear to even uninformed observers that the Soviet Empire is at the momen also "deeply committed" to wa in Afghanistan, and may shortly be at war in Poland if that becomes necessary for the sake of its "historic mission."

What END is up against (apart from its unfortunate acronym) is this: to many people it does not seem possible that unilateral disarmament will in any way prevent the Soviet Union from carrying out this self-imposed mission, its single-minded, unholy crusade to establish its brand of totalitarianism everywhere it can, and especially now in its expansionist years. On the contrary, it seems possible that Western disarmament can only encourage the Soviet Union's hopeful fantasies about some distant, imaginary future when their system has completed its dreary and mendacious progress over the face of the entire globe: for, according to the logic of Soviet ideology, until it does there will always be some earth somewhere to be shovelled off the Soviet border and dropped, self-righteously, into the Soviet Empire.

While END is taking all the time it needs over the "difficult" and "slow" Eastern dialogue in "conditions of confidence"—and it may take a long time—it would seem less generously idealistic but safer, more self-interested and realistic, things being what they are, to remain in deadlock; to work for an equality of force, limited and stabilized on both sides. Until, that is, something absolutely unambiguous comes of that dialogue, which we should all like to join in if we knew how, and the state authoritarians of the USSR are as willing to disarm themselves as END is willing to disarm us. As Mr Thompson says, "every sane person wishes for multilateral disarmament."

Yours faithfully,
JACQUELINE WHELDON,
120 Richmond Hill,
Richmond upon Thames,
Surrey.

These letters were sent to The Times of London by leaders of the British section of the Committee and were printed on April 27 (from Wheldon) and August 15 (from Bedford & others.)

THE WASHINGTON STAR Monday, May 18, 1981

Letters

AWACS

We are dismayed and deeply worried by the decision of the Reagan administration to supply Saudi Arabia with AWACS planes, a decision both dangerous in itself and extremely disquieting in terms of our future policy in the Persian Gulf.

Providing the Saudis with this highly sophisticted – and vulnerable – form of military technology has been justified by the administration on grounds that Saudi Arabia is to be a vital element in the overall U.S. strategy for defending the Persian Gulf from Soviet encroachment. This strategy is one with which we are in full agreement. Not only the supply of oil essential to the economic survival of the West but, in the long run, the peace of the world depends upon holding the line against any further Soviet expansion into the region, which in turn depends upon an American presence there along with the establishment of a workable security arrangement with our friends.

However, the Saudis have so far given not the slightest evidence of their willingness to cooperate with this strategy in terms that can be considered meaningful. Not only are they still proclaiming their refusal to countenance any American bases in the region, but Saudi's oil minister, Sheik Yamani, in a recent speech to the Foreign Policy Association, openly and impudently contradicted the claims of the administration that the AWACS were to be part of an anti-Soviet strategy by declaring that the real enemy of his country is not the Soviet Union but Israel.

In other words, in giving the AWACS to the Saudis, the United States will be handing over a precious military resource and receiving nothing in return, neither political nor military cooperation in the present nor any commitment to cooperation in the future.

Some would call this appeasement. At the least, we would call it yet another dangerous demonstration of American weakness in the face of Arab oil blackmail. This is not what President Reagan was elected to demonstrate. He should reconsider the AWACS decision.

Midge Decter,
Executive Director,
The Committee for the Free World,
New York, N.Y.

Whose aggression?

From Mrs Sybille Bedford and others

Sir, It has been reported elsewhere that the advertisement you carried (July 24) as an "open letter" to President Reagan was paid for by an anonymous Arab businessman and that the affair was engineered by a public relations firm used by Libya and the PLO. This disclosure must be disconcerting to some of the signatories.

They express concern about the "new assertiveness" of United States foreign policy in various territories in which "neither the USSR nor the USA has any right to interfere", but they "deplore" only American, not Soviet policy. If they had truly sought to convince President Reagan or your readers, they would have tried to show at least some readiness to acknowledge the "old assertiveness" of the Soviet empire and its expansion. As it is, their "concern" is not merely selective but positively myopic.

Only Lord Brockway (*The Observer*, July 26) could have imagined that the "open letter" criticized the Soviet Union equally with the United States. Reading it one could assume that the West has no reason to worry about the balance of power and no need to preserve it. There is nothing to suggest that the Soviet Union has increasingly and aggressively been asserting its power in the world during the past decade.

The crux of the matter is precisely in what was *not* said in the "open letter". For its signatories the Soviet empire has no interest in the Middle East; no warlike tonnage in the Mediterranean; no military stronghold in Syria; no satellite in Southern Yemen; no interest in the Gulf's oil; no troops occupying Afghanistan and fighting its people; no responsibility for the millions of refugees fleeing from that country; no minions in Ethiopia; no influence anywhere near the Cape of Good Hope; no bastions in Mozambique; no "revolutionary understanding" with Cuba; no proxies in Angola; no arms in Nicaragua; no training courses for terrorists (including the PLO and the IRA); no supplies of weapons and equipment for them and for the armies of "liberators"; no hand in the constant and ever-present anti-Western propaganda; no threat to Poland; no designs for Korea, Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia; no intention to take advantage of any other sovereign country's troubles (say in northern Pakistan); no control over satellites in Eastern Europe; no violations of the human rights solemnly endorsed in the UN declaration and the Helsinki agreements; no ambition to pursue its "historic mission" by subverting other societies; and above all no huge armoury of stockpiled nuclear missiles, no formidable standing armies ready for threat or use at short notice, and no war on its hands.

All this is missing from the "open letter". It is based on a disregard of history and of current political and military realities. It is burdened by musty ideological stereotypes. But most of all, it is tainted by a mendacity unresisted for too long. It is high time for our innocents to notice that "peace" propaganda campaigns, of whatever inspiration, have always accompanied the expansion of the Soviet empire and its military build-up.

Yours faithfully,

SYBILLE BEDFORD,
BLAKE,
CHALFONT,
J. L. CHAPPLE,
DOUGLAS EDEN,
JULIUS GOULD,
J. W. HACKETT,
J. B. KELLY,
LEOPOLD LABEDZ,
K. R. MINOGUE,
RENEE WINEGARTEN,

30 Western Road, N2.

Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe

Literarturnaya Gazeta, Moscow, # 13, March 25

25 марта 1981 г. ЛИТЕРАТУРНАЯ ГАЗЕТА № 13

Literaturnaya Gazeta, is the publication of the governing body of the Soviet Writers Union and the USSR's national literary weekly. The article translated and excerpted below, appeared on page one and ran an additional five columns inside.

СНОВА СПАСИТЕЛИ «СВОБОДНОГО МИРА»?

ЧЕЛОВЕЧЕСТВУ присуща не только острая память о прошлом, но и честное желание заглянуть в ...ее. Люди не могут обойтись без надежды: таков естественный закон жизни. Человеку свойственно выбирать, и он делает свой выбор в пользу ...всех честных начал. Это — мир, ...дничество, это ...ство, любовь, ...тель ...ты ...ва миру — ...о жизни — ...

...безусловную активность по «спасению» Запада.

«М... — группа писателей, деятелей искусства, журналистов, профсоюзных деятелей, ученых, издателей и т. д., живущих в разных странах, — проклассифицируется в «манифесте» — Сознавая, что свободолюбие обще... ныне повсеместно подвергается все более серьезным нападкам, мы объединились, чтобы сделать все, что ...в наших силах, чтобы предотвратить эту опасность». К... объединил? Среди двадцати подписей под «манифестом» деятелей немало представителей политической интеллектуальной и литературной элиты США и ряда стран Западной Европы. Здесь, кроме председателя, лорд Чал... Мелвин Ласк..., лауреат Нобелевской премии амери... прозаик Сол Беллоу ...ийский драматург Том... од, главный редактор ...ского журнала «Ком... Норман Под...орец и ...ий «советолог» Ален ...блицист Гуантисо... Бе...ди, Лео... у...

...рисуется «мир» в ...липсических демо... ...зрении, ...ыт на ...ествует ...уты и ...ии и ...же ...я до на... ...что ...ре... ...ка... ...и...

Today, the main threat to the West, proclaims the "manifesto" cynically, comes "from the totalitarianism of the left." This is why members of the "Committee" are calling upon Western Democracies to join forces and to "defend itself with all due speed and energy." What are these new saviours of the "free world" calling for an "adequate" self-defence" from? From "Soviet missiles, OPEC, international terrorism, etc."... The significance of a list like this leaves no room for doubt; behind the grandiloquent sentiments of the "manifesto" lurks the hackneyed bourgeois propaganda myth of the "Soviet threat" which L.I. Brezhnev has graphically called a "ragged scarecrow" which should be"left outside the door of serious politics."

