Both B.J. Habibie, who became President when Suharto was forced to resign in 1998, and the new President, Abdurrahman Wahid, have taken measures to withdraw army forces from Aceh and to establish formal investigations into the criminal measures of the past. However, in addition to the relatively peaceful demonstrations calling for a referendum, violent provocations by Free Aceh forces have continued.

According to the Dow Jones-owned Far Eastern Economic Review, whose reporters know diTiro and the Free Aceh terrorists quite well, the weapons for the new Free Aceh operations came from the stockpiles of Cambodia's now-defunct Khmer Rouge, through Thailand and Malaysia—the same route earlier identified as a major arms trail for the Sri Lankan separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and other terrorist networks in India and the Philippines. Australian scholar Herbert Feith, an Indonesia expert now teaching in Yogyakarta, emphasizes the similarities between diTiro's GAM and the Tamil Tigers, Peru's Shining Path, and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), all extremely violent, with little popular support. What Feith does not mention is London's well-documented control over all these terrorist movements.

The Far Eastern Economic Review estimates the Free Aceh troop strength at about 800, more than in the early 1990s uprising. The press coverage of the Free Aceh has entirely blacked out its well-known drug connections, while reporting that diTiro has broken his ties with Libya. The Far Eastern Economic Review admits, however, through interviews with diTiro in Sweden and with other rebel leaders on the ground in Aceh, that their strategy is to create conditions to "justify international intervention," on the East Timor model. More than 100,000 villagers have been driven out of their homes by the Free Aceh, supposedly to escape the Indonesian military, and into one of 61 refugee sites set up in the north. The camps are either directly or indirectly run by the Free Aceh or their foreign sponsors among non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The army is trying to persuade the refugees to return home, but the Free Aceh prevents them from leaving the camps, while bringing in NGOs and the press to play up the "humanitarian crisis," entirely of their own making.

More than 300 people have been killed this year, including dozens of ambushed police and soldiers, and many civilians, including in several incidents in which the military opened fire on demonstrating crowds threatening to seize military or police buildings. The rebels have torched hundreds of buildings, including many schools.

Over the summer, Jakarta moved troops back into Aceh for a six-month operation aimed at ending the terrorist resurgence by January. However, the developments in East Timor led to the current ferment for a referendum, as we explained in the preceding article. The new government has again withdrawn the military and is attempting to negotiate a peaceful solution, granting autonomy, but preserving national unity and sovereignty.

# Italy's Romano Prodi, the puppet of the 'invisible government'

by Claudio Celani

March 1978: The chairman of the Christian Democratic Party, Aldo Moro, is being held prisoner by the Red Brigades, who have threatened to kill him. Rome is inundated by huge numbers of police and Army forces, who are searching night and day for the location in which Moro is being held prisoner. For some reason, somebody from the terrorist inner circle decides to reveal where the hideout is. In order not to betray the source, a person above suspicion, a respected professor, will be the "ambassador." The professor will report that, during a seance session, the word "Gradoli" was mentioned as the place where Moro's kidnappers are hiding him. There is a street with that name in Rome, but the police minister decides to deploy outside Rome, to the village of Gradoli. After several days, the police will find the real safehouse, on the Via Gradoli, Gradoli Street — empty. The terrorists have moved to a new safehouse. On May 9, they will release Moro's dead body. Twenty years later, no court has seriously challenged the professor's story.

July 1993: Italy is swept by the political tornado known as "Clean Hands." Hundreds of politicians and businessmen are arrested, on allegations of being part of an illegal partyfinancing system. Entire political parties disintegrate. The professor is interrogated by the Clean Hands super-prosecutor, because the professor has been chairman of the largest state conglomerate, which was the major conduit for political bribes. The super-prosecutor is known for using rough methods. He holds people in jail until they confess and hand over the names of other people. But, strangely enough, the professor goes free. He is not even indicted. One year later, the super-prosecutor decides to start a political career. A Parliament seat is open, and the super-prosecutor is elected. In 1996, he gets a ministerial job with the professor, who in the meantime has become head of the government. A few years later, in 1999, the professor, no longer head of government, founds a new political movement, together with the super-prosecutor who had investigated him. The movement runs on a populist platform, in opposition to all parties, and wins 10% in the European Parliament elections, the prelude to a march toward the conquest of power.

