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## Profile: William H. Sullivan

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# The man who destroyed Iran, and may now destroy the Philippines

by Allen Douglas and Vin Berg

Among those gentlemen today who are now most concerned over the fate of the unstable Philippines is our former ambassador there, William H. Sullivan, the current president of New York's American Assembly policy think tank. Until the recent period, Mr. Sullivan was one of the top "Asia hands" in the U.S. foreign service, in which he had a long and distinguished career, including several ambassadorships, spanning the turbulent and war-ridden years from the 1940s to 1979. Americans, one would think, might be thankful that such an experienced and well-traveled individual is now devoting his attentions to such an important and troubled ally as the government of Ferdinand Marcos.

There is just one problem. William H. Sullivan is a traitor.

William H. Sullivan's purpose, his *stated* purpose, in all he currently does in regard to the Philippines, is to eliminate the United States from the Asian theater, to deliver the region into Soviet hands, and to do so by destroying the Marcos government and plunging the Philippines into ungovernable chaos. Along the way, the strategically irreplaceable American bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field will, of course, be lost. To these ends, Sullivan has been regularly traveling to the Philippines to plot strategies with various opposition elements, including the "We Belong" young-officers' group of would-be coup-makers.

The U.S. State Department, of course, is fully informed of his activity, at the very least.

There is no doubt that Mr. Sullivan can accomplish his goal if allowed. He is the career foreign service officer who was chosen to be U.S. ambassador to Iran, and who, in that assignment, performed the acts of treason that destroyed the regime of the Shah, plunged the Iranian nation and its people into bloody chaos and warfare under the dictatorship of an irrationalist theocracy, and began the process of expulsion of the United States from the Middle East in favor of Soviet imperial suzerainty.

He is also the foreign service officer chosen for several key assignments in the early 1960s that assured massive

American military involvement in Southeast Asia; he was then the foreign service officer who was chosen to help Gen. Maxwell Taylor work out the "military strategy" which assured America's humiliating and demoralizing defeat in the Vietnam War they had created.

Do not misunderstand: William H. Sullivan is not a communist, in any conventional sense of the term. Nor, we presume, is he in the pay of the KGB or some kindred agency. He is, however, part of a pro-Soviet conspiracy, by his own admission. By his own admission, throughout his life, William H. Sullivan, career foreign service officer, has been a member of a tightly-knit "cult," a "cult," he says, of at most several thousand foreign service officers, military officers, government officials, and members of think-tanks and the press, deeply penetrated into and dominating the American foreign policy establishment since World War II.

This "cult"—his own word—is characterized by an oligarchical hatred of the institutions of the sovereign nation-state and the economic development of peoples, as these principles are best exemplified by the United States of America.

The United States is constitutionally the exemplar and guarantor of the sovereignty of nation-states, as the ordering principle in world affairs. The United States could, therefore, never effectively serve as the seat of an empire administering satrapies. Therefore, the oligarchist "cult" of which Sullivan is part, since the Second World War, has worked for the rise of the only prospective new empire that might be established in this century, that of Russia. And, the "cult" has done so from the inside, by devoting itself to the exercise of America's own power abroad, to destroy that power, in favor of Soviet power.

William H. Sullivan's commitment to empire has made him an agent of Soviet influence.

But, let us have Mr. Sullivan speak for himself. Here is a brief excerpt from his autobiography, *Obligato: Notes on a Foreign Service Career*, in which he describes the long-term policy perspective which governed his career and the several

thousand other members of "our cult."

"As a people we have, through most of our history, been intoxicated by some rather jingoistic exaggerations of the international context in which our nation exists. . . . Most of the American public failed to understand that much of our postwar paramountcy was artificial and was due to the enormous destruction that other nations had suffered. *Our apparent hegemony in the world was destined to be of short duration, unless our leaders sought to perpetuate it unrealistically.* . . .