The authors of the "manifesto" .... are "convinced that in the final analysis the struggle for freedom will be won, or else lost, not on the battlefield, but on the pages of books, newspapers, broadcast and lecture halls." This is all true, except for one thing: only valid ideas can win, ideas ... which illumine... with the light of great ideals.

The intellectuals from the "Committee" without shame or conscience call the "free world" a world where... women and children are shot in negro ghettoes, where millions of people are deprived of the basic human right--the right to life and work. They are defending a culture poisoned by cruelty and immorality.

... We are, however, convinced that the progressive forces of the Western intelligentsia will not let themselves be captivated by the songs of the siren of the "cold war" from the "Committee for the Free World." These forces know on which side lie truth and justice, genuine freedom and true culture....

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

Konservative Intellektuelle melden sich im „Komitee für die freie Welt" zu Wort

„Negative Selbstkritik des Westens überwinden"

München — „Die Atmosphäre der geistigen Verwirrung, der Selbstzufriedenheit, der Apathie und der nicht enden wollenden negativen Selbstkritik des freien Westens überwinden!" So formuliert der Münchner Universitätspräsident Nikolaus Lobkowicz das Ziel des „Komitees für die freie Welt", das zu Ereignissen und Entwicklungen in Wort und Schrift Stellung beziehen will. Mitte Februar wurden die Massenmedien in der Bundesrepublik über die Fernschreiber von der Gründung dieser amerikanisch-europäischen Vereinigung unterrichtet, doch versagten ihr fast sämtliche Medien ihre Aufmerksamkeit — aus welchen Gründen auch immer.

Das Komitee wird verschwiegen

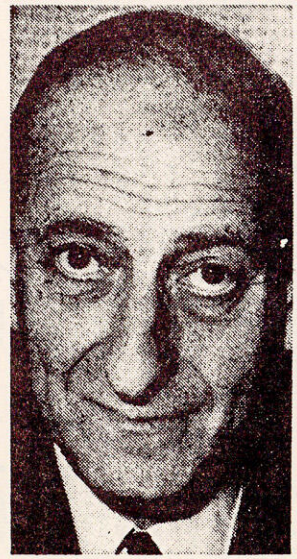
Das auffällige Verschweigen der Existenz des Komitees muß um so mehr erstaunen, als es eine äußerst eindrucksvolle Liste hervorragendster Namen dieser Zeit aufweist. Der Vorsitzende ist der berühmte französische Soziologe Raymond Aron. Zu den Mitgliedern des Vorstandes gehören der Nobelpreisträger für Literatur, Saul Bellow, und der heute in Oxford lebende polnische Philosoph Leszek Kolakowskki.. Unter den Gründungsmitgliedern finden sich der israelische Gelehrte für jüdische Mystik, Gershom Scholem, sowie der Präsident einer der größten amerikanischen Gewerkschaften, Lane Kirkland.

Die Namen verdeutlichen, daß die tragende Gruppe Intellektuelle sind, die man als Neo-Konservative bezeichnen könnte. Es sind vielfach Intellektuelle im Umfeld von Reagan, die im Zeichen der Tendenzwende in den USA für das Wiedererstarken des Westens als geistiger Motor künftig eine gewichtige Rolle spielen dürften.

Von den mittlerweile über 400 Unterzeichnern der Grundsatzerklärung des Komitees seien genannt: der Dramatiker Eugene Ionesco, der jugoslawische Autor Milovan Djilas, die Schriftsteller Arthur Köstler und Hermann Wouk, der Futurologe Herman Kahn, der englische Historiker Alan Bullock und die einstmalige britische Labour-Politikerin Dick Taverne.

In der Bundesrepublik bemühen sich bekannte Wissenschaftler und Publizisten um die Bildung einer deutschen Sektion des Komitees. Gespräche finden zur Zeit zwischen dem Münchner Universitätspräsidenten Lobkowicz, dem Fernsehjournalisten Gerhard Löwenthal, dem Verleger Gerd Bucerius, den Historikern Thomas Nipperdey und Golo Mann sowie dem Kölner Soziologen Erwin Scheuch statt.

Lobkowicz macht sich für das Komitee stark, da er in seiner Analyse der Gegenwart zu dem Schluß kommt, daß es „gleichsam fünf vor zwölf" ist: Was man vor zwanzig Jahren für völlig undenkbar gehalten hätte, ist zur Tagesordnung geworden. Unsere Massenmedien gebrauchen marxistisches Begriffsgut, als ob dies das Selbstverständlichste der Welt wäre; Universitäten können ungestraft Sammelbecken für selbsterklärte Verfassungsfeinde sein; wenn ein Lehramtskandidat, der sich zu einer kommunistischen Partei bekennt, nicht als Lehrer zugelassen wird, werden in den Zeitungen rosarote Krokodilstränen vergossen, und zwar auch in Bayern; alle Welt spricht so, als ob die eigentlichen Probleme unserer Zeit darin bestünden, daß in Afrika die SWAPO unterstützt wird, in Europa ja keine Mittelstreckenraketen stationiert werden und in der Bundesrepublik die Bundeswehr ob ihrer schlichten Existenz ihr Haupt in Scham verhüllt, und im übrigen die Polizei sich mit ach so gutmütigen Randalierern arrangiert, die Häuser besetzen, die anderen gehören.



Der französische Soziologe Raymond Aron



Universitätspräsident Nikolaus Lobkowicz

Den Gesprächen über eine deutsche Sektion ging ein jüngst in München gehaltener Vortrag der US-Journalisten Midge Decter voraus, der geschäftsführenden Direktorin des Komitees. Sie sieht die Ursache für den aufblühenden Neo-Konservatismus in den USA im Scheitern der liberalen Weltanschauung einer Gesellschaft „in der alles freiwillig ist, eine Gesellschaft des liberalen Säkularismus".

„Liberalismus verantwortlich"

Frau Decter prangerte beispielhaft die Verantwortung des Liberalismus für den Verfall der Familie an: Der Vorbote der Familienschwierigkeiten war zuerst bei den Liberalen zu finden. Man erkannte es an ihrer Einstellung zur Arbeit und Verantwortung. Man sah, daß sie alle Tricks anwandten, um sich beidem zu widersetzen. Niemand war weniger bestätigt in seinem Sein, als der gewöhnliche Mann oder die Frau, die hart arbeiteten für ihren Lebensunterhalt, für die Gründung eins Heims, für die Erziehung ihrer Kinder. **Franz Kadell**

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

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900 Bonn 2 Tel (0228) 3041 Telex 08 85
DIE WELT - Nr. 115 - Dienstag, 19. Mai 1981

Kongreß über Neo-Konservatismus in Würzburg

Die Keller auslüften!

Auf dem Podium des schlicht weiß gehaltenen „Mehrzweck-saales" in der neuen Würzburger Universität hatte Professor Lothar Bossle die stolze Zahl von sechzehn Teilnehmern einer Diskussionsrunde um sich versammelt. Aus Griechenland, aus Kanada, von London und New York war man gekommen, um mit deutschen Professoren und Publizisten wie Paul-Wilhelm Wenger, Caspar v. Schrenck-Notzing, Gerhard Löwenthal und Prof. W. Moeves die Frage zu erörtern, ob der „Neokonservativismus die Leitidee der achtziger Jahre" zu werden verspreche. Der „erzreaktionäre Einpeitscher Bossle" – so das Flugblatt einer Würzburger Fachschaftsinitiative – kann für sich beanspruchen, durch die fruchtbare Zusammenarbeit seines auf privater Initiative beruhenden Instituts für Demokratieforschung schon mehrere ähnlich interessante Zusammenkünfte zustandegebracht zu haben. Daß er ein Mann der Konservativen sei, hat er niemals verborgen gehalten, ebenso wenig ist zu übersehen, daß er sich seine Mitdiskutanten eher rechts von der Mitte sucht. So gleichen seine Unternehmungen nicht so sehr ideologischen Schlachten als den Vorbereitungen zu solchen Kämpfen, in denen man das Arsenal der Argumente überprüft und die Waffen für kommende Auseinandersetzungen blank putzt.