These two stories challenge the fantasy of the most audacious writer of political fiction; however, they are true. The name of the professor is Romano Prodi, currently chairman

EIR January 7, 2000 International 51

of the European Union (EU). The name of the prosecutor is Antonio Di Pietro. The stories involving Prodi are discussed in two books recently published in Italy: the first, by former Sen. Sergio Flamigni (Il Covo di Stato — Via Gradoli 96 e Il Delitto Moro; The State Safehouse — 96 Via Gradoli and the Moro Murder); the second, by former prosecutor Ferdinando Imposimato (Corruzione Ad Alta Velocità: Viaggio nel Governo Invisibile; High-Speed Corruption: Travel in the Invisible Government). Dedicated to apparently different themes — the former to terrorism, the latter to political corruption — the two books are like pieces of a puzzle, in which the two issues become the weapons used by a permanent oligarchy, an "invisible government," to achieve its political goals.

Prodi, together with his buddy Di Pietro, are puppets of this oligarchy. The man who was called by British Prime Minister Tony Blair to head the EU Commission, supposedly to restore confidence in an institution whose image had been tarnished by episodes of small-scale nepotism, is now accused of acts which make his predecessors' sins appear like a joke. That could be the reason that Prodi was called to EU headquarters at Brussels: London could find no better tool than a man who could be destroyed the minute that Her Majesty's MI6 decides to publish what they know about his past.

For European citizens, that should be enough of a reason to end his political career, since he is bound by his nature and his record to comply with policies designed to destroy continental European economies. In doing that, let us use the occasion to radically downsize the supranational powers of the European Commission.

## **High-speed corruption**

Ferdinando Imposimato is no sensational journalist, but one of Italy's best-known and most serious investigators. For many years a prosecutor in Rome, he has worked on major cases like the Aldo Moro murder, the assassination attempt against the Pope, and many other terrorism and Mafia cases. In 1987, he was elected to the Senate; in 1992, to the Chamber of Deputies; and in 1994, to the Senate again. Throughout those years, he worked on the anti-Mafia committees in both houses of Parliament.

The story Imposimato tells us starts in 1994, when the committee decides to investigate possible Mafia involvement in the contracts to build the Rome-Naples track of the TAV high-speed railway, the Treno ad Alta Velocità. In collaboration with officials of the special investigative center of the police, Imposimato discovers that the general contractor for the TAV, the state conglomerate IRI, has given out several subcontracts to firms that are either owned by the Neapolitan Mafia, the Camorra, or are connected to it. IRI, when the contracts were signed, was chaired by Romano Prodi, who had been called in and given the mandate to start privatizing IRI (Prodi had already been IRI chairman during 1982-89). At the same time, police reports indicate that "clean" firms had been forced to drop out of the bidding under threat from



At the intersection of the two most important political events in the past two decades of Italian history—the assassination of Aldo Moro and Operation Clean Hands—we find Romano Prodi, "the professor," with a very strange story to tell, should he be forced to tell it.

the Camorra, including the use of bombs against workplaces.

This is, for many reasons, a very sad story: mostly, however, because it shows how a vitally necessary infrastructure project, such as the high-speed rail lines which could integrate Italy into the Eurasian Land-Bridge, can be sabotaged by the fact that private interests, and not the state, are basically running the operation. It was, in fact, the "semi-privatization" regime of IRI and of the other formally state-owned companies, that eliminated the possibility for the government and other public institutions to have the necessary controls that would prevent organized crime from getting its hands on the project and on the money.

Imposimato writes that not only "the selection of firms to receive contracts and subcontracts was made following choices and orders from organized crime," but also the dramatic increase of the power of organized crime in the economy was the result of the so-called "Clean Hands" investigation. In other words, a jacobin "anti-corruption" crusade resulted in the increase of corruption. Thanks to Clean Hands, which created a populist-jacobin mood against allegedly corrupt political parties and public servants, privatization has been implemented not only at the economic, but also at the political and judicial level.

In the book's introduction, Imposimato writes that Clean Hands did not actually aim at fighting corruption. Since the system of illegal party-financing involved all parties and virtually all significant firms, "why have only some political parties been destroyed, and why have only some firms been made extinct or thrown into very serious trouble? . . . This has a very obvious answer: They wanted to establish a restructured political system . . . and a symmetrical restructuring of the business system aimed at favoring the so-called 'strong powers,' i.e., big capital and financial speculation, to the dis-

52 International EIR January 7, 2000

advantage of . . . the small and medium-sized enterprises.

