

the Free Soviet Jewry movement. In 1976, Jerry Stern was the New York finance chairman for Church's presidential race and lined up top New York Zionist money for the campaign. It is to Stern's fundraising capacity that Church is looking to win his 1980 reelection bid.

Henry Kimmelman: a neighbor of close friend Myer Feldman, Kimmelman's political career includes serving in the Kennedy-Johnson administration as the Commissioner of Commerce for the Virgin Islands in 1961. Feldman has, since 1962, been on the board of the College of the Virgin Islands. By 1967 Kimmelman was Assistant Secretary of the Interior under Averell Harriman's protégé Stuart Udall who later went on to the Interior Department. Kimmelman was also a leading figure in McGovern's presidential drive, serving as the finance chairman of the campaign.

Kimmelman has been Church's friend since 1961 and has been key in helping him raise funds for his campaigns. In 1976 when Church made his try for the presidency, his problem was that he was not on intimate terms with enough Zionist leaders. But, said Kimmelman in an interview, "I could alleviate that concern." Kimmelman like Stern will be key in raising the sums necessary if Church is to retain his Senate seat.

Warren Manshel: the U.S. ambassador to Denmark was the founder, editor and publisher of *Foreign Policy* magazine, which was billed as the liberal, anti-Vietnam War alternative to the Council on Foreign Relations publication *Foreign Affairs*. *Foreign Policy* is in fact an arm of the same network, and their articles are geared to the same effect as *Foreign Affairs*. In fact, when Manshel left to become an ambassador in 1977, he was replaced by Richard Ullman, the director of the CFR's Project 1980's.

The coeditor and founder of *Foreign Policy* was Samuel Huntington, a member of the Trilateral Commission and a former assistant to National Security Council Director Zbigniew Brzezinski. Huntington is the Trilateral Commission member who authored a book under Brzezinski's direction, titled *Crisis in Democracy* which calls for limiting Western democracy. Manshel published with money from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a group which coordinates closely with the Ditchley Foundation, the major British-U.S. policy-making group.

Manshel has known Church for years and advises him on policy as well as his political campaigns.

Averell Harriman: one of the most revered of the Anglo-American establishment, Harriman is a relation of the Churchill family and has spent many hours shaping Church's thinking.

—Barbara Dreyfuss

CFR's Ullman, Gwin hold forth on Project 1980

Starting in the 1970s, the New York Council on Foreign Relations initiated what it describes as its most ambitious project, the 1980s Project. In its 25-odd books now being published, the 1980s Project proposes the "controlled disintegration" of the world economy; the dismantling of the globe's advanced scientific industrial concentrations, and a broadening of the powers of the International Monetary Fund.

In an exclusive interview with Executive Intelligence Review the executive director of the 1980s Project, Catherine Gwin, and her predecessor, Princeton University professor Richard Ullman, candidly discuss the collaboration of the 1980s Project crew with the notorious Brandt Commission, founded by former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt in collusion with Washington Post publisher Katherine Graham and World Bank head Robert McNamara in order to push a deindustrialization policy for the Third World; their meeting with suspected Soviet agent, Georgi Arbatov; their role in organizing the coup in Iran that brought to power the Ayatollah Khomeini; and the fact that presidential hopeful Alexander Haig's policies are in full accord with those of the 1980s Project.

Herewith, excerpts of the interview:

Q: *A significant number of people who were involved in the project from its beginnings now hold high-level posts in the Carter Administration. Isn't it the case that their participation in the project influenced their thinking once they got into government and that, in fact, they have served as channels for the implementation of the project's proposals by the Carter Administration?*

Ullman: In some cases, certainly that's true. [Richard] Cooper for example and Joe Nye. Cooper, who's now Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, was made to think about North-South relations by the project in ways he never thought before. I remember some of the meetings of the coordinating group where he was consistently made to come up with reactions to ideas which he thought of as outrageous—for instance, the notion of basic human needs. Cooper's reaction to that was very interesting at the time. I think that being involved in the project coordinating group and some of its special study groups really expanded his range. ... I think that Cy Vance, who was the chairman of our nuclear working group, got a lot out of it. He was very

able as a chairman and took an interest in the study group that he chaired. I think that some of the studies that group did about what it would be like to minimize the number of nuclear weapons in the world were perspectives he really hadn't focused on before. I think he must have gotten something out of it. ... This administration is certainly aware of the issues we've raised, and has been moving generally in the right direction. ...

