



NATO: MYTHS AND THE REALITY

Thirty years ago, on April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was founded.

It came into being in a cloud of propaganda myths. The main pretext for the creation of the bloc was the "Soviet threat" myth. The North Atlantic Treaty itself contains no few fables. One of them is that the organization was set up for collective defence, for the preservation of peace and security, that its signatories "are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law."

Myths about the aims and purposes of NATO and the intentions of its "potential adversaries," as its members prefer to designate the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, continue to be vigorously propagated to this day. It is, therefore, in place to take another look at NATO declarations and examine them in the light of the realities.

That NATO activity does not tally with the objectives professed by its leaders is plain to see. This is best of all evident to countries and peoples that are dedicated to peace and have proved that dedication. On the eve of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Soviet government sent the future signatories a memorandum pointing out that the establishment of the bloc would aggravate the international situation, increase the danger of war, inasmuch as such a bloc would be directed against the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies and would run counter to the United Nations Charter.

Time has fully borne out the apprehensions of the Soviet Union, the apprehensions of all those who from the outset viewed with anxiety the division of the world into blocs initiated by the architects of NATO. Moreover, new features and tendencies have appeared in the activities of the North Atlantic bloc which, if allowed to strike root and develop, could increase the threat to world peace. The most alarming among these are the attempts made to extend the NATO sphere of activity beyond the bounds originally set by bloc's leaders, its flirtation with Chinese militarism.

"We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust—or with fear." Many historians regard this pronouncement by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, made shortly before his death, as his political behest. His successors, however, soon forgot it.

Political Poker

Hardly had the last salvos of World War II died down when the West began talking about the threat of a "Soviet invasion," the size of the Soviet Union's armed forces being adduced as "evidence." True enough, the U.S.S.R. had to build up a large army to rout Nazi Germany. But its armed forces were sharply reduced in the very first postwar years. In his book "The Giants: Russia and America," the well-known American political analyst Richard J. Barnett wrote in this connection that by 1947 Moscow had "approximately 2.8 million men under arms, not a number that would suggest aggressive intentions."

But perhaps the West simply misconstrued the policy of its erstwhile partner in the anti-Hitler coalition? George F. Kennan, one of President Truman's closest advisers, wrote in his diary in 1952 that the latter "shared my views as to the motives and principles of behaviour of the Soviet leaders, and had never believed that they wanted another great war." Three years earlier, John Foster Dulles, then a Senator, said: "The information given me, publicly and privately, by our own government and by heads and leaders of European governments, does not indicate that the Soviet Union now contemplates large-scale military aggression in Europe."

Nevertheless, the U.S. Administration decided against maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Why? In those years the United States was the only country in possession of nuclear weapons. The atom bomb, wrote General Maxwell D. Taylor, encouraged the belief that "an ultimate weapon was in the hands of our Air Force which would allow the United States to impose a sort of Pax Americana on the world." Moreover, the United States was the only power whose economy had been strengthened rather than



Vitamin-rich paprika is grown in Hungary both for domestic consumption and for export ♦ Potato picking in a co-operative at Apostag.

MTI-TASS photos

observance of its technological instructions for maize cultivation. The farms are offered the choice of three programmes envisaging five-, seven- and nine-ton yields of maize per hectare. The choice of a programme depends on soil fertility and the profitability of the fertilizers used in the fields."

The stable achievements of the IKR and other rendszers have drawn the attention of specialists abroad. The IKR is successfully introducing its system of maize growing in the Lvov Region of the Ukraine, and another interfarm amalgamation, based at Baja, Hungary, "supervises" maize production on an area of 20,000 hectares in Moldavia. For their part, Moldavian specialists are taking care of an experimental plot in one of the sugar-beet rendszers in Hungary.

With the establishment of such amalgamations the efficiency of agricultural experimental stations has risen. Many of these stations have become part of one or another production system. Another advantage of the spread of the rendszers is that industrialized methods of farm production and higher remuneration of skilled labour attract young



people to agriculture. The average age of co-operative members is now 41, and one in every three is under 30.

The crucial issue facing Hungarian (and not only Hungarian) animal husbandry is the provision of fodder with a high protein content. Neither the broiler farms nor the 300 modern hog-raising complexes will yield a full return without such fodder. Every year Hungary imports protein concentrates to the sum of \$200 million! Now, however, the Babolna agricultural combine has built, jointly with the pharmaceutical firms Chinoin and Gedeon Richter, a factory for the production of feed admixtures. Hungarian farms, mainly those amalgamated in rendszers, have hundreds of machines for the high-speed drying of alfalfa. The losses now make up no more than five per cent while the additional outlay more than pays for itself.

The latest, 32nd session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance approved a long-term programme for co-operation among the Council member states in the sphere of agriculture and the food industry. This programme, the drafting of which was co-ordinated by Hungary, will undoubtedly raise the ties among the Council members to a new and higher plane. The development of an effective technology and complete plant for the production of protein feed concentrates is today one of the most topical tasks. Hungary, as it

was noted at the 32nd session of the Council, has major achievements to its credit in this field.

Along with wheat and maize, beef and broiler meat, the Hungarian farmers now supply increasing quantities of paprika and vintage wines, the traditional specialties of the country. Paprika-growing co-operatives have also formed amalgamated complexes, while in the grape-growing areas the leading role is played by state wine-making combines.

Not so long ago the prospects of the Tokaj vineyards were held to be bleak. Priority was given to the development of other areas

where grape growing could be extended quicker and with lesser expenditure, while the Tokaj vineyards, which are situated on steep hillsides, and many of which remained in private hands, were declining. The difficult job of restoring these vineyards, Hungary's pride and a source of foreign currency receipts, has finally been undertaken by the state-owned Tokaj wine-making combine.

"The combine owns 22 per cent of the vineyards in the Tokaj zone," Pal Kapas, director of the combine and a graduate of the Odessa agricultural college, told me. "About 26 per cent of the vineyards are cultivated by co-operatives, the remainder being owned and cultivated by individual farmers. Yet the combine is the sole supplier of Tokaj wines for the domestic market and for export, most of which goes to member countries of the CMEA. We buy grapes from co-operatives and individual owners. Five-year agreements are concluded with all farms in the Tokaj zone. The combine carries out soil analysis, provides grapevines and helps to enlarge plots, to make them suitable for machine cultivation. All vineyards, irrespective of who owns them, are dusted by helicopters. In this specific field of agriculture, too, experience has shown that the future belongs to large-scale production organized on industrial principles with the use of the latest scientific and technological achievements."

"They [NATO countries] are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security."

(North Atlantic Treaty)

DANGEROUS BALLAST

VYACHESLAV BOIKOV

weakened during World War II. The U.S. Administration, therefore, decided to take advantage of this circumstance to follow a "positions of strength" policy in its relations with the Soviet Union. One of the late President Roosevelt's advisers thus commented on the political course chosen by his successor, Harry Truman: "As soon as he stopped being commander-in-chief in a hot war against Germany and Japan, he became commander-in-chief in a cold war against Russia."