Auch in diesem Jahr war man sich auf dem akademischen Hügel namens Hubland, mit Blick auf die Feste Marienburg unter sich, über das Grundsätzliche einig. Vor allem war man sich einig darüber, daß es „so" nicht weitergehen könne und daß man „genug" habe, wie es Lady Wheldon in einem temperamentvollen und begeistert aufgenommenen Diskussionsbeitrag formulierte. Lady Wheldon ist die Sekretärin des vor kurzem zum ersten Mal mit einem Aufruf in Erscheinung getretenen „Komitees für die freie Welt", dessen Gründung ebenfalls auf eine Frau zurückgeht, die amerikanische Schriftstellerin Midge Decter, Ehefrau von Norman Podhorez, den man neben Irving Kristol und Daniel Bell als einen der führenden Köpfe des Neokonservatismus in den USA betrachten kann. Dem Komitee, an dessen Spitze Raymond Aron steht, sind in Amerika und Großbritannien schon viele bedeutende Männer und Frauen beigetreten, vereinzelt auch in Frankreich, Italien und Deutschland.

Es war zu erwarten, daß ihre Schar über kurz oder lang auf irgendeine Weise mit den übrigen neokonservativen Kreisen in der Bundesrepublik zusammenfinden würde, für die Würzburg eine Art Sammelpunkt geworden ist. Der Terminus „Neokonservatismus" ist freilich vage und – wie sich im Laufe der Debatte herausstellen sollte – auch unbefriedigend. Was für ein Neues soll hinter diesem „Neo" stecken? Oder soll es nur heißen, daß die gute alte Tradition des Bewahrens nunmehr einen neuen Impetus erhält? Vollständig stimmte man in Würzburg nur darin überein, daß dem Schaden, den der Sozialismus und ein linkslastiger Liberalismus angerichtet haben, jetzt endlich gesteuert werden müsse. „Konstruktiven Realismus" nannte W. Moeves (Gießen) diese Haltung.

Wieweit Kernbestandteile unseres Grundgesetzes wie die Rechtsstaatlichkeit durch die Haltung der Behörden, etwa bei der lassigen Behandlung der „Hausinstandbesetzer", bereits zerrieben worden sind, wies der ehemalige General-bundesanwalt Ludwig Martin in einer knappen, aber überaus eindrucksvollen Intervention nach.

Midge Decter lieferte einen Abriß der Leidensgeschichte jener amerikanischen Intellektuellen, die das linksliberale Lager in immer größerer Zahl verlassen haben und jetzt mit der „schweigenden Majorität" das Rückgrat der Neo-Konservativen bilden. Gerhard W. Goldberg, ein Mann der Wirtschaft, aus Berlin stammend und seit über 40 Jahren in Südamerika zu Hause, verglich diese spirituelle Wanderschaft mit der einstigen Abkehr eines Köstler oder eines Silone von dem stalinistischen „Gott, der keiner war". Melvin J. Lasky meinte, in Zentraleuropa müsse erst einmal „eine ganze Menge ideologischer Krempel aus dem Keller" bevor der Neokonservatismus hier greifen könne.

Den amerikanischen Teilnehmern zu Ehren hielt Professor Erwin K. Scheuch seinen brillanten Vortrag über „Rechts und Links als ideologische Pakete" in ebenso brillantem Englisch, was seine deutschen Freunde, die zum Kopfhörer der Dometscheranlage greifen mußten, ein wenig befremdete. Im allgemeinen bereitete die Zweisprachigkeit des ganzen Unternehmens keine Schwierigkeiten, Lothar Bossle und Lasky, Herausgeber von „Monat" und „Encounter", wechselten sich reibungslos als Moderatoren ab.

Die Lage im Inneren der Bundesrepublik weist viele Ähnlichkeiten mit der in den Vereinigten Staaten vor der Wahl Reagans auf. Auch wir brauchen eine Erneuerungsbewegung, die den Staatsbürger nicht allein an seine Rechte, sondern vor allem wieder an seine Pflichten erinnert. Sie mußte nicht allein auf Soziologen-Kongressen auftreten, sondern die ganze Bevölkerung und vor allem die Jugend ergreifen. Ob sich der amerikanische Neokonservatismus freilich exportieren läßt? Wenn sich McDonalds nach Würzburg exportieren läßt, dann kann man alles exportieren, rief Arnold Brecht, ein Politologe aus Vancouver, in halbkomischer Entrüstung aus.

HELLMUT JAESRICH

2/ EL SALVADOR NEWS-GAZETTE, APRIL 19-25, 1981.

Groups begin campaigning in support of El Salvador

Two private organizations that back the current United States policy towards El Salvador have begun public campaigns for its support.

The Committee for the Free World, 211 East 51st Street, New York. N.Y. 10022, headed by Executive Director Midge Decter, recently published a full page advertisement in The New York Times that announced in boldface type:

WE –A GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS– APPLAUD AMERICAN POLICY IN EL SALVADOR.

"In what the State Department accurately describes as 'a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers,' El Salvador has been under military attack by a coalition of guerrilla groups whose ability to wage war depends on weapons supplied by the Soviet Union through such client states as Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam and others," the statement read.

"That these guerrillas, dominated by the Salvadoran Communist party and other Marxist-Leninist factions, should be getting weapons from the Soviet bloc is not surprising. If they succeed in taking over El Salvador, another country in this hemisphere would be added to Cuba and Nicaragua as out-posts of the burgeoning Soviet empire and as instruments of further expansion. Both Cuba and Nicaragua have, for example, applauded the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and Cuban troops have been used in Africa and the Middle East to serve in the coming to power of parties subservient to the Soviet Union."

This committee, which includes such distinguished Americans as author Thomas Molnar, editor Norman Podhoretz, writer Arnaud De Borchgrave, and Andrzej Brzeski of the University of California, expressed surprise at "the support the guerrillas have received from liberals and socialists both in the United States and abroad."

"These non-Communist apologists for the guerrillas tell us," the statement continues, "that the war in El Salvador is caused by intolerable local conditions and not by outside intervention. Yet the government in El Salvador, backed and encouraged by the United States, has been working to improve those conditions. It has inaugurated a program of land reform so extensive that the extreme Right has turned against it with as much vehemence as the extreme Left. Without intervention by the Soviet bloc there would be less violence and a better chance for the reforms to take hold... Indeed, only American protection, and aid, will make it possible for the Salvadoreans to create their own free and stable society, secure against depredations of both the Left and the Right."

The statement rejects the supposition that the United States is aligning itself against the forces of progressive change by opposing the guerrillas and points out that similar movements have come to power in Cuba, Vietnam and Cambodia without bringing about "progressive" change but "totalitarian regimes, far more repressive than the most repressive of the regimes they have replaced."

It also discounts the possibility that El Salvador could become "another Vietnam," since there is virtually no possibility that the American military and economic aid will lead to either to the commitment of large numbers of American troops or to the defeat of the "forces we are trying to aid."

It cautions that El Salvador could become another Vietnam if the United States allows the Soviet bloc to force a Communist regime into existence here.

"El Salvador will suffer the same hideous fate that has befallen Vietnam since that country was unified under totalitarian Communist rule: a new Gulag, thousands upon thousands of refugees driven into the sea, the destruction of any hope for future liberalization, and the creation of another armed instrument of Soviet imperialism," they state.

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

March 2, 1981

THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Dispatch Case

A group of 400 intellectuals and academics from the United States, Western Europe, and Australia have established the Committee for the Free World, dedicated to combating what they say are threats to the survival of Western democracies.

In a statement announcing the establishment of the committee, the group said, "Our aim is to alter the climate of confusion and complacency, apathy and self-denigration, that has done so much to weaken the Western democracies in the face of a growing threat to their continued viability and even their existence as free societies."

Midge Decter, the writer, is the executive director of the committee. Among the American participants are a number of intellectuals who have been identified with the "neo-conservative movement," including Norman Podhoretz, who is Miss Decter's husband and the editor of *Commentary*, and W. Glenn Campbell, director of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

The statement warned that several false concepts about the nature of Western societies were becoming widely accepted. It cited, among others, the ideas "that the political systems of the societies in which we live are founded on the oppression of their own peoples" and "that the freedom they claim to offer is a sham."

It said, "In many places these propositions have very nearly assumed, consciously or unconsciously, the status of an orthodoxy: in the mass media, in institutions of higher learning, and among intellectuals generally."

In a recent telephone interview, Miss Decter described the committee as a group of people who had decided that "a very important part of defending the West lies in altering the cultural climate to make it more grateful for and appreciative of the privileges that Western democratic societies, however flawed, still offer their citizens.

"We got organized because we all believed it was time to defend those societies and their institutions."

While many of the committee members are academics, the group also includes Tom Stoppard, the playwright, and Saul Bellow, the novelist, both of whom are members of the board of directors.