"Clean Hands offered a solution to the problem of political and institutional transition, in the context of the new European asset and of the globalization of markets, in the presence of only one superpower, politically and economically hegemonic."

Thanks to Clean Hands, Imposimato writes, "the financial and technocratic oligarchies . . . have succeeded in diminishing the presence of political parties, becoming exclusive arbiters of the system of sharing public money, with a systematic violation of domestic and international rules for contract bids. Other competitor financial groups have chosen direct agreements with Cosa Nostra. . . . The discrediting of political parties has not eliminated, but rather strengthened corruption, inefficiency, waste, and patronage jobs. . . . Economic potentates have become themselves *parties*, able to influence government choices. They use the mass media, bought with revenues gained by corruption, to play a function of collective narcosis and pure propaganda. . . . The truth is: The Power that bases itself on a principle of self-conservation and self-expansion, has remained unchanged."

### **Prodi and the Camorra**

In 1994, Imposimato presents the conclusions of his investigation to the anti-Mafia committee. He calls on the Parliament to ask the government to revoke contracts to the ongoing TAV works between Rome and Naples, because of the evident presence of Camorra-controlled firms. Imposimato shows that only 10% of the public money disbursed for the project is actually received by real firms, down the line, to physically build the infrastructure. In between, 90% of the money goes partly to the Camorra, and partly for bribes. Moreover, since contracted firms have to put up 10% of the investment money at the beginning as a guarantee to the general contractor, Imposimato shows that in this way, the Camorra can recycle huge amounts of illicit revenues, possibly from drug trafficking.

The parliamentary committee decides to convoke a meeting of all managers involved, from the TAV to Icla, the best-known among the firms controlled by the Camorra. But, when it is time to call in Romano Prodi, who had authorized the contracts in 1993 as chairman of the general contractor IRI, Parliament dissolves for early elections (spring 1996). Prodi is elected Prime Minister. Imposimato does not seek reelection: He has received death threats from the Camorra and must abandon his city, Caserta.

Nevertheless, believing in Prodi's good faith, Imposimato decides to pay a visit to the Prime Minister-elect and inform him of his discoveries. His description of the meeting is extraordinary:

"As soon as I started to speak, the climate of cordiality and courtesy rapidly changed. While I was speaking . . . I saw him getting worried. Parisi [Prodi's Cabinet Minister] nodded, Prodi did not. The more time passed, and the more I

watched a scene I could not believe: Sunk in his chair, red as a red pepper, Prodi looked silently at me. . . . I spoke for half an hour, and during the whole time Prodi never interrupted me, never opened his mouth, never said one word. . . . I was shocked, astonished, almost confused by that reaction. I could not understand whether Prodi was worried because of the descriptions I was giving about the Camorra infiltration. I was close to finishing my presentation, when somebody knocked at the door, and Beniamino Andreatta, the Defense Minister, came in. . . . Prodi reacted as if he were waking up. I had the impression that he took the interruption as a lifeboat, he jumped up, rushed to Andreatta and pulled him into the room. ... Prodi turned to us only to say good-bye, adding a quick thanks for the visit. Not one word of comment about what I had reported. Not the slightest mention. And in the coldest silence, we left his room."

The reasons for Prodi's behavior are clarified by other events which occur in 1993. That is the year, as we saw at the beginning, when the professor is investigated by the superprosecutor. On July 4 of that year, Di Pietro wants to know from Prodi about the role of IRI in the system of illegal partyfinancing. "It is a heavy interrogation, so much so that one could hear shouting in the corridors of the prosecutor's office," Imposimato writes. Prodi does not collaborate, but he is not indicted, he is not jailed like most of Di Pietro's victims. He is set free.

That same year, a Rome prosecutor investigating the bribery system discovers that the whole system is organized by a Swiss banker, Pierfrancesco Pacini Battaglia. Through his bank Karfinco, in Geneva, Pacini Battaglia runs a system involving state-owned conglomerates including IRI and ENI, the State Railway, and a cartel of construction companies. These firms, often connected with financial and oligarchical interests, control the Italian construction market, establish arbitrary prices so that a significant share of public money goes into Pacini Battaglia's accounts, and from there back into private pockets. A later investigation will discover that Pacini Battaglia's accounts also recycle organized crime money. This is the structure run by the "invisible government."