If the U.S. President was "commander-in-chief," Britain's former Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill was rightly regarded as the "godfather" of the cold war. Speaking in Fulton, Missouri, at the beginning of 1946, he was the first Western politician publicly to accuse the Soviet Union of "aggressiveness" and to urge the West to unite efforts to check the "indefinite expansion" of its power. The propaganda clamour about the "threat from the East," economic difficulties and the growing influence of the Left forces in France, Italy and other countries caused the West European leaders to rally around Truman and Churchill. The conclusion of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949 was the logical outcome of the Western policy of confrontation and the "rolling back of communism."

Historians in those days noted a curious thing: playing poker with Truman, Churchill never staked more than 25 cents at a time. In politics, however, he was ready to go the limit. The recently published British government documents for 1948 reveal that thirty years ago Churchill suggested to the United States to start an atomic war against the Soviet Union if it refused to withdraw from Berlin and East

Germany. Washington turned down the proposal on account of its "practical flaws" and drew up its own plans for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. One of them, code-named "Dropshot," provided for the participation of all the NATO countries.

Boomerang

Recorded in postwar history is the following fact: every new step in the arms race has been made by the

sile and the neutron bomb. According to George Kistiakowsky, one of the fathers of the American atom bomb, all through the history of the nuclear arms race it is the United States that has been introducing most of the technical novelties and new types of weapons, with the exception of some defensive systems to which the Soviet Union traditionally devotes a far greater part of its military effort. The appearance of every new weapon in the West was explained by the "Soviet threat" and the "superiority of Soviet military might."

In the mid-1950s the West raised a clamour about the United States' "lag" behind the Soviet Union in the number of strategic bombers, and huge sums were appropriated for the development of the B-52. Shortly afterwards, however, Washington admitted that the danger had been greatly exaggerated.

In 1960 a "missile gap" campaign was started in NATO. It enabled the

NATO TODAY

Member Countries	Strength of Armed Forces	1978 Military Budget in Million Dollars
U.S.A.	2,068,800	113,000
F.R.G.	489,900	21,355
France*	502,800	17,518
Great Britain	313,300	13,579
Italy	362,000	5,610
Netherlands	109,700	4,208
Canada	80,000	3,635
Belgium	87,100	3,143
Turkey	485,000	2,286
Greece*	190,100	1,523
Denmark	34,000	1,320
Norway	39,000	1,291
Portugal	63,500	568
Luxemburg	7,000	37
Iceland**	—	—
Total : 15 countries	4,832,200	189,073

* France and Greece withdrew, in 1966 and 1974 respectively, from the military organization, but remained members of NATO.

** Iceland's contribution is confined to allowing its territory to be used for military bases.

The table has been compiled on the basis of Pentagon and London International Institute for Strategic Studies data.

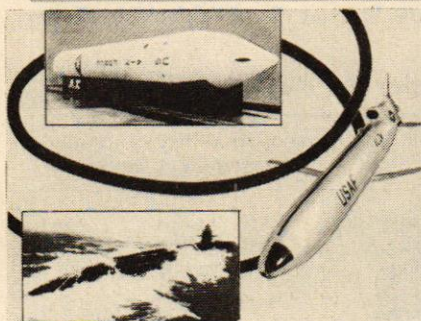
United States, the main NATO power. First it was the atom bomb. Then, nuclear-powered submarines, strategic bombers and multiple warheads. Now it is the cruise mis-

Pentagon to get billions of dollars in appropriations for the arms build-up. It later turned out that the Soviet missile might, too, had been "overestimated." In the past several



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years the NATO propaganda machine has been harping on the West's "catastrophic" lag in tanks and warships. How this Soviet "military superiority" originates has been explained by the West German magazine Stern. "NATO military leaders do not stop short of using false data," it wrote some time ago. "To show that the countries of the Eastern bloc have three times as many tanks, they have added up all the tanks these countries have had since World War II, including even such old models as the T-34... But in counting NATO's defensive power several thousand tanks of the reserve were 'forgotten.'"



NEW ROUND

At the beginning of the 1970s the United States began to equip missiles with MIRV warheads. The Soviet Union took retaliatory measures. Now the American hawks, once ardent admirers of the MIRV, complain that this weapon seriously imperils the security of the United States. But this is merely a pretext to adopt a new generation of strategic missiles—the MX. At the same time it is urged to step up the programme of building nuclear-powered Trident submarines and cruise missiles.

The new round of the arms race will cost the American taxpayer tens of billions of dollars. The deployment of 200-300 MX missiles will cost at least 30 billion dollars; about the same sum will be spent on the building of 14 Trident submarines, while the adoption of the cruise missile will require the expenditure of nearly 10 billion dollars.

In the past few months there has been talk in the West about its lag in medium-range missiles and nuclear weapons. It is affirmed that NATO has no adequate defence against the Soviet missile which the bloc calls the SS-20. But let us see what President Carter said in his recent State of the Union message: "Just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines—comprising less than 2 per cent of our total nuclear force of submarines, aircraft and land-based missiles—carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union."

If that is so, why does the West complain that the Soviet Union has powerful missiles, modern tanks and a strong navy? They are needed not for aggression, but to defend Soviet cities from the American threat.

It is an undeniable fact that the Pentagon and NATO have been devising ever new methods of warfare forcing the other side to seek ways of neutralizing the threat. It is the irony of history, the New York Times wrote last year, that the United States has developed a host of systems which, after being subsequently developed by the Soviet Union, are still more frightful. Thus, the multiple warhead missile, which once supposedly offered enormous advantages, is now (when the U.S.S.R. has developed an analogous weapon) presented as a most dreaded weapon against the U.S. underground missile forces. To parry the threat, the paper said, the U.S. was bent on introducing some other novelty which would again boomerang against it.

Janus

The temple of Janus was built in the northern part of Rome's Forum during the reign of Numa Pompilius. In time of peace its doors remained closed. They were opened only in the event of war, symbolizing that Janus had set forth on the side of the Roman legionaries.

If such symbolism existed in the NATO countries, they would have to open the doors of their temples of war 115 times between 1945 and 1977, and more than twenty times in

the current decade. For the bloc's armed aggressions account for about 80 per cent of the 150 wars that have broken out in the world in this period. Isn't that too much for a "defence" organization that promised, according to the 1949 treaty, to "refrain from the threat or use of force" and to "settle disputes only by peaceful means"?

Postwar developments have dispelled yet another old myth by demonstrating that a state's military might is not directly proportional to its security. In the thirty years of its existence the North Atlantic bloc has spent a fantastic sum for military purposes—upwards of \$2,600 billion—and stockpiled enough arms to wipe out all life on earth several times over. But has this enhanced the security of the "free world" which NATO took upon itself to defend? Military experts in the West do not venture to reply to this question in the affirmative.