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

The Committee for the Free World
211 East 51st Street/New York, New York 10022

NATIONAL REVIEW / *March 20, 1981*

THE WEEK

■ Intellectual realists are preparing for battle with political flaccidness, and have organized the independent Committee for the Free World, comprising four hundred prominent intellectuals from a dozen countries. The announced purpose is to "alter the climate of confusion and complacency, apathy and self-denigration that plays so decisive a role in weakening the Western will to resist totalitarian threats." Midge Decter, writer and former editor at Basic Books, is the Committee's founder and executive director. Raymond Aron is International Chairman, Leopold Labedz is European Chairman. On the board of directors sit Paul Johnson, of the American Enterprise Institute; philosopher Leszek Kolakowski; Irving Kristol, editor of *The Public Interest*; Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*; playwright Tom Stoppard; and George F. Will, to name but a few. The committee is to "reconstitute the kind of community of Europeans and Americans" that was created by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, according to Midge Decter. However, the immediate concern will be with political opinion in America as it is found in books, the news, and the classroom. A monthly bulletin to monitor and challenge news reports that are factually wrong will be issued, and three international conferences are planned for next year: sole agenda item for the first is Soviet expansionism. For now, the Committee is by its name asserting that behind the phrase "the Free World" there is a tangible reality—which is a good place to begin.

The Nation.

April 18, 1981

Culture War II

In the April 6 edition of *The New York Times* appeared a full-page ad with the headline, "We—a group of intellectuals and religious leaders—applaud American policy in El Salvador." The sponsor of the ad was given as The Committee for the Free World, Midge Decter, executive director. But to read the names of the signers of the ad is to experience a sense of *déjà vu*.

The Committee for the Free World is a new international organization formed to combat Soviet totalitarianism and to defend "the values, the achievements and the institutions of Western civilization." A galaxy of 400 intellectuals, artists and scholars from a dozen countries have joined it, including authors Saul Bellow, Herman Wouk, Paddy Chayefsky and Jerzy Kosinski; playwright Eugene Ionesco; columnist Max Lerner; TV commentator Eric Sevareid; columnist and editor R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., and scholars Bruno Bettelheim, Gershom Scholem and Oscar Handlin. Midge Decter, the writer and wife of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, recently resigned as an editor at Basic Books to become executive director of the committee.

Aside from some glittering new names, however, the committee bears a striking resemblance to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which thrived during the cold war from 1950 to 1966, until it was exposed as a Central Intelligence Agency front by *The New York Times* and other publications. The C.I.A. secretly supported the congress as a means of enlisting intellectuals and opinion makers in a war of ideas against Communism.

An obvious link between the congress and The Committee for the Free World is the fact that the same people are involved. For example, Sidney Hook, the philosopher and author, and Raymond Aron, the French sociologist and political commentator, were delegates to the 1950 Berlin conference that launched the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Hook later served as chairman of its American branch, and Aron was on the international executive committee. Hook is a founding member of The Committee for the Free World, and Aron is its international chairman. Leopold Labedz, who, along with Midge Decter, had the original idea for The Committee for the Free World, was an editor of *Soviet Survey*, which was funded by the congress. Labedz serves as European chairman and head of the London office of the committee. Melvin Lasky, the first general secretary and organizer of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and later an editor of *Encounter*, also subsidized by the congress, is on the committee's board of directors. Irving Kristol, who resigned as executive director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom in 1953 to become an editor of *Encounter*, is another board member.

Not all who were invited to join the committee accepted, however. For example, Prof. Ralf Dahrendorf, director of the London School of Economics and a prominent sociologist, declined to sign up. Although he had many good friends on the committee, Dahrendorf explained, he thought it strange that people who represented the current political trend to the right and had access to positions of power seemed "so defensive."

Although the Free World committee claims in a press release that "no money will be sought or accepted from any government or government agency," several foundations that provided nearly half its seed money have close ties to the C.I.A. The Smith Richardson Foundation of North Carolina and the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts of Pittsburgh each put up at least $25,000 of the approximately $125,000 initially raised by the committee. The Smith Richardson Foundation, which has C.I.A. officials among its consultants reviewing grants, provides management training to C.I.A. and Defense Department employees through an affiliate. [See Friedman, "Public TV's C.I.A. Show," *The Nation*, July 19-26, 1980.] Richard M. Scaife, a trustee of the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts, was listed as the owner of Forum World Features, a C.I.A.-funded news service, according to a 1975 *Washington Post* article.

Convinced that "the struggle for freedom may in the end be won or lost not on battlefields but in books, newspapers, broadcasts and classrooms," according to a press release, the Free World committee plans "to conduct a vigorous battle in the cultural arena." It will sponsor conferences, publications, a speakers' bureau and a monthly bulletin to "monitor" press reports, much as the Congress for Cultural Freedom sponsored conferences and a range of publications to fight the cold war. (In addition to *Soviet Survey* and *Encounter*, the congress subsidized more than ten magazines around the world and scores of books, including, in 1954, *McCarthy and the Communists* by James Rorty and Moshe Decter, former husband of Midge Decter.)

Through organizations like the congress, the Government subsidized editors and scholars who were selected for their correct cold-war positions rather than for their talent or merit, enabling it to rig the free marketplace of ideas. In effect, as Jason Epstein noted in a 1967 *New York Review of Books* article, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, "ostensibly devoted to cultural freedom," as its name implied, was "based upon lies." The formation of The Committee for the Free World, in 1981, revives important issues about the relationship between intellectuals and government. Its advent is a sign that a new cultural cold war is about to erupt, along with a renewed arms race. JOHN S. FRIEDMAN

John S. Friedman is a Washington-based journalist who specializes in the politics of the arts.

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

New committee of intellectuals in United States closely linked with CIA

BY BOB RUTKA

WASHINGTON, April 14 (PL). — A committee of intellectuals recently created in the United States has close ties to the Central Intelligence Agency, according to the magazine The Nation.

The committee, which has participants from a dozen countries and has the goal of "combating communism and defending Western values," received over half of the funds necessary to begin its activities from foundations linked to the CIA.

According to The Nation, the new committee is very similar to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which prospered in the cold war years from 1950 to 1966, until the New York Times and other publications exposed it as a CIA front organization.

The Smith Richardson Foundation, which has CIA officers among its consultants, also offered training in administrative matters to the CIA and the Pentagon, according to the article.

In one of its first acts to defend "the values, achievements and institutions of Western civilization," the new committee printed a full-page ad in the April 6 issue of the New York Times praising the U.S. policy on El Salvador.

The Nation comments that the advent of the committee is a sign that a new cultural cold war is breaking out, along with the renewed arms race.

It also maintains that the creation of the Committee for a Free World in 1981, because of the suspicious ties to the CIA, revives important issues concerning the relationship between intellectuals and the government.

Richard Scaife, a trustee of the Scaife family charitable trust, was the owner of Forum World Features. According to a 1975 article in the Washington Post, Forum World Features was a news agency operating out of London which was financed by the CIA.

The Nation states that the same people who participated in the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the '50s are also members of the new organization. For example, Sidney Hook, a philosopher and writer, and Raymond Aaron, a French sociologist, are founding member and president, respectively, of the new organization.

According to press reports, the new committee plans to "carry out a vigorous campaign in the cultural arena," which was also the goal of the former CIA-backed organization, which sponsored conferences and publications.

above: News story from Granma, (a Cuban Communist newspaper) May 3, 1981

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below: News story from The Daily Californian (the Berkeley student paper) June 5, 1981

Alleged CIA front has UC members

By BOB WALSH
STAFF WRITER

Eight UC Berkeley professors are members of a group critics claim is a front organization for the United States Central Intelligence Agency, the *Daily Californian* has learned.

The group, the Committee for the Free World has a membership of over 400 American and Western European scholars, authors, artists and intellectuals, and was formed this past February to lead the "struggle for freedom" in the "world of ideas."

News of the alleged connection between the committee and the CIA was carried in the April 18, 1981 issue of the *Nation*, a left-of-center national political magazine, but committee members deny any connection.

A group of UC faculty members has criticized the group and attacked its conservative political views, and alleged CIA ties.

"People accept what they read at face value, and don't see the hidden forces behind the words," said Electrical Engineering professor Pravin Varaiya. "There's nothing wrong with the CIA but if this committee is CIA funded then it should say so."

Varaiya and four other members of a campus group called Faculty Against Intervention in El Salvador sent the *Daily Californian* a letter reprinted in this issue denouncing the committee as "an intensification of the propaganda effort by the New Right at a time when many people in the U.S. are beginning to organize in opposition to government policies."

Varaiya described the activities of the Congress as an attempt to "win the hearts and minds of students, intellectuals and academic faculty," in favor of the United States' current conservative foreign policy.

The committee took out a full page ad in the April 6 issue of the *New York Times*, defending U.S. support of the current military-civilian junta in El Salvador against "the non-Communist apologists" on the political left. The ad, signed by three of the group's Berkeley members, describes El Salvador as a nation under attack by the Soviet Union and its client states, which only with U.S. support can "create their own free and stable society, secure against depredations of both the Left and Right."

