

of a missile. The firing ramp for the missile is just in back of the Rose Garden of the White House. Since it is a missile, it can also backfire.

The point is only whether or not we can survive the bomb. That is the point that all the responsible authorities in Bonn are concerned with. Even there, people are shuddering about the bomb in Washington.

Dr. End-Game, as we visit him in his new, and we hope bomb-secured, alarm station, characterizes the bomb as "Bombenerfolg (a bombastic success), that is the bomb in Washington looking around for successes."

"We are in the special department exclusively dealing with keeping the bomb in the White House under observation," he explains to us.

"Is there any protection against the bomb in Washington?" I ask.

"That is what the whole world is working on feverishly. It is a race against time," he tells us. "According to the recent experience with American technology there is still a certain chance that it might not function when the going gets tough." Dr. End-Game nods to himself absent-mindedly and observes a telex machine. "But you can't absolutely rely on that either," he then opines.

"What are you doing concretely against the bomb?"

"We are having it observed and we are continuously informed of any change in its condition," we hear Dr. End-Game say.

"Wouldn't that be easier if it were done from Washington itself?" I ask. "Then if Bonn or anyone else was interested they could be informed that there was a danger that the bomb was about to go off?"

Dr. End-Game laughed: "Surely you mean the much-cited obligation to consult among alliance partners. No, in Washington, they think it suffices if we take co-responsibility for a decision which was made previously without us. Besides, what you suggest would take away the surprise effect. And after all what are radio and television for?"

"Is there a chance of defusing the bomb?"

"What do you think Schmidt and the other allies are continuously trying to do? The problem is that hardly have they managed to get the trajectory which had once again lost its orientation back on course, disarmed it, when a new horror report comes in. Here, thank you," he then said, and took a telex report.

We read: "Insecurity advisor Brzezinski had just entered the Oval Bomb Room with a kalaschnikoff in his hand, muttering 'God stand by us.'"

"Dr. End-Game, one last question: How long do we have to live with this bomb?"

"If we are lucky, only until the end of the year."

"And if we are not lucky?"

"Much shorter."

THE KREMLIN

'The U.S. is on the brink of madness'

The Soviet Union's immediate response to last week's aborted rescue of American hostages in Iran was to describe it as an action "on the brink of madness" which could easily have led to war over the Persian Gulf. The news agency TASS on April 25 blamed Western Europe for failing to prevent Carter's actions.

Soviet spokesmen then began to hint that a much bigger operation was afoot in Iran than a simple surgical rescue of the hostages, aborted due to mechanical failure. While Moscow is not telling everything it knows—and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko admitted that he is bewildered by what the United States is doing—some indications of the larger dimension of the affair have begun to emerge.

TASS issued a release April 27 charging that the raid was intended to spark a coup against the Ayatollah Khomeini, while the Italian Communist Party daily *Unità* reported April 28 that high-level Soviet circles in the Foreign Ministry and the Communist Party believe that the United States was and may still be planning a larger-scale invasion of Iran, using base facilities in Israel, Egypt and Pakistan.

Unità also reported April 27 that the Soviet Union was quite well informed of U.S. moves throughout the period of the military operation, by radar monitoring in Armenia, Turkmenia and Azerbaijan, and that Soviet diplomatic intervention to block the intervention may well have taken place.

Some sources report that Soviet President Brezhnev was on the telephone "hot line" with President Carter during the mission.

Vance's resignation

The first Soviet public reaction to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's resignation was a TASS comment April 28 that "Carter administration policy will be showing ever more manifestations of adventurism whose symbol Brzezinski is."

A Soviet television commentator said that the resig-

nation "underscores the recklessness of the United States administration's course, which failed to heed his advice." Vance had tried to slow "Washington's slide into an anti-Soviet rut," the commentator said.

Again, Moscow knows more than it is letting on. The stereotyped description of "hawk" Brzezinski vs. "dove" Vance disappeared in the Soviet press several months ago, as *Pravda* declared that both are committed to a policy of confrontation against the Soviet Union. Soviet journals earlier this spring described this confrontation policy as deriving from such institutions of the "financial oligarchy" as the New York Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the Bilderberg Society.

Soviet analysts are now trying to piece together in more profound terms what Vance's resignation will mean. Although the Soviet press has not pointed out Vance's specifically British political ties and the fact that Great Britain is now seeking to lead Europe into a new Atlantic consensus in the aftermath of Carter's debacle an article in the government daily *Izvestia* April 26 described Britain's years-long effort to dominate continental Europe. Washington and London both hope "to strengthen the Atlantic orientation of capitalist Europe, to undermine the position of those circles in France and other countries in the European Community which have advocated an independent foreign policy," wrote London correspondent V. Skosyrev.

The article, which described Great Britain as Washington's "Trojan Horse" in the Common Market, declared that, so far, efforts to "relegate detente to the archives" have failed, since West Germany and France "are convinced of how dangerous the adventuristic actions of the present Washington administration are for world peace."

Moscow is by no means viewing the prospects for a continuation of detente sanguinely, however. TASS April 25 warned Europe that "It might have been expected that the U.S. allies would try to stop the Carter administration in its reckless action, but quite the contrary happened. ...It can certainly not be ruled out that, following Atlanticist logic, the White House will demand from its allies not only applause, but also the dispatch of British, West German and other military forces to Iran..."

The leaders of the West European countries will not be able to keep silent indefinitely, they will have to determine their position."

Pravda April 27 linked the Iran fiasco to NATO's decision last December to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe: "Can anyone in NATO countries still hope after all that the White House would consult them if it thinks of using the missiles deployed in their territories?"

THE PRESS

Some predictions and post-mortems

The press has played a critical role in the unfolding of the Iran crisis scenario. First the press hailed Europe and Japan's capitulation on the sanctions issue to predict an indefinite postponement of any U.S. military action. On April 25 just such a military action, scheduled to take place, was aborted. Press post mortems, advertising the "madness" of the Carter administration, emphasized the necessity of rallying Europe and Japan around an alliance against the Soviet Union.

Times: European capitulation means no military move

The following is excerpted from a New York Times front page article, "U.S. hints at delay in decision to act militarily on Iran," which appeared April 24.

The United States today welcomed the backing it has received from the European allies against Iran and indicated that the Common Market decision to invoke sanctions next month might defer into the summer or later any consideration of American military moves aimed at freeing the hostages in Teheran....

...The European Economic Community decided to reduce immediately diplomatic ties...and to ban all exports to Iran except food or medicine....

In Tokyo, the Japanese government decided to join Western Europe in imposing an initial phase of economic and diplomatic sanctions against Iran....

A senior White House official said that the timing of the allied moves made it all but inevitable that the "reassessment" of American policy toward Iran, previously set for mid-May, would be postponed. Moreover, the allies, soon to be partners in sanctions against Iran, are expected to press for a delay of as much as several months in any further steps....

A long-term strategy to rally the allies'

The following is an excerpt from an OpEd "Carter's 'Fiasco' in Iran," by Stanley Hoffmann, professor of gov-