"The alliances we have fostered, the wars we have fought, and the international confrontations we have faced all contributed to the perception of the United States as an expanding empire. And yet, I would argue, from Truman through Nixon, the facts were just the opposite. *We were, as a nation, deliberately reducing our hegemony and shrinking our international responsibilities to a scope more commensurate with*

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*our national capabilities."*

Sullivan writes of "finding and developing worthy heirs" to the retreating American power—under conditions, unstated, in which the only possible heir in each case, and on the whole, is imperial Russia.

Henry Kissinger, another member of Sullivan's "cult," was only more precise when he instructed a nodding George Shultz, our current Secretary of State: "Our policy is to reduce U.S. power and influence to 25% of its postwar extent"; the same Kissinger who recently wrote of "the temptation of unilateral disarmament," and during the Nixon years, declared: "Our job is to manage Soviet hegemony."

In concrete, the four-decade policy-perspective to which William Sullivan's life has been dedicated, together with Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, McGeorge Bundy, Philip Habib, Vernon Walters, and others, has meant deliberately demoralizing, destabilizing, and destroying America's friends and allies throughout the world, and thus twisting American power to America's own eventual destruction.

Thus, the traitor, William H. Sullivan, and his current activities in regard to the Philippines.

In the profile that follows, one will observe the frequency with which the name Averell Harriman arises, the same Harriman responsible for the career of General Walters, our current U.N. ambassador, and so many others in Sullivan's traitorous "cult."

### **A Harriman protégé**

William H. Sullivan graduated *summa cum laude* from Brown University in 1942, and joined the navy in Boston. His first captain was described as "an old China hand." Upon discharge in 1947, he entered the foreign service and became third secretary and vice-consul at the U.S. embassy in Bangkok, Thailand.

In 1949, he was posted to Calcutta. He met there frequently with M. N. Roy, the India-born chief of Asian operations for Stalin's Communist International (Comintern) and founder, among others, of the Mexican Communist Party.

In 1950, Sullivan was assigned to be a "political adviser" to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the occupation government in Tokyo. He helped to set up the Japanese foreign ministry and foreign service. It was in this period that Harriman and the "cult" were plotting the Korean war and General MacArthur's political demise.

In 1952, Sullivan was transferred to Italy, first as political adviser to the admiralty of the NATO Southern Command in Naples, then in Rome.

In 1955, Sullivan was sent to The Hague, still in a NATO capacity. Every month, he reports, he had lunch with the Soviet KGB station chief there.

From 1959 to 1963, Sullivan worked in Washington at the State Department's Southeast Asian Affairs desk. In this capacity, he became the personal deputy to Averell Harriman, war-time ambassador to the Soviet Union, whom President Kennedy had appointed to mediate between North and South Vietnam to ostensibly attempt a peaceful resolution of that conflict.

In the spring of 1963, Kennedy appointed Harriman a special plenipotentiary to Moscow. Harriman chose Sullivan as one of his two personal assistants. Earlier, Sullivan had been chosen by Harriman to assist him in the early-1960s negotiations in Geneva over Laos. Before going to Moscow, the pair flew to London for consultations.

In early 1963, the Joint Chiefs of Staff mandated a "war game" on Vietnam. Gen. Maxwell Taylor, then Kennedy's adviser on military affairs, headed up the "Red Team," North Vietnam, playing Ho Chi Minh. His assistant was William H. Sullivan, who played Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, the hero of Dien Bien Phieu. In repeated plays of war-fighting scenarios in the region, they repeatedly, crushingly defeated the "Blue Team," the United States and South Vietnam.

Thus, with the strategy that they had worked out in the event of U.S. involvement in the Southeast Asian war, Taylor and Sullivan determined without question that the U.S./South

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Vietnamese forces would be defeated. But, an AP wire of May 19, 1977, reported: "In the early 1960s, he [Sullivan] was a member of an Indochina policy task force which urged a strong U.S. military commitment to the South Vietnamese government."

Why did Sullivan want a strong U.S. military commitment for a war he knew in advance that under standing military strategy the United States would lose? Why, is appreciated to the degree one appreciates that the Vietnam War was in large degree intended to destroy the United States, the morale and patriotism of its military and its people.