According to opponents of the committee, the committee, two of the three foundations funding the group have previously documented ties to the CIA, and the committee is a reincarnation of a CIA front organization, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, that was exposed and discredited in 1967.

"(The committee) is a revival, or rather resembles, the Congress for Cultural Freedom — albeit with a different composition," said Political Science professor Paul Seabury, one of three committee members at Berkeley that signed the ad.

Seabury, the only one of the eight Berkeley members who could be contacted, described the accusation of a connection between the committee and the CIA as "bilge" and an example of "McCarthyism of the left." Seabury said that he did not know if the foundations in the past received money from the CIA, but added that "you could bet your life they are not getting money now" from the CIA, due to a change in national opinion of such operations and CIA regulations prohibiting clandestine media subsidies.

To date, the evidence of the CIA tie is:

- Of the committee's original $125,000 funding, $25,000 was donated by the Scaife Foundation of Pittsburg, Penn. Richard Mellon Scaife, chair of the foundation, was identified in a July 3, 1975 *Washington Post* story as the owner of a CIA media front, the London-based Forum World Features news service.
- A second foundation, the Richardson Foundation of Greensboro, N.C., gave an additional $25,000 to the committee. According to the *Nation* article, the foundation "has CIA officials among its consultants reviewing grants, provides management training to the CIA and Defense Department employees through and affiliate.

Leslie Lenkowski, the Director of Research for the Richardson Foundation, denied that the foundation was a conduit for CIA funds and countered that the *Nation* article was inaccurate and misleading. The Scaife Foundation could not be contacted.

- At least five of the committee's board of directors served in key capacities in the now defunct Congress for Cultural Freedom. The committee's executive director, Midge Dector, was an editor of *Soviet Survey*, a magazine funded by the Congress. The Congress for Cultural Freedom was identified in 1967 by the *New York Times* as a CIA-controlled organization whose purpose was to persuade opinion-makers to support U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam in the 60s.

The eight UC Berkeley professors, according to the organizations' membership list, are Seabury, Chambers Johnson (Political Science), Allan P. Sindler (Dean of the School of Public Policy), Frederick Crews (English), Robert Alter (Comparative Literature), Nelson Polsby (Political Science), Robert Scalapino (Political Science), and Aaron Wildavasky (Political Science).

Fondazione Alfred Lewin

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1981

The Committee for the Free World
211 East 51st Street, New York, New York 10022/(212) 759-7737

Writers Congress Opens With Calls for Solidarity

By EDWIN McDOWELL

The American Writers Congress, whose organizational meeting in a Manhattan loft in March drew 40 writers, opened to a sellout audience yesterday at the Roosevelt Hotel. The only discordant notes were sounded when, after the grand ballroom filled with spectators well in advance of the 7:30 P.M. keynote addresses, members of The Nation Institute, the sponsor, finally linked arms to bar further entry.

"I've never seen adults act so disappointed or so angry," one young woman who had helped form the chain, said. "They were unbelievable."

But the general tenor was of conviviality and informality. When a panelist at an afternoon hearing on government support of literature asked Jonathan Fisher, "What do you mean by a writer?" Mr. Fisher, coordinator of the Milwaukee Writers Project, replied, "Everything from poets to playwrights, to journalists and academics."

Each of the categories was well represented — big names and small, cosmopolites and country folks, people from the New York area but some from as far away as Florida, Texas and California.

The loudest applause came during Toni Morrison's keynote speech calling for solidarity among writers. "We don't need any more writers as solitary heroes," Miss Morrison, the novelist and editor at Random House, said. "We need a heroic writers movement — assertive, militant, pugnacious."

A similar call for a movement or union was sounded by several others, including Victor S. Navasky, editor of The Nation magazine. He said the congress was ready to consider the proposition that writers, "stereotyped as the last individualists, are ready to consider collective action."

In the second of the two addresses, Meridel Le Sueur, a political activist and feminist who attended the first Writers Congress in 1935, recited lines from the late Waldo Frank's address to that gathering, "We will flare little fires to each other, we will draw close, we will communicate with each other — let us do our part."

In the afternoon, the Committee for the Free World, an organization of writers and intellectuals with offices in New York and London, called on participants in the congress to "be mindful of where and how they are living — and where and how untold thousands of their fellow authors are living in many places around the world"

The one-page statement, on a letterhead listing such names as Saul Bellow and Seymour Martin Lipset of the United States, Raymond Aron of France, Luigi Barzini of Italy and Melvin J. Lasky of England, said:

"In claiming to be censored, or mistreated, or silenced by the marketplace, we make a mockery of the bravery and suffering of those truly censored, truly mistreated, truly silenced. Whatever our difficulties, let us remember that they are the difficulties of free men and women living in the freest society on earth."

"We are not protesting the congress," Midge Decter, the author and former book editor who is executive secretary of the committee, said. "But we notice that the big names of the congress are themselves people extremely well rewarded by this society for having spent the last 15 years attacking it."

Despite an abundance of activist literature on display tables throughout the hotel, the audiences did not appear to be politically charged.

They applauded lightly and without apparent enthusiasm at references to political or economic "oppression" or when Roberto Marquez, a Puerto Rican writer, read a declaration from a congress of Latin American writers that met in Havana last month accusing the United States of "imperialist exploitation," "cultural genocide" and "open aggression against Cuba."

The congress continues today and tomorrow, but no one who had not been registered will be admitted.

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A Crisis— and an Opportunity

The "Present Danger"

It is by now recognized practically everywhere in the world, including the democratic countries of the West themselves, that Western democracy is in a dangerously weakened condition. Militarily, the community of democratic nations—whose economic and technological superiority had in the years following World War II provided them collectively with what then seemed to be a secure superiority of force—is presently being outstripped on every front by an aggressive, determined, and intractable Soviet Union. To the Soviet Union's long-recognized superior conventional capability, experts now tell us, there will soon be added, if there is not already, superiority in nuclear capability as well. Nor is this military superiority merely being held in reserve against the possibility of some future confrontation with the United States; it is already serving in support of an arrogant campaign of political intimidation of the West. Soviet fleets, once virtually non-existent, now ply the seas which are indispensable for keeping open the lifelines between the Western countries (and Japan) and the resources essential to their economic and military health. Soviet-supported governments are closing around the Persian Gulf states whose oil is, for now at least, the lifeblood of Europe. Soviet surrogate armies lend their force to civil conflicts in Africa. Soviet-trained terrorists disrupt civic order, in some cases make revolutions, throughout the world. Soviet leaders declare their solemn duty to supply assistance and even soldiers anywhere the march of "socialism" is threatened, as in Afghanistan. We need not go on with this list; each day's newspaper provides new details that enlarge and enrich it. The point is that the Soviets now believe—correctly—that they have entered on a period in which they are permitted to pursue an aggressive, expansionist foreign policy with no more than pro forma, token resistance from the Western powers.

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Why Has The West Grown Weak?

Many factors account for this shift in the balance of forces between the Western democracies and the Soviet world. There was, of course, the inevitable (though not necessarily lasting) shock to American self-confidence suffered in Vietnam. There has been the general reluctance of democratic societies to remain in a state of readiness for conflict—despite their experience in the 1930's and, in the directly opposite sense, in the 1950's that in the face of a ruthless expansionist enemy, only military strength and the readiness to use it if necessary can keep the peace. And there is the eternal problem that in the contest between democracy and totalitarianism, the democratic governments must suffer the disadvantage of their virtues: they must, for example, respond to public opinion rather than suppress it, and they must respect individual rights permitting of a far higher degree of dissent than the totalitarian opponents, making free with the use of terror against their own citizens, are ever forced to suffer.

One of the prime factors in bringing the democracies to their present state of timidity and irresolution vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, however, has been a weakening of will from within, a weakening hastened, perhaps, in the case of the U.S., by Vietnam but stemming fundamentally from other sources and apparently equally at work in all the liberal democratic societies. Beyond military pressure from the Soviet Union and beyond the economic assault from OPEC, there has been an assault—possibly the most effectively damaging of all—on the very idea that these societies are entitled to be cherished or defended at all.