NATO's military doctrine has always been and still is a sort of appendage to American strategy. This is explained by the dominant role in the bloc played by the United States on the political and military plane.

Ever since 1950, when the NATO armed forces were set up, co-operation between the United States and its European allies has been based on the "sword" and "shield" concept. The United States, the nuclear "sword" of the bloc, would strike a nuclear blow in the event of war. The role of the "shield" was assigned to the European partners, whose troops formed the bulk of the bloc's armed forces.

In 1953, after the Eisenhower Administration had assumed office, the strategy of "massive retaliation" was adopted. It presupposed that the United States could use the threat of a nuclear war for achieving its political and military goals. Explaining the essence of this strategy, John Foster Dulles, its author, said that the United States should be ready to strike a massive nuclear blow wherever and whenever it considered it necessary to do so.

The strategy of "massive retaliation"

"The Soviet leaders have no aggressive military programmes or intentions in regard to Western Europe."

Valéry Giscard D'ESTAING

"I do not see any reason to fear the Soviet Union and its policies. I have no grounds to entertain any doubts about the consistency of the policy of international détente followed by the leaders of the Soviet Union."

Helmut SCHMIDT

"None of us believes that the present Soviet leaders have any desire or intention to engage in acts of military aggression against the West."

James CALLAGHAN

Although it is affirmed that the NATO Janus divides his sympathies between détente and "defence," he himself has eyes only for the arms race, and turns away from anything that may curb it.

Back in 1954 the Soviet Union proposed concluding a general European treaty of collective security in our continent. The West turned down the suggestion. In that same

year the Soviet Union sent the Western powers a note, proposing to discuss the possibility of its joining NATO. This idea was also rejected, although the North Atlantic Treaty provides for the possible accession of other countries. A year later the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries replied to the establishment of NATO by setting up the Warsaw Treaty Organization. At the

very first meeting of its Political Consultative Committee in January 1956, they proposed to NATO to conclude a non-aggression pact. This proposal, like many other peace initiatives, fell on deaf ears. Does this not look strange, coming from an organization that declares that its main objective is to work for peace and international security?

* * *

"A ship of state," U.S. Senator Frank Church has said, "is not necessarily more seaworthy because she carries lots of cannon. Indeed, without a sturdy hull, she is more likely to capsize and sink. Perhaps it is time to throw overboard some of the ballast we have carried with us in the cold war." The ballast the NATO ship is carrying is the policy of confrontation, the arms race and anti-Sovietism. And this ballast weighs heavily on détente and aggravates international relations.

BUILDING ON NUCLEAR MIGHT

MIKHAIL MILSTEIN, Lieutenant-General (Ret.)

tion" was immediately adopted by NATO. In accordance with the tasks of the bloc, it envisaged the use of nuclear weapons in any conflict in Europe, irrespective of whether or not they were used by the other side, and would mean a rapid escalation of hostilities all the way to nuclear world war.

In 1953 the United States began to deploy so-called tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, of which at present there are more than 7,000. Together with nuclear weapons, the means of delivering them to the target were also moved to the continent.

The scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, especially in missile weaponry and space exploration, knocked the bottom out of the "massive retaliation" strategy. American and NATO strategy planners were forced to acknowledge that with both sides possessing huge

stockpiles of mass murder weapons and various means of their delivery, a nuclear war had become a threat to all members of the bloc, the United States included. It was calculated following the NATO military exercises held in 1955 that up to 1.7 million people were "killed" and 3.5 million "wounded" (discounting the losses from radiation) after the simulated use of roughly 300 nuclear charges on the territory of the two German states. Such are the possible consequences of the use of even a "small" amount of the tactical nuclear ammunition in Europe.

In the early 1960s, U.S. political and military leaders adopted a new, "flexible response," strategy, which in 1967 became the official doctrine of the North Atlantic bloc. Its "flexibility" consisted in the possible conduct of military operations by conventional means along with the use of nuclear weapons.

"Flexible response" implied that if the objectives could not be achieved by conventional arms, the NATO forces would use tactical nuclear weapons. This brought in the concept of the "nuclear threshold," the point where the transition from conventional warfare to the use of weapons of mass destruction would take place. Thus, in the final analysis, this strategy, too, presupposed the use of nuclear weapons.

Much has changed in the world since the NATO "flexible response" strategy was adopted. The process of détente is gaining momentum. Yet the military doctrine of the bloc has virtually remained unchanged. As before, it stakes on nuclear might and envisages the use of horror weapons, not excepting "first strike" use.

The NATO leaders have always stressed that their military doctrine, as well as the military build-up of the bloc, pursues exclusively defensive aims. However, an examination of the military doctrine and militarization of NATO clearly shows that the different names and revised versions of this doctrine are designed to cover up the striving for military superiority and preparations for an armed conflict.



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"I want to write a sci-fi story," Joseph Msuri, Tanzanian novelist and editor of the newspaper Ngu-rumo (Thunder), once told me. "It will be about the mysterious disintegration of the parts of the NATO war machine made of African raw materials. The machine turns into a helpless heap of scrap metal: tanks can't be started, aircraft can't take off, the lethal charge of hydrogen weapons turns to dust. The idea is to show the reader how much the West's war potential depends on our African resources."

I don't know whether Msuri has written his story. But the picture he painted for me is quite true to life: the Atlantic war machine does depend a great deal on strategic raw materials from African countries. Here are some figures to prove it. Africa accounts for 81 per cent of the capitalist world's output of cobalt, 26 per cent of the copper, and 98 per cent of the diamonds. Africa is one of the biggest exporters of lithium, niobium, antimony, chromium, uranium, gold, and manganese.

Africa's natural resources are contributing essentially to the might of the Western world, the Department of State Bulletin has said, and it is particularly interested in continued deliveries of important and at times vital strategic materials from Africa.

But Africa does not mean only strategic raw materials. It is also, Atlantic strategy planners say, an "important additional operation area in any potential conflict involving NATO."

That is why practically the whole of the African continent had been covered by a network of NATO bases by 1960. But the neo-colonialist character of the bases strategy was too obvious and, consequently, was not fated to last long. The peoples of Africa rightly saw a threat to their sovereignty in the foreign military presence in the continent. The more so since this threat had time and

The alliance will operate in the Atlantic "north of the Tropic of Cancer."

(North Atlantic Treaty)

KEEPING AFRICA COVERED

VICTOR SIDENKO

again materialized. It was from foreign bases that sallies were made against independent states. Suffice it to recall Belgium's aggression against Zaire, when it used its bases in Kamina, Kitona and Banane, or the aggression against Egypt from the Suez base. And, lastly, was not the base in Dakar used to crush the uprising in the Zaire province of Shaba in 1978?