But the Clean Hands people move in to keep the lid on the investigation. Di Pietro personally tells his Rome colleagues that this is not a matter within their jurisdiction, and they should keep out of the way. Then, Di Pietro stages a fake interrogation of Pacini Battaglia. Contrary to all the evidence he has from other witnesses on Pacini Battaglia's criminal activities (he denies the allegations), Di Pietro decides to believe him and lets him go free. Is it a coincidence that Pacini Battaglia's attorney is Giuseppe Lucibello, Di Pietro's closest friend? And that, as will be revealed later, Lucibello's and Di Pietro's bills, including for an apartment, a car, and expensive clothes, were paid by a businessman who was on Pacini Battaglia's payroll?

When, finally, in 1996, prosecutors in La Spezia decide

EIR January 7, 2000 International 53

to go after Pacini Battaglia, the case explodes. In a wiretapped conversation, Pacini Battaglia says: "We came out of Clean Hands because we paid." Pacini Battaglia is finally arrested, along with, among others, the powerful chairman of the State Railway, Lorenzo Necci. As we said, the State Railway was an integral part of Pacini Battaglia's bribe system. And Prodi played an important role. Already in 1992, he was appointed by Necci to head the "guarantor committee" for the TAV project. That same year, Prodi had been commissioned, and well paid, by Necci to conduct a feasibility study. The study, issued by Prodi's private firm Nomisma, contained high-powered analysis, such as the following gems: "The benefit of high speed is speed," and, "speed is very much appreciated because it allows one to save time." Officially, 1.6 billion liras (roughly \$1 million) has been paid for the Nomisma study, but in one of the wiretapped conversations, Pacini Battaglia is heard saying that Prodi's Nomisma got 3.8 billion liras.

# Death threats against the prosecutor

At this point, the "invisible government" mobilizes all its forces to try to stop the La Spezia investigation. Given that there are some Rome magistrates who are accused of complicity with Pacini Battaglia, the investigation has to be moved, to Perugia. But, in Rome, there is another prosecutor, a woman, Giuseppa Geremia, who is already working on another mysterious case involving Prodi: the privatization of Cirio-Bertolli-De Luca (CBR), the food division of IRI. Starting in 1992, Italy implemented the largest privatization program in the Western world, involving about one-third of its economy. A reconstruction of how this led to the takeover of banks and industries by foreign financial interests, is worth a book in itself. In such a book, the case of the CBR sale would probably be the most spectacular among several cases of sell-out of a productive firm, by highly dubious procedures, to a foreign cartel.

The Anglo-Dutch cartel Unilever was interested in buying CBR, but only because of its high-quality cooking oil producer, Bertolli. It was clear that, had they won the bid, they would have sold the other two firms belonging to the group. This was against the stated interests of the seller, the Italian state, the owner of CBR through IRI. Nevertheless, Unilever is today the owner of Bertolli. Prodi was advisory director of Unilever during 1990-93. A coincidence? It was Prodi, with a surprise decision, to sell CBR to a just-created Southern Italian consortium, FISVI, for the cheap price of 310 billion liras. FISVI had no money: It paid most of the price by selling Bertolli to Unilever, and then dissolved. It is clear that FISVI was a front for Unilever. Did Prodi, a former adviser to Unilever, know it from the beginning?

Prosecutor Geremia started to investigate the CBR case in 1996. She was not intimidated by the fact that Prodi had in the meantime become head of the government, after winning the elections as leader of a Tony Blair-like "Third Way" coalition. In November 1996, Geremia issued an indictment of

Prodi and the members of the IRI board. Imposimato writes: "Geremia starts to receive a series of intimidations: telephone insults, warnings, threats.... It is the first time in a corruption case, that such heavy intimidations are made.... Threats and insults intensify. The origin is unknown, but the reason seems to lie in that hot investigation into the CBR sale.... [Geremia's] perception is that she has touched powerful interests, of that invisible government acting, with all means, to reach its target.... One evening, going home, she finds an envelope in the mailbox, containing her photo (a press clipping) and a small knife."