Again, one need not recount in minute detail where or how this loss of the will to protect, defend, and above all, value Western-style democracy originated in our time. What matters is that this condition is the result of the spread of certain attitudes and ideas. In some cases these ideas and attitudes have been violently expressed and held, as with the eruption of youthful radicalism throughout the democratic world in the 1960's, which declared that this world was evil and its days numbered. In other cases the attitude of hostility to the prosperous liberal democratic capitalist societies has taken a milder, though if anything even more enervating, form: expressing itself in a number of different points of attack on these societies which, taken together, add up to the general proposition that as between Soviet totalitarianism and Western democracy there is little or nothing to choose. Violent or "respectable," anti-democratic ideas have seeped into the culture at every point, corrupting thought and debasing language almost exactly, term for term, as George Orwell once predicted. And beyond them, there has been the recent pervasive circulation of the proposition, voiced in many different ways, that we are living in a radically altered world: a world in which only the West's complaisance in the face of assaults on Western interests can prevent nuclear Armageddon.

The Source of the Weakness Within

One ought not to exaggerate the success of this campaign from within. In all the Western countries, a majority of the people remains deeply loyal to the democratic ideal and profoundly opposed to the totalitarian one. The reaction of the man in the street to events in the Persian Gulf is but the latest evidence that at their foundations, the democracies have not crumbled. Rather, the spread of anti-democratic ideas has taken hold among those who are the intellectuals and opinion-leaders within each country. Though numerically small, they everywhere exercise a disproportionately wide influence on the climate—spiritual and moral as well as political—of democratic society. They do so through all the most important institutions making up what might be called

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"the free marketplace of ideas": the press, the universities, the media of mass communication and mass entertainment, and the literary culture in general.

For reasons that are well known, the dominant force within the intellectual community, and through it, the dominant fashion in public discourse, in democratic societies has for a long time now been a body of thought at best cavalier and at the worst appallingly indifferent to the values from which free societies draw their ultimate strength and by which they find themselves confirmed and justified. Moreover, threats to the survival of Western societies—terrorism, for example—have been explained away or waved away as no more than such flawed societies deserve. Thus, if we are to reverse the present tide of totalitarian strength and democratic weakness—and if we do not do so soon, the world may be plunged into centuries of barbarism—it will be necessary not only to do something about the military balance; it will be necessary to alter the balance among opinion-leaders as well.

The New Opportunity

This we now believe there is a genuine new opportunity to do. We are already beginning to see evidence of a certain shift in the cultural climate in many places. We can see that a new energy and dynamism are flowing from the pro-democratic corner of the intellectual community: where groups of distinguished and vigorous writers and teachers and thinkers have with great feistiness been announcing their dedication to the proposition that the liberal democratic order is the most benign and just the world has ever known and that Soviet despotism and its other totalitarian variants must not be permitted to gain any further ground against it.

Despite this growing energy and dynamism, however, within their respective countries the pro-democratic intellectuals are still required to struggle against an opposing tide of hostile fashionable opinion. Such a struggle must inevitably leave them with a sense of political and cultural isolation, a feeling—which can be as demoralizing as its opposite is energizing—that they are more or less alone in the world.

This is why we believe, first, that the time is propitious and, second, that the need is urgent to rescue the energy of such writers and teachers and thinkers from local isolation and harness it to a larger campaign aimed at stiffening the will of the democracies as a group. One of the things that would be most galvanizing to the pro-democratic intellectuals in such countries as Italy, France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal, England, Japan, and, indeed, the United States at this moment is precisely the experience of being members of a world-wide community, being reminded that they share a common set of assumptions and are engaged in a common political battle with a strong and determined group of allies.

What Is To Be Done?

Thus we have determined to create a new international organization—The Committee for the Free World—to serve as a kind of permanent clearing house through which the world-wide community of pro-democratic writers, artists, scientists, and intellectuals can stay in regular touch with one another, can meet together from time to time, and can undertake a variety of joint activities. The purpose of such an organization will be both to sustain their sense of community and to make an impact, by their very presence in force, on other opinion-leaders and the public at large.

The Committee for the Free World will function as a nerve and communication center and as an instrument through which its members will speak out and exert influence as a single powerful body. This they will do through public meetings and conferences, publications, debates, and whatever other means prove useful in a campaign to alter

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and shape the climate of opinion.

We shall call upon all those of like spirit to join our ranks. And we shall by every means available to us serve notice upon the cultural institutions of our respective countries that those false and pernicious ideas that have created the present climate of disaffection and sapped the will of Western policy-makers will no longer be permitted to circulate without vigorous—and, it is hoped, decisive—challenge.

The possibilities for committee action around the world are numerous. Each passing day, as it seems, provides a new crisis, and with it a new need for some agency to give voice to the political, cultural, and economic interests of the nations of the free world. A string of such crises is promised, for example, in Latin America and the Caribbean region. The Persian Gulf is, of course, another and major example. Heretofore the response of the pro-Western party to such crises has been *ad hoc* and localized, a statement of protest or an article, circulating among a small circle of people in one or two countries. These, and the various groups which sponsor them, have been useful, but a much better organized and wider reaching effort is not only necessary but possible. The worldwide network of opinion-leaders made possible by The Committee for the Free World would be invaluable in helping to bring clarity about the nature of the crises we confront to both the policy-making communities and the general public. If sometimes at a disadvantage in the contest with totalitarianism, democratic opinion, when properly rallied, can also be a great force, a force fueled by the kind of commitment only a free people can make.

We shall attempt to rally that opinion, as teachers, as members of the press, and of the literary community, and as experts in a number of the areas requiring special attention and analysis in the years ahead. We seek your help and support.

The Committee for the Free World

211 East 51st Street, New York, New York 10022 / (212) 759-7737

The Committee for the Free World is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization operating in accord with Section 501 (c) 3 of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code.

International Chairman: Raymond Aron
Executive Director: Midge Decter

Board of Directors (in formation):

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author and philosopher, U.S.

Luigi Barzini
author, Italy

William J. Bennett
Director, National Humanities Center, U.S.*

Saul Bellow
author, U.S.

Alain Besançon
Ecole des Hautes Etudes, France

Enzo Bettiza
Il Giornale, Italy

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Die Weltwoche, Switzerland

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Leszek Kolakowski
Oxford University, United Kingdom

Neal Kozodoy
Commentary, U.S.

Hilton Kramer
The New York Times, U.S.

Irving Kristol
The Public Interest, U.S.

Leopold Labedz
Survey, United Kingdom

Melvin J. Lasky
Encounter, United Kingdom

Seymour Martin Lipset
Stanford University, U.S.

Indro Montanelli
Il Giornale, Italy

Norman Podhoretz
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Tom Stoppard
playwright, United Kingdom

Hugh Thomas
Centre for Policy Studies, United Kingdom

Jacqueline Wheldon
author, United Kingdom

George F. Will
columnist, U.S.

*affiliations for purposes of identification only

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SPECIAL BACK PAGE

LOCAL CND/END GROUPS have been mushrooming all over the country since the Tories took power. In this special Back Page listing The Leveller rounds up just some of the events over the next few weeks, and some of the publications that have come out over the last year

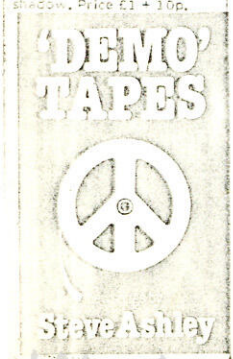
Publications

The following publications are available from CND, 11 Goodwin St, London N7:



● Nuclear Disarmament for Britain, by Betty England. Disarm the arguments of the hawks with this up-to-the-minute analysis of the irresistible case for British unilateralism. Price 50p + 10p.
Also available is a record cassette:
● Demo Tapes. 12 new songs written by Steve Ashley and performed by members of Jethro Tull and Fairport Convention, among others. Songs about the arms race, North/South poverty gap, Cruise blues etc. Price £13 inclusive (should hope so).
● The Radioactive Times, a satirical spoof on official attitudes to nuclear war, has been produced by Bristol CND. It's available from Anita Laverton, 41 Chesterfield Road, Bristol 6, price 10p or 50 copies for £3.75.

● No More Hiroshimas, by Kiyoshi Sakuma. A youth CND pamphlet about the annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the lingering effects of radioactive fall-out on the surviving population. Price 60p + 10p postage.
● On the Brink, by Pat Arrowsmith. Foreward by Adrian Mitchell. 24 poems and illustrations by Britain's most persistent peace activist. Price 60p + 10p.
● No Nuclear Weapons, by Ric Sissons, with photomontages by Peter Kennard. The book of the Arts Council exhibition designed to unsettle the smug or merely sleeping about the reality of living in a nuclear shadow. Price £1 + 10p.



Events

● Week of Action, includes meetings with EP Thompson, showings of 'The War Game'; public meeting 'Nuclear Weapons, US war drive and El Salvador'. Rock concert and socials, poetry readings. Ending with demonstration 'No Cruise missiles, No Trident subs — Jobs not Bombs' on 21 March. Invited speakers from the National Union of Mineworkers, Labour Party, Plaid Cymru and CND. Phone John Southern, secretary of Cardiff CND, 0222-372674.