The struggle for the liquidation of foreign military bases became a component part of the African peoples' struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. It was definitely successful. By the beginning of the present decade the NATO military presence had disintegrated. The bloc's positions in the continent were further weakened by the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire which put paid to the military and political alliance of racialism and colonialism in the south of the continent.

Attempts to roll back the progressive forces in the Black Continent by means of subversion also proved ineffective. This is evidenced by the failure of the plots against the People's Republic of the Congo and Guinea, by the fiasco of Operation Crevette organized by the Western

secret services against the People's Republic of Benin, and the political and military bankruptcy of the FNLA, FLEC and UNITA divisive groups in their struggle against the Angolan government.

It was then that the NATO bloc began hatching new plans of "quick response" to changes in Africa that did not suit the West.

The idea behind the new concepts is to set up several strong points in Africa with the help of which NATO could gain a dominant position in the continent and dictate to the African peoples. Judging by everything, the main bastion is to be the racist south. Leavened by NATO, South Africa and Rhodesia have grown into a major sub-imperialist force.

Plans are also being discussed in the West to set up a South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO). Besides South Africa and Rhodesia, it is to include reactionary Latin American regimes.

The contours of yet another regional military and political group—the so-called West African Defence Community consisting of pro-Western regimes—are becoming increasingly discernible. The African variant of NATO, the London Africa magazine wrote in its comment on the preparations to set up this mini-bloc, was designed less to repulse attacks on the member countries of the organization, which are not really threatened by anyone in the continent, than to encircle the progressive countries in the region. The magazine is unquestionably right. But there is yet another side to the future activities of this group, and

THE CARTER VIEW:

U.S. vigilance should not be confined to Europe alone. The United States cannot be indifferent to events in African countries, in the light of both what they signify and their impact on the long-term interests of NATO.

that is to suppress jointly and with NATO support the social discontent that could upset the "stability" of the existing regimes and jeopardize the privileges of the foreign monopolies.

One major element of the tactics of encircling progressive Africa is the Atlanticists' plan to promote a "Red Sea security pact." This project is especially sinister, considering that there will be the U.S. bases on the Masira and Diego Garcia islands and the planned U.S. Fifth Fleet in its rear.

in American Air Force planes to suppress the local insurrection. This contingent is in fact commanded by NATO officers and provided with logistic support by the bloc. The concentration of a large number of Green Helmets, as these troops are called, in that province suggests that they have been assigned the role of a permanent inter-African force of intervention which NATO could turn into a mighty mailed fist against independent Africa.

The Atlantic strategists keep Africa in their sights. Although the

SUBSTITUTE FOR CENTO?

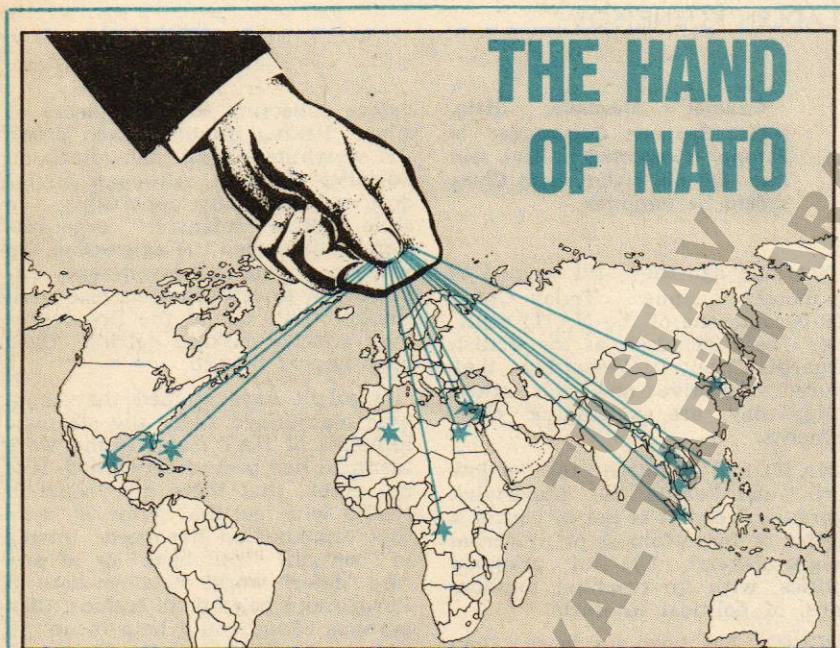
A NATO bigwig recently voiced concern about the revolutionary changes in the Middle East, attributing this "unfavourable" development for the West to the "absence of a deterrent." Ergo, the North Atlantic organization must remedy the situation.

The "deterrent" concept is not new. The Middle East area has long attracted the attention of North Atlantic, particularly American, strategists not only as a "potential theatre of operations on the NATO southern flank," but also as the main source of oil without which the NATO war machine cannot function. And so the Organization backs the conservative regimes in the region and "safeguards" the sea routes by which oil is shipped.

Until recently the task of watching over the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf, maintaining "stability" and policing the area to prevent the spread of the national liberation movements was assigned to CENTO, a bloc akin to NATO. But it failed to cope with the job. After the victory of the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, which played the leading role in the bloc, its new regime announced the country's withdrawal from CENTO. Iran's example was followed by Pakistan and Turkey. This sealed CENTO's fate.

Faced with the problem of finding a substitute for CENTO, Washington is making feverish attempts to knock together a new military bloc with analogous functions in the Middle East, the nucleus to be formed by Israel and Egypt, with the United States as "adviser and purveyor of arms." Every now and then it is hinted in Tel Aviv that there is a possibility of Israel joining NATO. There have been newspaper reports that Israel may place its base at Haifa at the disposal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the NATO naval forces.

All this cannot but disquiet NATO



Since World War II NATO countries have perpetrated over 100 aggressive acts of both short and long duration. The map above shows the militarist bloc's most dangerous gambles: 1945-54—Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; 1948-51—Philippines; 1948-54—Malaysia; 1950-53—Korean People's Democratic Republic; 1954—Guatemala; 1954-62—Algeria; 1955-59—Cyprus; 1956—Egypt; 1958—Lebanon and Jordan; 1960-62 and 1964—Kinshasa Congo; 1961—Bay of Pigs invasion (Cuba); 1964-75—D.R.V.; 1965—Dominican Republic; 1969-75—Cambodia and Laos; 1978—Zaire.