In early November 1963, Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. ambassador in Vietnam, organized the coup d'état and assassination of President Diem. Only three weeks later, shortly after the President of the United States had rejected the "cult's" recommendation of a strong U.S. military commitment in Southeast Asia, and on the very day, according to McGeorge Bundy, that the President was to deliver a speech in Dallas rejecting the Mutually Assured Destruction doctrine in favor of developing anti-missile defense, that President, John F. Kennedy, was assassinated.

The new U.S. President, Lyndon Johnson, followed the recommendations of the "cult's" Indochina task force to the letter.

In the spring of 1964, Johnson made Maxwell Taylor ambassador to Vietnam. In Taylor's pocket was a signed statement from the President designating him also commander-in-chief of all U.S. forces in Vietnam. As his assistant, Taylor chose William H. Sullivan.

The escalation of the Vietnam war was on.

At the close of the year, William H. Sullivan became ambassador to Laos, and personally directed the escalation of the fighting there. By his own testimony, "sometimes from my bedside," Sullivan ordered air strikes and so forth throughout the "secret war" in Laos.

In 1968, Averell Harriman was appointed to head the

U.S. "negotiating team" on the Vietnam war. Assisting him was Sullivan, along with Cyrus Vance, Philip Habib, et al. In 1969, Sullivan returned to Washington, remaining in the Southeast Asia section. In 1972, he became the top assistant to Henry Kissinger for the Vietnam peace negotiations.

In the spring of 1973, Sullivan was Kissinger's choice to become ambassador to the Philippines. Kissinger's plan was to have him simultaneously function from his base in Manila as ambassador to Vietnam.

Senate resistance to the nomination was strong. Kissinger enlisted the aid of the Chinese government to lobby with the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to agree to Sullivan's ambassadorship. "It was a remarkable piece of assistance from the Chinese," wrote Sullivan in his autobiography.

### **Sullivan in Iran**

In 1977, William H. Sullivan was appointed ambassador to Iran by Jimmy Carter and his Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance. Four years later, Sullivan authored a book reporting on his assignment,

throughout that makes his purposes and role in that assignment unmistakable: a fanatical hatred and fear of the Shah's industrialization policy.

The Shah's plan for his nation, Sullivan declares, was to make it into "the fifth-largest industrial entity on the face of the earth" by the year 2000. "He was particularly high on nuclear energy and had become something of an amateur exponent of fusion technology, which, in his judgment, would relieve the world of its dependence on oil for energy."

Sullivan went to work to destroy the Shah's development plans, even before arriving in Teheran. At a meeting with industrialists in New York, Sullivan denounced the Shah's program. "I wished seriously investigated . . . the future of the Shah's industrialization process in the context of the entire Iranian economy. The doubts that had first arisen in my mind when I talked with the American business executives in New York had become compounded as I looked further into the economic equations for Iran. I therefore wanted some studies in depth concerning the ability of the Iranian economy to cope with the enormous industrialization program that the Shah was pressing on the country. . . . It became an obsession with me."

At one point, Sullivan pulled together the Shah's entire cabinet, without the Shah, to rail at them over the industrialization program. In his account, every cabinet minister sooner or later came up to him privately and expressed agreement that Iran was to remain backward. Thereafter, Iran implemented "a program of austerity and sharp cutback of industrialization." Writes Sullivan: "I am sure that deep inside, he [the Shah] was asking himself with the usual Iranian morbid suspicion just why it was that the United States was seeking to frustrate his industrial independence." Indeed.

Of course, the plot to bring Khomeini to power was under way from the moment Sullivan became ambassador, or the

moment Jimmy Carter became President. Sullivan developed extensive contacts with Khomeini and his feudalistic, irrationalist opposition networks, as the embassy "began to extend its antenna into the network of political dissidence." He knew, he says, that the Shah was trying to carry out a "White Revolution" so that Iran would not miss its precious chance to develop. He coordinated efforts for Khomeini's return to Iran and rise to power in "a close working relationship with British Ambassador Parsons."

When Carter dispatched General Huyser to Iran to warn the Iranian army against crushing the Khomeini rebellion, the general stayed in Sullivan's home.