Tuesday 24 March

LONDON

● Annual General Meeting, Putney CND. Speaker: Bruce Kent. Small Dryburgh Hall, Upper Richmond Rd.

Thursday 26 March

LONDON

● Journalists against Nuclear Extermination meeting at NUFTO Hall, 14 Jockeys Fields, London WC1, at 7.45 pm. Speakers: Melvyn Bragg, and the two Duncan Campbells (of 'New Statesman' and 'Time Out'). Chairperson, Linda Rogers, NUJ national organiser (personal capacity). Further details from JANE, c/o NUJ Magazine Branch, 314 Gray's Inn Rd, London WC1.

Saturday 28 March

LIVERPOOL

● Merseyside CND demonstration at Burtonwood Vs USAF base. The march will initiate the Merseyside Peace Festival, a week long festival ending in an event at Byrom St Community Centre. Details Martin and Clive (051-263-2880).

MANCHESTER

● CND labour movement Conference Against the Missiles. Delegates only meet at UMIST Students Union. 2 delegates accepted from Trade Union branches, Trades councils, Shop stewards committees, constituency Labour parties and branches, regional and national executives of Trades unions and the Labour Party. Other political parties in the labour movement are invited to send delegates on a national basis of up to 20 per party. Delegation fee: £3 per delegate. Crèche facilities will be available. Ealing Trades Council coach to Conference, details Andy (574-2895). South London coach, Lambeth, details phone 582 2955.

Tuesday 31 March

LONDON

● Islington CND public meeting. Speakers: Jo Richardson MP, Melvyn Bragg, Duncan Campbell, Cllr Margaret Pitt, Dr Berry Beaumont. 8pm, Central Library, off Holloway Rd, London N7.

Saturday 4 April

CLEVELAND

● Peace Action Demonstration, 'No Cruise, No Trident. For Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament.' Details: Dave Carter (0642) 87699 or 62277 ext. 221.

Saturday 11 April

CHICHESTER

● Rally., Sussex Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament.

LEWIS

● Rally. Isle of Wight Sussex Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament. Details: Mavis Brown, 11 Goodwin St, London.

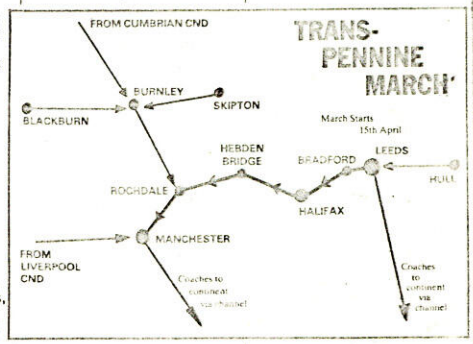
BIRMINGHAM

Youth CND conference. Details: Mavis Brown, 11 Goodwin St, London.

12 — 14 May

BRIGHTON

● Action at the Defence Components Exhibition.



Wednesday 15 April — Saturday 18 April

PENNINES

● Easter March over the Pennines. March starts Wed. 15 April in Leeds, will go through Bradford, Halifax, Hebden Bridge, Rochdale to Manchester. Details: 061-236-4905. Donations: Anita Blacker, Treasurer, Easter '81 Co-ordinating Committee, 35 Windsor View, Hebden Bridge.

Saturday 18 April

MANCHESTER

● Mass demonstration called by CND and Manchester Against The Missiles to greet the trans-Pennine March. Details: 061-236-4905.

Saturday 25 April

STOCKTON

● 'Jobs not Bombs' march in Bill Roger's constituency. Speakers from Labour Party, CND, Trades Council. Assemble Norton Green, 12.30 pm. Details: 0642 244316.

May Day

LONDON

● National CND conference. Details: CND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4. Tel: 01-263 4954.

AFTER MARX, APRIL

An event around the themes of Autonomous movements in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. April, 3, 4, 5. London Film Co-op, Gloucester Ave, Chalk Farm, NW1.

Discussion of the theories and practices of 'post-political politics' and organisation of a campaign to free the 3,000 comrades held without trial in Italian jails.

Workshops on capitalist restructuration, class composition, strategies and organisation, counter-cultures, needs/desires, criminalisation — plus music and video.

Speakers include Franco Berardi (Radio Alice, A/traverso), Felix Guattari ('Anti-Oedipus', 'The Molecular Revolution') and comrades from Rome, Padova, Bologna, Zurich, Paris.

Food and creche provided.

Phone Malcolm on 267 5420 or Les on 482 0266 for details.

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An unholy alliance

THE POLICE have had great success in the US, and now they've made a down-home 'thank y'all' gesture to the system that has kept the west safe, so far, for free enterprise (including the rock music industry). £50,000 of those hard-earned royalties have been channelled into *Encounter* magazine, a ponderous right-wing literary journal that has fallen on hard times (and has been appealing for money from its supporters almost as much as *The Leveller*).

Time was when *Encounter* had more money than it knew what to do with. These were the heady days of the 1950s and 60s when the CIA could slush funds into cold war European organisations with impunity.

Things have changed since the labour movement in Britain, and elsewhere, realised that all this money wasn't exactly being used to promote policies that most of the left wanted, and since the CIA and its stooges came under a healthy scrutiny even back home.

But now they're changing again. After a decade on the losing side, the 'cold war liberals' — in British parlance, 'social democrats' — are able to come out again, thanks to the rightward swing of the consensus on both sides of the Atlantic.

Encounter is not noted as a youth culture paper. For The Police — whose very name was an authoritarian reaction to the anarchic handles of the punk bands — it doesn't directly promote their interest, but indirectly. Perhaps it's just that the group's manager, Miles Copeland, and drummer, his brother Stewart, are sons of a CIA agent, also called Miles Copeland, one who, since retiring, has spoken out about the Agency, though not, regrettably, in the manner of Philip Agee, but for the other side.

The cold-war liberals might have lost the Labour Party, but they're still staging a comeback — not just through the Council for Social Democracy, but through the revival of the old CIA-funded Congress for Cultural Freedom, which originally ran *Encounter*, as the Committee for a Free World. It's a mighty tangled web, the network of right-wingers around the social democrats, but *Phil Kelly* has a go at sorting it out.

WHEN THE Council for Social Democracy made its Parliamentary debut in the defence debate on February 25, a reporter on Independent Radio News expressed amazement that 'they seemed to be to the right of the Liberals'.

That's no surprise at all. There's nothing politically new about this clique of centrists. Dress them up with opinion polls or media hype as much as you like, and they're still the same gang of Gaitskellite 'Atlanticists', the American-controlled lobby that channelled foundation-fulls of money into the British labour movement in the 50s and 60s, to keep it safe for capital. The input came from that vile alliance of CIA, American Labor, the State Department and the right wing of the Democrat Party.

At the same time that Labour was splitting, these cold war ghouls were reviving their Euro front organisation, the Committee for a Free World, launched in London at a press reception in February. Resting their cocktail glasses on rather portlier tummies was the same cast as before. It was like a rerun of a 20-year-old episode of 'Coronation Street': the faces are more lined, but the lines remain the same.

One of the central characters now distinctly overweight is *Stephen Haseler*, founder of the Social Democratic Alliance, the vanguard split from Labour, expelled last year for threatening to run candidates against it, a threat now to be fulfilled, in the GLC elections in May. Now that others have 'come out', the SDA hopes to be the organisational core of the planned social democrat party.

Haseler works for the US National Strategy Information Center (NSIC), founded in 1962 by *William J Casey*, now appointed by Reagan to head the CIA. NSIC is a pressure group for militant anti-communism and is at the centre of a vast network of front organisations. One of its main activites, Casey told the Senate Intelligence Committee hearing on his CIA appointment, has been the building of 'academic respectability' for the practice of intelligence. It has helped to sponsor more than 200 professorial chairs and teaching posts in UN universities and colleges devoted to teaching and research in intelligence.

NSIC provided some of the cash used by journalist and CIA contract employee *Brian Crozier* to transform his news agency Forum World Features, a CIA front organisation, into the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC). Haseler works for the NSIC's 'left face', the Advisory Committee on European Democracy and Security (ACEDS), which published his book, 'Eurocommunism'. Co-author of this work was NSIC's *Dr Roy Godson*, director of the International Labor Programme at Georgetown University in Washington DC. This institution has been a centre of the resurgence of cold war sentiment among US intellectuals, and many of its staff now find themselves in the Reagan administration. According to Haseler and Godson, Eurocommunism is nothing more than a Soviet ploy to detach western Europe from the US without a w

The same theme, articulated by (among others) Henry Kissinger and David Owen, has been faithfully echoed in the Labour and Trade Union Press Service, a duplicated bulletin issued to trade union papers by the Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding (LCTU). The press service is 100 percent subsidised by NATO. It was started by a former US Labor Attache in London, *Joseph Godson*, who also works at Georgetown University and happens to be Roy Godson's dad. Three leading right-wing US trade unionists who are vice-chairmen of the LCTU are also members of the ACEDS. British members of the LCTU include Owen, Rodgers, *Tom Bradley* (another renegade Labour MP) and EEPTU leader *Frank Chapple*.