Lastly, preparations are under way to establish yet another, the fourth, NATO bastion in Africa. It is planned to set it up in the heart of the African continent—in Zaire's Shaba Province. A large contingent of the so-called inter-African security force has been there since mid-1978, when it was brought to Shaba

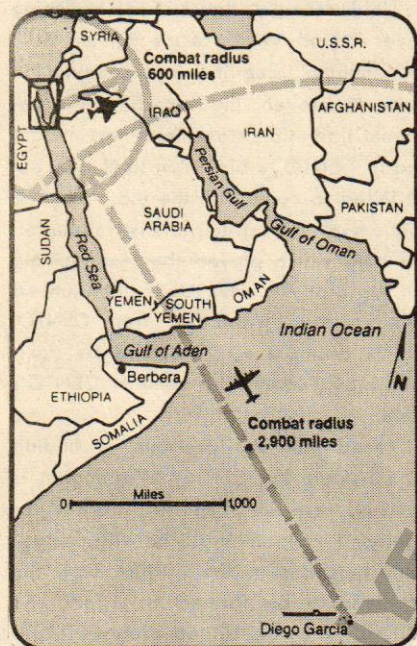
1949 Washington treaty on the establishment of NATO confined its operational zone to the area "north of the Tropic of Cancer," the bloc has crossed that line and is penetrating deeper and deeper into Africa and the South Atlantic.



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European members whose Middle East interests differ markedly from those of the United States. This is explained, firstly, by the different extent to which they depend on oil imports. While the deliveries of Arab and Iranian oil are vitally important for Western Europe, the United States relies much less on them. Secondly, Washington's West European partners do not agree with its policy of unconditionally supporting Israel's expansionism and fear that the establishment of a new bloc and a bigger U.S. military presence may evoke a negative reaction among the oil-producing Arab countries with all the unpleasant consequences for Western Europe this could entail.

Even the conservative London Finan-



The map above, reprinted from the Newsweek magazine, illustrates Washington's military plans in the Middle East. The United States may get an air base at Eilat and the port of Sharm al Sheikh. The F-4s based on Eilat will have a combat radius of almost 1,000 kilometres, while the P-3s on Diego Garcia will be able to raid places 4,500 kilometres away, covering large areas of the Middle East.

cial Times has warned: "Now is not the moment for American government officials to talk of 'a military presence' in the Middle East... America can better guarantee its oil supplies... by steering clear of anything which sounds anything like sabre rattling."

This friendly advice should be heeded. Especially coming from Britain, which

once ruled the waves and was forced, under the blows of the national liberation movement on the threshold of the 1970s, to wind up its "East of Suez" policy and with it, the military presence that had been designed to serve as a "deterrent."

A. STEPANOV

THE DRAGON AND ITS TAMERS

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

General Alexander Haig, NATO Supreme Commander in Europe, is reported to have said that the old myths about China should be forgotten.

Not long ago they still seemed to be mortal enemies. Today China has become one of the NATO countries' "best friends," as the British "Guardian" put it. Yesterday they poured invective on each other. Today they are exchanging compliments.

NATO has forgotten the "yellow peril," and Peking, the "imperialist aggressor." But it is not of course a matter of forgetfulness or of verbal sleight-of-hand, but of practical politics with far-reaching implications, of political interests.

NATO has been a more than detached observer of the Chinese leaders' policies and actions for quite some time, ever since the latter launched out on the path of betrayal of peace, democracy and socialism and of rapprochement with those whom they not so long ago still qualified as class enemies. Peking's vicious anti-Sovietism, its savage hostility towards other socialist countries, its support of counter-revolutionary aggression against the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia and the NATO intervention in Zaire, its approval of the separate Israeli-Egyptian deal under White House and Pentagon aegis, fraternization with the Pinochet clique in Chile—all this and much more has been chalked up to the credit of the prospective vassal.

But traitors and deserters are not readily taken at their word. They are required to prove themselves

before collecting their 30 pieces of silver. Peking provided such proof, the weightiest being the attack on Socialist Vietnam. Although NATO does not miss any opportunity to style itself a "defensive" organization, it welcomed the aggression. No wonder, it was a heaven-sent opportunity to let someone else pull the chestnuts out of the fire, moreover without risking getting their own fingers burned.

It might have seemed that those who maintained that the strategic interests of NATO and China were identical had proved farsighted. It is no secret that there are some in NATO who feel that if for 30 years that organization has been unable to "contain," "roll back" or at any rate "deter" world socialism both in Europe and beyond its bounds, then perhaps China could help to do it. This is the biggest stake. There are also lesser ones—the Chinese threat would supposedly compel the Soviet Union to pay more attention to the Far East, and NATO could take advantage of this to strengthen its positions in Europe.

But while acting in league on the face of it and seeking to grip socialism in Europe in a strategic pincers from both West and East, each of the parties to the rapprochement has its own irons in the fire and is out to shift the full burden of the confrontation and all the attendant dangers on to the other. NATO is not averse to frightening the Soviet Union with the "yellow peril," hoping to impel it to shift its forces from Europe to the Far East. On the other hand, Peking is working to torpedo East-West détente and disarmament talks in order to build tension in Europe, try to tie



Zbigniew Brzezinski during his visit to Peking in May 1978. On a sightseeing trip to the Great China Wall he is reported by Western correspondents to have "jested with his hosts that the last one to the top would oppose the Russians."

Photo from Der Spiegel (West Germany)

"rolling back" of world socialism with the help of China—it is highly doubtful that China will be able to live up to the extravagant hopes reposed in it. NATO would like to have it all work out as a falcon hunt, in which the bird of prey does the job and the huntsman merely extracts the quarry from its talons and puts it in his bag. But the failure of the Chinese aggression in Vietnam is hardly encouraging to those who pinned too many hopes on it. The falcon got its feathers badly ruffled.

Spoiled too was the mood of elation at NATO headquarters in Brussels and in the higher echelon of that organization—the Pentagon. After the outrageous (and inglorious) aggression it will be harder to sell the policy of rapprochement with Peking to the public. And, of course, to justify arms sales to China. However, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the U.S. President's national security assistant and one of the chief architects of the Pentagon-NATO-Peking bridge, is still obsessed by his *idée fixe*. "A strong China is in the in-

terest of the West," he said in an interview to the journal *NATO 15 Nations*, hinting that a 16th might be added.

That a strong China is indeed an attractive prospect for some politicians and NATO generals is unquestionable. The public in the West, however, has doubts, and grave ones at that, on this score. And so it is told that besides military parity between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization it is necessary to have another military parity—between the "strong" Soviet Union and "weak" China. The absence of parity between the latter undermines international stability, it is argued; who knows but that one fine day NATO might be deprived of its potential ally—so let us help China to modernize its armed forces, let us jointly end the existing "gap" and there will be peace and good will on earth.

But to think and act along these lines is foolhardy, to say the least. Does NATO really consider itself an experienced enough animal trainer to put its head into the mouth of the Chinese dragon? That is a risky undertaking, which no one would care to share with the votaries of a "strong China." The more so since it is not a matter of a circus turn by the NATO troupe, but of the destiny of world peace and security. The more so since the Peking gamble in Vietnam is not a myth but a grim reality, the prelude, possibly, to new and more serious crises.

up the Soviet Union's forces there and to bring NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization into collision.

Neither stratagem is destined to succeed. The Soviet Union is fully able reliably to ensure its security both in Europe and in the Far East. As for the main NATO stake—the

The member states "are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law."

(North Atlantic Treaty)

PROTECTING FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY?