It was all very blatant. At one point, the Shah asked Sullivan: "Had we and the Soviets reached some grand design in which we had expected to divide up Iran between ourselves as part of an overall division of power throughout the world?"

With Iran lost to the bloody mullahs trained at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, Sullivan was recalled to Washington. When he departed, the Mujahedeen came to the airport to kiss his hand.

Immediately after the Iranian disaster, Sullivan resigned as ambassador, and was immediately given the job of president of the American Assembly at New York's Columbia University, a policy think-tank which includes Harriman, Bundy, Vance, et al. The Assembly holds most of its seminars at Arden House at the family estate in Harriman, New York. The Assembly is noted for its demand for the repeal of all laws against usury, and its proposal to "reform" the American republican system in favor of British-style parliamentary parties controlled by the oligarchy top down on the basis of "party lines" and "party loyalty."

It is from his post at the American Assembly that Sullivan is now operating to "Iranize" the Philippines by overthrowing the Marcos government, whose industrially oriented "Revolution from the Center" Sullivan hates with the same passion he directed at the Shah's "White Revolution."

## The managing of U.S. 'devolution'

It is in his autobiography that William H. Sullivan, the traitor, says he is a traitor, describing the "cult" which has been responsible for twisting American foreign policy away from the good this nation might have used its power to accomplish, and deliberately sabotaging American influence worldwide since the end of World War II. We let him speak of his and his associates' accomplishments in retrospect:

"We know that, in the first few years of the 1940s, our nation was transported from the doubts and despair of the Great Depression to the self-confident euphoria of military victory, and the status of a superpower. Our leaders, who, in the 1930s, had been reluctant to engage in foreign affairs, soon found themselves making choices and decisions affecting the lives of every human being on earth. The United States was the great winner in World War II. We emerged from that conflict as the paramount nation in the world. We had a monopoly on the atomic weapon, the most powerful

conventional military forces, the most productive economy, and the most resilient political system. Harry Luce told us that we were entering the 'American Century' . . . .

"When an objective history of American international performance in the middle decades of this century is written from the perspectives of the next century, I believe that the pattern which will emerge will be more straightforward than the current record would suggest. It will be seen not as an effort to grasp for greater power, but rather as a *sustained attempt to devolve unwanted responsibilities on others*. . . .

"Our foreign policy during the four decades considered . . . will ultimately be seen not as a series of rearguard actions by cohorts defending against assaults upon a jealously guarded empire, but rather as a *constant struggle to find and develop worthy heirs to handle those elements of our hegemony we no longer wished to dominate*. The problem was always to try to do this in a responsible way, so that the devolution would be constructive rather than chaotic.

"Such a policy did not lend itself to great sweeping gestures or grandiloquent description. It was not a policy politically profitable for national leaders nor easily encompassed in the quick capsules of the television newscasters or the pundit columnists. It was messy and needed constant care and attention. It therefore did not especially attract the politically ambitious except when something went wrong and created a crisis. By and large, it was left to a collection of specialists and professionals to muddle through. These people became the centurions of a far different American Century than Harry Luce had envisaged.

"At most there were never more than a few thousand in this cohort. Most of us had been junior officers in World War II and chose to stay in government service out of some vague sense of responsibility for avoiding a repetition of that catastrophe. . . . We didn't see the world in sharp contrasting shades of black and white, but rather in the murky shades of grey that color most human endeavors.

"We were deployed in the Cabinet and Congress, in the Armed Forces, in the Foreign Service, and occasionally in such private areas as the press; and we knew each other through mutual association or by reputation. We had an unspoken assumption that we all shared the same civilized objectives and that the only questions at issue concerned means rather than ends. Although many of us had been educated at the Eastern universities, we were drawn from a broad geographic and social spectrum, and it would be inaccurate to suggest that we were an 'Eastern Establishment.' *But there is no doubt that we dominated the execution of our country's international affairs during those middle four decades of this century.*

"My purpose in writing about some of the events of that period is not to extoll our cadre of centurions or even to try to explain *our cult*. It is rather to provide some anecdotal terms of reference which may help to illuminate the atmosphere within which we lived and worked . . . [emphasis added]."