The US trade union movement has declined seriously since the second world war — about 25 percent of workers were unionised in 1955 (when the AFL-CIO was founded), but this had dropped to 19 percent by 1977, and only 13 percent were then in unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO, the rough equivalent to the TUC. This decline has been a direct re-



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sult of the AFL-CIO's anti-communist 'business union' policies, directed towards the destruction of rank and file militancy and relying instead on collaboration with employers and the expansion of the economy through massive military spending. The AFL-CIO has at the same time been one of the principal methods through which successive US governments have imposed their policies abroad, particularly on western and third world labour movements.

One of the more successful political interventions backed by the NSIC has been the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), a grouping of academics, politicans and retired military and intelligence personnel. Many CPD members have been 'cold war liberals' — mostly Democrats supporting civil rights at home but violently anti-communist everywhere; it's exactly the same formula as that behind the CSD in Britain. The nomination of George McGovern as Democratic Candidate in 1972 on a 'stop the Vietnam war' platform sparked the Democratic right into a counter-attack, which grew into the CPD in 1976.

The CPD had the backing of the right-wing think tanks, among them the NSIC. It was one of the central institutions of the 'new right', preathing monetarist economics, aggressive and interventionist foreign policies, and a return to 'traditional moral and social values', all of which contributed to the swing to the right under Carter and set the stage for the election of Reagan.

In particular it helped push the Carter administration rightwards on a whole range of foreign policy issues, and its members were responsible for the change in the official assessments of Soviet military strength and intentions which formed the basis for the US bullying NATO members into increasing military spending by 3 per cent a year.

Now this new right is organising internationally again, through the Committee for a Free World (CFW). Its executive director is *Midge Decter*, a leading CPD member and the author of the anti-feminist tract, 'The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation'.

The founding statement of the CFW, released at that London press do (chaired by Lord Chalfont) pledged to spread greater understanding of the policies of the western alliance, for 'the struggle for freedom may not in the end be won or lost on battlefields, but in books, newspapers, broadcasts, classrooms and in all public institutions where the determination to remain free is enhanced or undermined'.

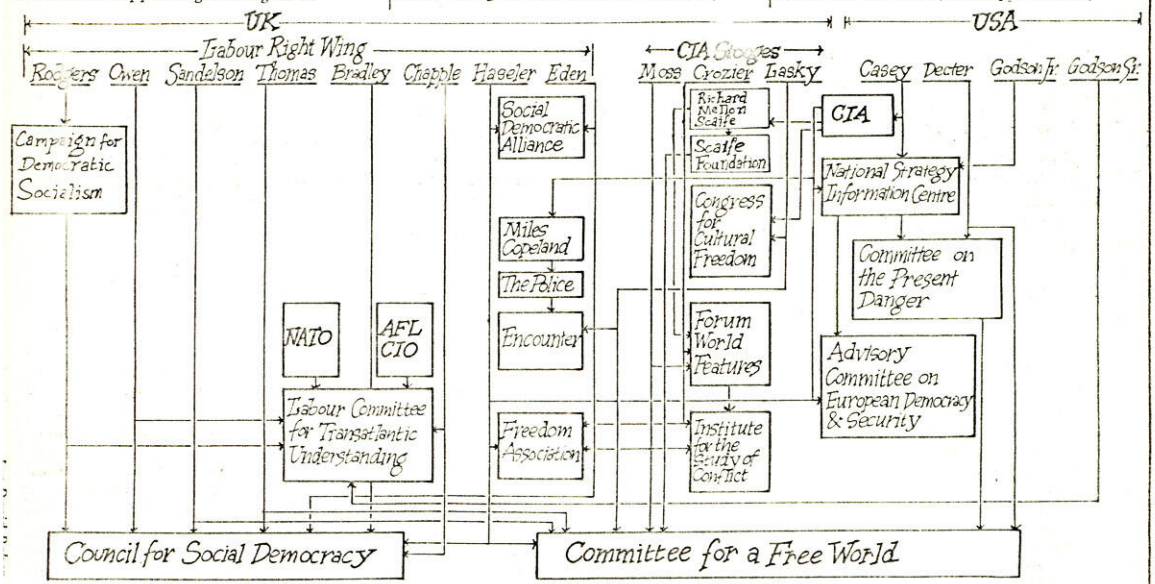
Decter said the idea for the CFW originated at an Isreali government-sponsored conference on terrorism in 1979. Her husband, *Norman Podhoretz*, also a member of CPD and CFW, is editor of 'Commentary', the organ of the American Jewish community, which, like 'Encounter' was closely associated with the now-defunct Congress for Cultural Freedom, the major US post-war cultural intervention. The CCF collapsed in 1967 when it was revealed that its main source of income had been the CIA, through dummy foundations.

The editor of 'Encounter', *Melvin Lasky*, is another director of the CFW. He denies it is a reincarnation of the CCF: the difference, he says, is that the CFW confines its membership to the US, Europe and Israel, while the CCF had sought to attract third world intellectuals, which 'fudged' the organisation's anti-communism. The CFW, he says, is 'a committee for the First World, if you like'.

CFW's British membership is as hoary a catalogue of reactionaries as you could wish not to meet, and the alliance with far-right right-wingers, many of them even off the Thatcherite Tory scale, says a lot about the social democrats' 'moderation'. There is *Sir James Goldsmith*, *Professor Julius Gould* (author of the two ISC reports on the 'Marxist infiltration of higher education'), *Paul Johnson* (Thatcher-loving former editor of the 'New Statesman'), *Richard Hoggart* (recently deposed as chairman of that magazine), *Robert Moss* (the CIA's Man in the Media, fanatical anti-communist columnist in the 'Daily Telegraph' and Goldsmith's 'Now!', contributor to Forum World Features and the ISC, and council member of the Freedom Association, formerly of course the NAFF) and his media colleague *Peregrine Worsthorne*. Rubbing shoulders with this lot are . . . Haseler, SDA co-founder and co-expellee *Douglas Eden*, remegade Labour MPs *Mike Thomas* and *Neville Sandelson*, and, of course, without whom no such list can be complete, *Frank Chapple*.

ISC director *Professor Hugh Seton Watson* was a speaker at the launch, and one of the major sources of the CFW's income, apart from rock bands run by the offspring of CIA agents, is the Scaife Foundation, the Gulf Oil family trust headed by *Richard Mellon Scaife*, who had provided the CIA's cover for Forum World Features.

It's a right nasty cesspit the social democrats are in. History is repeating itself; the tragedy of the 50s and 60s was the CCF, for which the late Anthony Crosland,



The tangled web of Atlantic intrigue that leads to Social Democracy

'ideological mentor' of the new splitters, was a full-time worker, and whose seminars were attended by all the leading right-wingers, including Gaitskell.

When the Labour left persuaded the party conference to support unilateral disarmament in 1960, the right organised the Campaign for Democratic Socialism to reverse the decision, and of course succeeded. The CDS employed full-time organisers to work in constituency parties and the unions. Organising secretary was William Rodgers. To this day he has never satisfactorily answered questions on the sources of the cash.

At the same time the CIA was funding the International Student Conference (another ISC!), and the British National Union of Students was a prominent supporter. The funding was eventually exposed, and the ISC fell apart as third world student unions left in droves. The NUS stuck to the last, its executive members denying everything until they could do so no more. Among them were *Mike Thomas* and *Ian Wrigglesworth*, both now CSD MPs.

The repeated farce of the 1980s is the CSD. But while the CDS was successful, the CSD is a discredited rump. The Labour Party now is better placed and organised to see through and fight their participation in such covert activity on behalf of US imperialism.

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the Leveller

No 52 Inside

57 Caledonian Rd, N1, 01-278 0146



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"EVERY HOUR OF NEED THROWS UP A HERO"



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A RATHER bad couple of weeks for the wages fund! We only received £31 and we're in danger of starving to death down here. Please rush your donation today to The Leveller Wages Fund, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1. Cheques and POs please to Leveller (1979) Ltd Fortnightly Fund. We're getting desperate for them. Please dig deep!

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