ALEXANDER YEFREMOV,
D. Sc., (Hist.)

The 30-year history of NATO has given the world ample proof of what the leaders of the bloc mean by "safeguarding freedom" and the "principles of democracy." Let us recall some facts of the recent past.

Greece. A parliamentary election was appointed in that country for May 1967. There were clear indications even before the election cam-

paign that the reactionary parties might be defeated. In these circumstances the NATO command set Operation Prometheus afoot. On orders from NATO headquarters, the "black colonels" staged a coup on the night of April 20. A reign of terror was unleashed in the country. Thousands of democrats were thrown into prison. Special tribunals

rubber-stamped severe sentences on progressives. The military regime declared that Greece would remain loyal to NATO.

The NATO chiefs did not conceal their jubilation over the coup. "In Greece ... all Left-wing tendencies were checked," the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings wrote with evident satisfaction. "The result of such political development is that Greece is currently the most stable NATO partner in the Eastern Mediterranean."

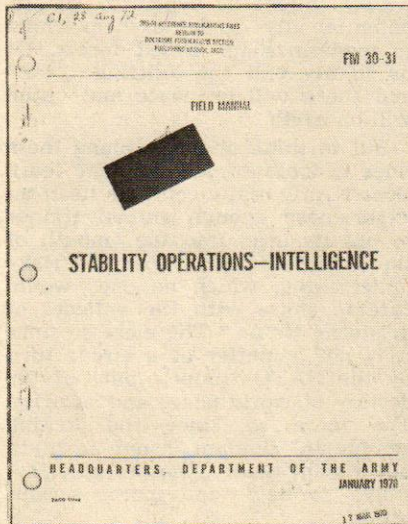
After a long and determined struggle, and at the cost of heavy sacrifice, the Greek people finally succeeded in bringing the military junta down. But the victims of the repressions will never forget that the NATO patrons of the "black colonels" also bear full responsibility for the torture and humiliation they



NATO: MYTHS AND THE REALITY

were subjected to in prisons and concentration camps.

Portugal. The fascist regime was overthrown in that country in April 1974. While the dictatorship ruled the land the NATO war lords closed their eyes to the fact that thousands of democrats languished



Secret document FM 30-31.

Reprinted from *L'Europeo* (Italy)

in the torture chambers of the PIDE secret police. But they immediately sounded the alarm when the government brought to power by the revolution proclaimed a progressive course. The following spring NATO held naval exercises, Locked Gate-75, off the Portuguese shores, with more than 30 ships and submarines and the U.S. aircraft-carrier *Saratoga* taking part.

This show of strength was accompanied by calls from U.S. hawks to threaten Lisbon with a mailed fist. Appeals of this kind found response in other NATO countries as well.

NATO pressure was not confined to these threats. Higher duties were introduced on Portuguese exports to Western countries. The agreements

on the construction of factories in Portugal were annulled and credits were promised on condition that the Left would be excluded from participation in the government.

Italy. In the history of the North Atlantic bloc barely a year passed without the newspapers reporting instances of NATO interference in the internal affairs of Italy, or on the close ties of NATO intelligence and the CIA with Italian ultras, neo-fascists in the first place. It is these agencies that aid and abet the blackshirts who are bent on abolishing the parliamentary system in Italy. The neo-fascist National Front, which planned to stage a coup in December 1970, maintained contacts with its American benefactors through NATO channels. In the spring of 1973 the NATO command in Italy was informed of preparations for a new military putsch in that country. One of the putschists told the Italian magazine *L'Europeo* that U.S. officers took part in the meetings of the conspirators.

The leaders of NATO countries were particularly concerned about the possibility of the Italian Left's scoring a success in the June 1976 parliamentary election. To preclude this possibility, a number of participants in the Oslo meeting of the NATO Council in May 1976 advanced a broad programme of actions ranging from the freezing of foreign credits to Italy to the granting of extensive political and financial aid to its Right-wing parties.

As in the case of Portugal, the NATO brass hats even resorted to a show of military strength to intimidate the Italians who intended to vote Left. During the election campaign, NATO held field exercises on Italian territory although such manoeuvres, code-named *Reforger*, usually take place in autumn. A U.S. "crackdown" unit intended for prompt repressive operations was

shifted from West Germany to Italy for participation in these war games.

Plans of military interference are also being mooted, and secret instructions have been drawn up in the Pentagon for the intelligence service of the U.S. troops stationed in other NATO countries and attached to NATO headquarters. One such document was recently made public by *L'Europeo*. It is the FM (Field Manual) 30-31, drawn up in 1970 under the direction of General Westmoreland, then U.S. Army Chief of Staff. According to this document, "local groups" (that would include U.S. servicemen) are to be formed in the countries where U.S. troops are stationed for the purpose of interference in the event of "the threat of a revolt" there. The word "revolt" is interpreted by the Atlantic guardians of democracy as any action endangering the dominant positions of political groups backed by Washington.

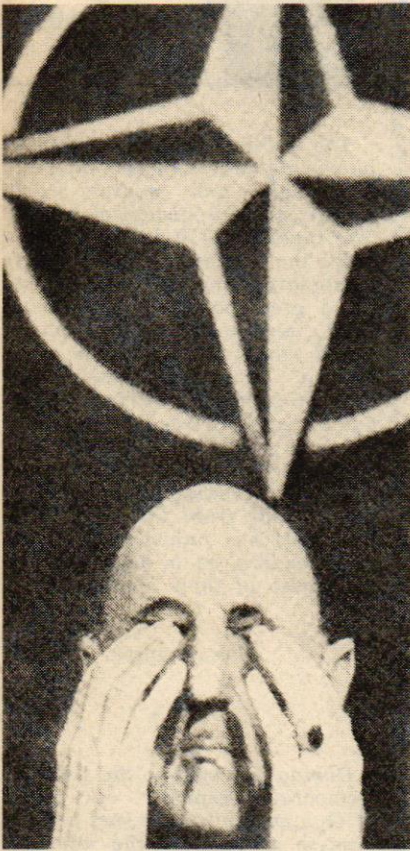
All these and other facts demonstrate the falsity of declarations about NATO's dedication to the principles of freedom and the rule of law.

In an opinion poll conducted in West Germany at the time when the 20th anniversary of NATO was observed, only 39 per cent of those approached answered in the affirmative to the question whether the West owed its peaceful existence to the North Atlantic alliance. Most West Germans seemed to understand already then how the NATO top men conceive of this peaceful existence.

The inconsistency between the statements of NATO leaders about their adherence to democracy and their practical policies is admitted even by the stalwarts of Atlanticism. "How did it come about that a third of the Italian electorate supports the Italian Communist Party and sees in it the only alternative?" Wichard Woyke, one of such stalwarts, asks in his book on NATO published in West Germany. "Is this not due to the fact that NATO's policy has misfired, as was the case when the alliance backed the dictatorships in Portugal and Greece?" The author concludes that NATO has devoted more attention to strengthening its might than to observing the concept of democracy as it is recorded in the North Atlantic Treaty.