Despite the threats, Geremia continues. But when it comes to the judge who has to decide whether to start a trial, the decision is: acquittal. Geremia is ready to appeal the case, but she needs the written sentence, which comes too late: The sentence is published two days after Geremia has been removed to Cagliari.

# The oligarchy

Imposimato is right: Geremia had touched the interests of the "invisible government." Let us try to give a face to this expression, helped by Flamigni's newest book on the Moro case. But before doing that, let us report the following episode.

At the beginning of November 1995, an elderly countess living in London, Malvina Borletti, announced that she was giving a huge fortune, 6 billion liras, as a donation to Prodi and Di Pietro, so that the two of them could get together and found a party. Nobody yet knew that the professor and the super-prosecutor intended to do exactly that. "I know about their intentions," said the countess, "and they are neither unpredictable nor unforeseen." The old aristocrat had anticipated what occurred four years later, in 1999.

This introduces us to the higher level of the "invisible government," of which Countess Borletti is certainly a marginal, but somehow representative, figure. The inner core of the invisible government is in fact represented by the oligarchy, whose economic interests consist of financial property titles and raw materials and land ownership, and whose international center is the City of London. Occasionally, this oligarchy runs industrial activity, but organized in such a way that technological progress is de facto banned and the market is controlled by cartel agreements. These are the groups that invented, and are running, globalization policies.

Let us go back 20 years, to an episode that occurred in 1978, and is discussed in Flamigni's book, among other locations.

In 1978, Di Pietro is an obscure employee in a Milanese firm producing electronic weapons components. Prodi is already a renowned professor, coming from the London School of Economics and running a prestigious private think-tank in Bologna. He is close to the left wing of the Christian Democracy, but he is not a member of the party. On April 2, 1978, seventeen days after Aldo Moro had been kidnapped by the Red Brigades, the professor travels from his home city, Bolo-

54 International EIR January 7, 2000





gna, to Rome, with an extraordinarily important piece of information: "Gradoli" is the place where the terrorists are hiding. The professor gives the information to the General Secretary of the Christian Democracy, Benigno Zaccagnini, who immediately informs Police Minister Francesco Cossiga.

The name Gradoli is well known to the police. A few days after the kidnapping, a police informant had already pointed to "Via Gradoli," and there had even been a search. Politely, the police rang the bell at the door of the terrorist safehouse, an apartment at 96 Via Gradoli, but having received no answer, left.

There was another reason for the police to know the address 96 Via Gradoli very well: In that same building, the secret services owned 24 apartments. And in the front of the building, there was even an office of the secret services—undercover, of course. In 1980, it was discovered that the heads of both the military and the internal secret services, as well as of the police and the Army, were members of the secret masonic Propaganda-2 (P-2) Lodge.

Despite the fact that Via Gradoli is a familiar name in security circles, a huge contingent of police and Army forces, followed by TV camera teams and journalists, is deployed to the small village of Gradoli, 130 km from Rome. The terrorists, thus warned, have plenty of time to leave the safehouse. Who had informed the professor? Prodi alleged that the name Gradoli came out during a seance. It is clear that he wanted to cover the source, possibly because it was close to the Red Brigades. Flamigni writes:

"As concerns the fantastic 'seance' out of which the name Gradoli came, Senator Andreotti [Giulio Andreotti, who in 1978 was Prime Minister], many years ago, stated: 'I never believed the seance story. Probably it was somebody from the

Autonomist milieu [radical left groups] in Bologna, who gave the information. . . .' Police Minister Cossiga, instead, gave immediate credibility to the seance story, so much that he twice sent Police Commissioner Augusto Belisario to Holland, on a mission to consult the extrasensory capacities of the well-known seer, Gerard Croiset."

Quite different is the conclusion reached by Rosario Priore, one of the prosecutors who investigated the case, as quoted by Flamigni:

"This is a most spectacular episode. I often mention the Via Gradoli case because, had we gotten there at the beginning, maybe the history of the Moro kidnapping and of the Red Brigades themselves would be totally different. In a certain sense, Italian history would be different. . . . The whole Gradoli episode has been an enormous defeat, from the beginning, because there was, for sure, knowledge about Via Gradoli . . . Via Gradoli was the center, the heart of the Red Brigades, the operational center of the kidnapping; therefore, had we located and managed Via Gradoli well (it was not necessary to intervene and arrest people), we would have obtained results."