Q: *In March 1977, Vance made some proposals to the Soviets for greatly reducing the superpowers' nuclear weapons arsenals in the context of the SALT II negotiations which the Soviets vehemently rejected. Do you think these were a specific outcome of his work with the project?*

Ullman: No, I don't think so. I think that these ideas of "deproduction" were something that interested him, but I don't think it was simply from his project work. I think Senator Henry Jackson had an important effect on that, because Jackson in a way, although he has been very anti-SALT, thought that "deproduction" would be a constructive approach to arms negotiations. I suspect that Vance was more sympathetic to this idea by virtue of his work with the project. I think he wasn't prepared for the depth of the Soviet reaction—his participation in the project would not have prepared him for that. ...

Q: *What about the project's views on the area of international monetary affairs, and the role of the European Monetary System?*

Gwin: I'm working on a book with Miriam Camps on that subject. We'll deal with the EMS only in terms of its relation with the IMF. The book will focus on the need for reforming international monetary institutions and setting up new ones, especially in the area of international trade. It will also propose establishing a new institution for Third World debt management as well as urging that the IMF assume a greater role in the area of surveillance. ...

Q: *There have been a number of rather extreme and unpredictable events that have taken place in the last six months and I'd like to know how you assess their impact on the project's policy formulations. Specifically, the events in Iran and the surfacing of Islamic fundamentalism—which, if I'm not mistaken, was not a major feature in your discussion of the Mideast—and the election of Mrs. Thatcher in Britain who would be generally opposed to some of the more internationalist aspects of your program.*

Ullman: I definitely disagree with you on Thatcher. On the contrary, I think that Britain will now be able to

play a much stronger role on the continent. ... We tried to get work done on the question of Islamic fundamentalism and the strength of currents like it. We asked Hal Isaacs to do something on communal conflict, and I approached Bernard Lewis [author of the Lewis plan which proposes the devolution of the entire Middle and Far East into a series of squabbling, backward ethnic and tribal entities—ed.] to do something on this, but he was overcommitted. In fact, Bernard was the first person I turned to. ...

Q: *A number of the project's studies—especially Stephen Green's on Disaster Relief and Richard Falk's on human rights—propound the very controversial idea that the international community should be free to intervene, through fomenting internal coups, and other extreme means, in countries where the ruling elite is allegedly abusing human rights, or the environment and such. Falk is especially explicit on this, especially on the need for overthrowing certain governments. Is the overthrow of the Shah an example of Falk's proposals?*

Ullman: (Nodding his head) Yes, yes, definitely. ...

Q: *Was Falk involved directly in the Iran coup while he was there this spring?*

Ullman: (Now vigorously shaking his head) Oh no, no, no.

Q: *What institutions are you working with or have been most responsive to your ideas? ...*

Ullman: We haven't tried to peddle them the way the Trilateral Commission always does. Of course, we have contacted individuals and groups with our ideas. In the summer of 1977, a small group of us went to the Soviet Union to discuss the project's proposals with (Georgi) Arbatov and the people around him at the USA Institute and the Institute of World Economics. We simply took our stuff, in draft, to get their reaction—some of the security stuff, the nuclear stuff, other things. We found that there is a really great deal of interest in this sort of thing ... I think Arbatov and the others were very worried about the fact that certain things were happening in the West that were leaving them behind. He and his people are worried about how to get the Soviet Union to participate in the sort of institutions which we and the Trilateral Commission, Brookings, etc., are developing. ...

Gwin: The Brandt Commission has also been extremely receptive to our ideas. They're doing much the same thing we are. We sent them some material, including Roger Hansens's book on North-South relations, and they were really excited. They find themselves focusing much more on institutions rather than issues as they go along. ...