THE JOHN FOSTER DULLES VIEW:

The North Atlantic alliance more than any other organization approximates to an effective police force of the international community.



Joseph Luns, Secretary-General of NATO for eight years now, is lauded in the Western press as "a champion of the free world." But documents made public not long ago irrefutably prove that in the 1930s this "champion" of freedom was a member of the Dutch fascist party, the National-Socialist Movement.

It may be assumed that after this scandalous exposure the European public has less faith both in the NATO boss and the organization under the emblem of which — the wind rose — he is pictured here and which apparently sees nothing opprobrious in being headed by the discredited politician.

*Photo from Die Welt
(West Germany)*

The aggressive nature of the North Atlantic bloc has been revealed clearly enough. The latter-day "Prometheuses" have nothing in common with the legendary Greek hero. The fire in their hands is used not for the good of the people, not for the defence of freedom and democracy. It is a dangerous torch indeed.

THE BALANCE SHEET

ERNST HENRY

On the scales of history the thirty years since NATO appeared on the international scene are but a fleeting moment. But for us who live in this fast-moving age these three decades are a long time, and their record is something none of us can afford to forget. For never before was life so packed with events and its pulsebeat so rapid. And considering how much in it depends on the state of the international political scene, it is very much in place to take a look at how things stand with NATO.

Drawing up a political balance sheet is of course no simple matter. It is far more complicated than doing a financial audit. But for all that, the debits and credits can and must be added up, a comparison made of yesterday and today, of 1949 and 1979, if only to obtain a glimpse of what the tomorrow of the eighties holds in store.

What, then, is the balance NATO has to show for the past thirty years? Let us begin with Europe, the continent we live in, where NATO was born, and which unquestionably remains a key arena of international politics.

When the NATO bloc was established in April 1949, its founders John Foster Dulles and Harry Truman, and their backers Winston Churchill and Konrad Adenauer, felt themselves to be well-nigh omnipotent and invincible. They had not the slightest doubt that its founding had decided Europe's future once and for all. NATO, it was thought in Washington, London and Bonn, would dictate the terms and the socialist countries would have to submit.

What is the situation today, thirty years later?

The picture is familiar to all: to this day Western Europe is caught in the toils of NATO, and the bloc's headquarters planners are out to extend it beyond the Pyrenees by bringing Spain into it. And NATO armed forces are continuing to grow incessantly.

All that is so. There is no stinting of money; billions are being spent as if they were small change. NATO muscle staggers the imagination of Western observers. The important question, however, is this: has the North Atlantic bloc in these thirty years achieved the political objective for the sake of which it was founded? Has it succeeded in bending the socialist part of the continent to its will? Or even to weaken the community of socialist countries?

No one will deny that it has not.

On the contrary, there is no doubt that the NATO generals are today even less able to operate against the socialist countries from positions of strength than they were in 1949. Although they have been stepping up the arms race from year to year, the result has been only heavy material sacrifice and moral ordeals for the peoples of their countries. This is common knowledge. Moreover, the purpose in entering a race is to outstrip other contestants. But this is something NATO can never do.

Equally evident is it that the bloc has begun to weaken internally. France, whose importance for NATO is obvious, withdrew from its military organization in 1966. Turkey, which NATO headquarters regarded as the bloc's most important southern bastion, is taking an increasingly independent stand, preferring to strengthen good-neighbour relations with the Soviet Union.

It is no secret that practically every NATO high-level meeting is an occasion for rather acrid debates; that not a single West European country, the insistence of the bloc's headquarters notwithstanding, is willing to have U.S. neutron bombs deployed on its territory; that the West German generals in the top echelons are increasingly challenging the monopoly of the American generals, plainly pursuing ends of their own, and so on.

Washington has unquestionably sought all along to attenuate the contradictions within the bloc and will no doubt continue to do so in the future. But was it this that Dulles, Truman, Churchill and Adenauer looked for-

ward to in 1949? It can hardly be denied that the balance in NATO's most important, European ledger is an adverse one.

But the audit must not be confined to Europe. For the strings from NATO headquarters lead far afield, and especially to where its southern flank in the Mediterranean adjoins the Middle East.

Can one discern any appreciable recent addition to the West's assets in this region? On the face of it, yes. The idea in the seventies has been to enter Egypt on the credit side. The betrayal by that country's present leadership of the common cause of all Arabs at first glance indeed plays into the hands of the North Atlantic bloc, which has its eye both on strategic positions and on the oil wealth of the Middle East.

But no conscientious political auditor can miss the fact that this entry is being counterbalanced by entries on the debit side. In February this year the United States, and hence also NATO, "lost" Iran. The CENTO bloc, which used to be considered a sort of extension of NATO eastward, fell apart. Nor is the loss of other U.S. and NATO positions in the region ruled out, for the Arabs are not marking time. What weighs more in the overall NATO balance—Iranian oil plus the Persian Gulf plus the progressive Arab regimes or Egypt plus Israel?

The important thing to bear in mind is that the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan are developments of tremendous historical significance not only for these countries but also on the global plane. For, after all, it is the peoples, not military blocs, that are the world's driving force. What happens in the Persian Gulf has an immediate echo on the Potomac.

At any rate, the "southern front" against the U.S.S.R. to which NATO quarters have been attaching particular importance in the recent period is today a far cry from what the Atlantic top brass projected.

But, it may be asked, how do things stand in East Asia? Has not NATO gained ground there latterly by entering into an alliance with Maoist China? If this has become possible it is due not to some master stroke by NATO but to the unprecedented perfidy of the Maoists. Besides, one must look years ahead. Only time will tell what will come of this alliance. It is difficult to make any predictions. But it is in place to recall the Munich deal of 1938 between the Western powers and Nazi Germany, and what it led to. How much will the alliance with Peking eventually cost those bent on lining up with it?

More, it should be borne in mind that the Atlantic strategists have a highly unfavourable balance to contend with in that continent. All three Indo-China countries—and they constitute a no small force—are resolutely forging ahead along the socialist road. China proved powerless to defeat Vietnam. Other countries of continental Asia that 30 years ago were mostly dependencies of the West stand on positions of non-alignment. True, the imperialist powers and China are helping to revive Japanese militarism. How costly will this risky investment eventually prove for them?

To sum up. NATO has not justified the ambitious expectations of its founders. It continues to arm and it blusters and threatens, but it is already clear that on the historical plane, despite all its efforts and the recent boost given it by Peking, its thirty-year record is a record of failure.

True, the date for the final audit has not yet been set, but it is sure to come. However, it is already plain that the leaders of the anti-Soviet military bloc have not excelled in foresight—evidently this is a gift they are not endowed with. Each of their offensives has been followed by a retreat. A glance at the map of the world bears this out; one need not be a geographer to read it right. Will not all this eventually lead to the erosion of the internal structure of NATO?