Of course, Prodi's source knew that it was Via Gradoli, and not Gradoli the village. Had Prodi, therefore, revealed his source, the police could have interrogated him or her and maybe saved Moro's life. The current Committee on Terrorism of the Italian Parliament has shown new interest in the case, and invited Prodi to testify. But the professor is very busy in Brussels and cannot go.

#### Palazzo Caetani

The red thread connecting the 1978 Moro case and the 1992-93 Clean Hands operation, in both of which Prodi

EIR January 7, 2000 International 55

played more than a dubious role, is the policy and the role of the oligarchy. By eliminating Moro in 1978, the London-connected Italian oligarchy successfully sabotaged the last noble attempt to bring together otherwise squabbling Italian political factions in a design to somehow defend national interests. The European Labor Party (POE), the party founded by supporters of Lyndon LaRouche in 1974, had exposed this already in 1978, pointing explicitly to the role of former U.S. Secretary of State Sir Henry Kissinger, and of the Italian black oligarchy. As Flamigni aknowledges in his book:

"On Oct. 7, 1978, the POE presented in Milan, during a press conference, a special dossier entitled 'Who Killed Aldo Moro.' According to the POE, the DC [Christian Democratic party] president was the victim of an international conspiracy, led by, among others, Henry Kissinger. In the dossier, among the other things, it was alleged that the Renault R4 used to deliver Moro's corpse, had been 'kept also inside a palazzo near [Via Caetani, where it was found].' In this light, 'it is more than probable that the flat was the one belonging to Prince Johannes Schwarzenberg.... A fascinating detail concerning the house is that, given Schwarzenberg's position in the Order of the Knights of Malta, his palace enjoyed territorial immunity. Moreover, the Prince himself, speaking by telephone soon after the discovery of Moro's corpse, said he was surprised that the police had not even tried to interrogate him.... Prince Schwarzenberg died in a car accident together with his wife, in May [1978]," a few weeks after Moro.

The POE exposure of the oligarchy, of which Schwarzenberg was a representative, corresponded to other elements which investigators had already started to collect in 1978. For instance, a SISMI (military secret service) informant had indicated that a member of the Caetani family was probably the person who interrogated Moro when Moro was prisoner of the Red Brigades. Markevitch, a famous musician, had married Princess Topazia Caetani, from the old and powerful aristocratic family that owned many buildings on the Via Caetani, where Moro's corpse was found. The figure of Markevitch is highly interesting, because he collaborated with British intelligence during World War II, and after the war maintained a close relationship with British Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB) officers, one of whom married another member of the Caetani family.

Another clue showing the close connection among the terrorist Red Brigades, intelligence factions, and the black aristocracy, was found in the Via Gradoli safehouse, when this was finally discovered, on March 18, 1978, in a round-about sort of way. Some notes were found, connecting the leader of the Red Brigades, Mario Moretti, and Marquesa Rossi di Montelera, an aristocratic dame living in Geneva, owner of a real estate holding called Savellia. Savellia's real administrator, however, was an accountant who also worked for the secret service firms owning the apartments on the Via Gradoli. It is ironic to our subject, that one of the two prosecutors who tried to find out more about this connection,

was Ferdinando Imposimato. Imposimato went so far as to issue a warrant to interrogate Henry Kissinger, which Kissinger, of course, ignored. The investigation ended, because it was impossible to interrogate the Marquesa, who lived abroad.

"The noblewoman was cousin of Rep. Luigi Rossi di Montelera," Flamigni writes, "a member of the DC right wing and one of the fiercest internal opponents of Moro's policies. But Rossi di Montelera was also affiliated with the Knights of Malta, one of the sanctuaries that, like the Freemasonic P-2 Lodge, brought together people from the secret service."

### Conclusion

Coming back to the current situation, two conclusions should be drawn: First, that there is ample material to justify a fair, honest, and thorough investigation into allegations against the current European Commission President, Romano Prodi. Such an investigation should also include his partner Antonio Di Pietro, and could be conducted by Italian authorities, as well as by other European institutions. The second conclusion should involve a radical re-thinking of European policies, reversing the tendency toward privatization and globalization, and reestablishing the sovereign powers of the nation-state, the only powers able to guarantee the general welfare, justice, and protection of the individual citizen.

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56 International EIR January 7, 2000