For many years now the Soviet Union has been urging the dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It holds that the world needs both political détente and the removal of military tension. How much more time will it take for the Western politicians to awaken to this simple truth? History is hardly likely to grant another 30 years' grace.

Compiled by V. BOIKOV and V. KUZNETSOV.

NT FROM OUR MAILBAG

The Peking leaders' claims to be the defenders of the interests of "small and medium-sized" countries are hypocritical indeed. The invasion of Vietnam has exposed the true aims of the Chinese leadership which has fully adopted a great-power, chauvinistic policy, and has shown the whole world that it is dead set on dominating Southeast Asia and absorbing small countries. History has already recorded instances of the wild plans to enslave Vietnam falling through. Judging by everything, Peking has not drawn any lessons from the past. Well, life itself has punished the Chinese leaders, as is evidenced by the fiasco of their aggression.

G. KORDA
Magnitogorsk, U.S.S.R.

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During our visit to the German Democratic Republic our group of Gymnasium pupils met a Vietnamese student by the name of Son who was then studying there. We became good friends. In the evenings he told us about his beautiful country and sang us songs about the emerald Vietnamese fields, the Red River and his home town, Haiphong. Later we learned that he had graduated as an engineer and returned home. But he did not work long. In February he joined the other patriots to defend his country against the Chinese aggressors. We recently received a letter from Son in which he wrote: "We shall not surrender. We are sure we shall win." And win they did.

Anna GARAYOVA
Tvrdošovce, Czechoslovakia

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The developments in Iran confirm the correctness of the thesis that it is the people who make history. I welcome the changes that have taken place in Iran and believe that its people will choose the path of progress.

Maxim ODAU
Amsterdam, Holland

LUNS'A VERİLEN ÖDÜL

Mehmet ERGÜL

"Atatürk Uluslararası Barış Ödülü'nün ilki, eski NATO Genel Sekreteri Joseph Luns'a verildi."

23 Nisan günü gazetelerini açanlar bu haberle karşılaştılar. Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin açılışının yıldönümünde, Ulusal Egemenlik Bayramı'nda doğrudan Evren'in onayıyla oluyordu bu. Hem de NATO'nun ABD'li Başkomutanı Rogers'in "Libya hareketini ben planladım" demesinden birkaç gün sonra...

19 Mayıs'ta ise, Çankaya'da Atatürk'ün makamında oturan Evren, kendi elleriyle Atatürk Uluslararası Barış Ödülü'nü Luns'a veriyordu. Atatürk'ün Samsun'a çıktığı günün yıldönümünde, ulusal kurtuluş savaşımızın başlangıcını simgeleyen günde oluyordu bu.

Böylece NATO-Luns elleriyle Barış-Atatürk adı, kavramı bir araya getiriliyordu. Batelik 23 Nisan gibi, 19 Mayıs gibi ulusal bayram günlerinde.

O NATO ki, saldırganlığı müseccel, sabıkalı bir örgüttür. Kurulduğu 1949 yılından bu yana, NATO üyesi devletler, başta ABD olmak üzere, 100'dü aşkın savaş, saldırı ve silahlı müdahalenin içinde olmuştur.

O NATO ki, çogu emperyalist ve sömürgeci devletlerden oluşmaktadır. İngiltere'nin Kıbrıs'ta, Kenya'da; Fransa'nın Cezayir'de, Vietnam'da; Belçika'nın Kongo'da ulusal kurtuluş hareketlerini nasıl barbarca ezmeye çalıştığı hatırlardadır. 1954'de Guatemala'ya, 1961'de Küba'ya, 1965'te Dominik'e, 1964-75 arasında Vietnam'a, Kamboçya ve Laos'a, 1983'te Lübnan'a ve Grenada'ya, son olarak da Libya'ya saldıran ABD'dir. 1956'da Amerikan, İngiliz, Fransız birlikleri ortaklaşa Süveyş Kanalı'na, 1958'de Amerikan ve İngiliz birlikleri İncirlik Üssü'nü kullanarak Lübnan'a saldırmışlardır. Üyelerinin saldırganlığı sayısız kez kayda geçmiş askeri bir pakt,

nasıl barışçı diye nitelenebilir? Uzun yıllar böyle bir paktın başında bulunmuş eski bir nazîye, nasıl olur da, Atatürk'ün adını taşıyan bir ödül verilebilir?

Atatürk Barış Ödülü'ne lâyık görülen Luns, 1930'lu yıllarda bir süre Nasyonal Sosyalist Hareket adlı Hollanda nazî partisinde çalışmıştır. Luns'un kardeşi bu partinin militanlarından. Luns, uzun yıllar Hollanda Katolik Partisi'nin (şimdi Hristiyan Demokrat Parti) yönetim kademelerinde çalışmıştır. Karısı Barones Van-Heemstede aracılığıyla Hollanda aristokrasisiyle bağlanan Luns, bu ülkedeki askersel-sanayi kompleksiyle sıkı ilişkiler içindedir. Fokker silah tekeli, elektronik araçlar tekeli Philips, İngiliz-Hollanda petrol tekeli Shell ve Hollanda Ticaret Bankası, Luns'un bağlı bulunduğu Van Vlissingen grubu içinde yer almaktadır. Kraliyet sila-sinden Prens Bernhart bu grubun içindedir.

Luns'un içinde bulunduğu Van Vlissingen grubu ve Prens Bernhart aracılığıyla Kraliyet silası, Hollanda'da Alman büyük sermayesi için köprübaşı görevi görmüş ve uzun yıllar Alman sermayesinin ~~ser~~ acenteliğini yapmıştır. Bu grup, bugün de Fokker silah tekeli kanalıyla Batı Alman havacılık-roket şirketi Messerschmidt'le bağlıdır. Fokker silah tekelinin % 25 payı ise, Amerikan Northrop silah tekelinin elindedir.

Birer mason olan Luns ve Prens Bernhart, Bilderberg Kulübü'nün yöneticileridir. Bu kulüp, Amerikan ve Batı Avrupa gericiliğinin NATO generallerinin yarı-gizli, yarı-açık örgütüdür. Bilderberg Kulübü, her yıl Batı dünyasının "gözden uzak" bir yerinde toplanmaktadır.

Luns, Amerikan ve Batı Alman militaristlerini "yapışık kardeşler" durumuna getirme görevini NATO'da 13 yıl sadakatle uygulamıştır. Pentagon, Luns gibi Amerikalı olmayan biri aracılığıyla NATO'nun dizginlerini elinde tutmaktan hep hoşnut olmuştur.

İşte böyle birine, Evren'in elinden, hem de 19 Mayıs günü, Atatürk Barış Ödülü verildi. Bu, Atatürk'ün adının ve barış kavramının Evren'in eliyle bir kez daha sırtından hançerlenmesi değil de nedir?