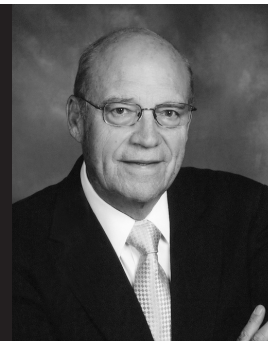




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The Schwarz Report



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Irina Bokova—Red

by Alex Newman

The next United Nations chief may be an unapologetic communist who served a savage dictatorship that murdered hundreds of thousands of people and tortured even more. Her name is Irina Bokova. And thanks to a slick public-relations operation and a team of “former” communist spies running her campaign, there is reportedly a good chance that the Bulgarian Communist Party operative could end up as UN boss in 2017 when current Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon’s term expires.

Bokova currently serves as the chief of the UN “Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization” (UNESCO). But her long career in the service of both internationalism and communism suggests that she has been plotting to move up the UN hierarchy for years. Bokova’s candidacy has backing from top establishment figures in the West, in addition to strong support from key leaders of the East such as Russia’s Vladimir Putin. Establishment media outlets around the world have also been singing her praises while concealing her past. Indeed, Bokova and those backing her should not be underestimated.

Bokova the Communist

Growing up in Bulgaria prior to 1990 was hellish for most people. To get an idea of the atrocities committed by the Soviet puppet regime in Bulgaria, a look at the number of murders it perpetrated is illuminating. In *Statistics of Democide: Democide and Mass Murder since 1900*, political science Professor Emeritus R.J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii estimated the body count racked up by the Bulgarian communists at around 222,000—an especially high number considering that Bulgaria’s population is just over seven million today. Other estimates suggest the death toll is even higher. Many more victims were ruthlessly tortured and persecuted—especially Christians and other religious people, as well as those opposed to communist tyranny.

Despite the fact that the atrocities were well known across Bulgaria, Bokova has a long history of support for communism, the communist party, and its agenda. To start with, she was an enthusiastic youth member of the Bulgarian Communist Party. She later became an adult member and even served in various capacities within the brutal dictatorship.

As a pampered child of the ruling communist elite, Bokova was able to study in Moscow at the mass-murdering Soviet regime’s “prestigious” State Institute of International Relations, which trained future diplomats for international communism. In 1977, Bokova entered into formal service in the People’s Republic of Bulgaria as a third secretary in the regime’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As a devoted communist, she quickly rose through the ranks. Eventually, she worked her way up the ladder to serve as the acting foreign minister for Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, a communist operative who, according to declassified documents, served as an agent for the savage Bulgarian branch of the KGB. Bokova also served two terms in the Bulgarian Parliament as a member of the re-branded Communist Party, which changed its name to the “Bulgarian Socialist Party” in 1990 amid the ostensible collapse of communism.

In Bulgaria, though, even after the formal end of communist tyranny, the communists never went anywhere, despite the name change to “socialists.” Those forces are still in charge today and are responsible for nominating Bokova, who continues her involvement in the re-branded Communist Party, now part of the powerful global-tyranny-promoting Socialist International network.

One analyst with Bulgarian roots who has followed the issue closely is journalist and scholar Tatiana Christy, former managing editor at the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy at Boston University. She explained to *The New American* what was going on amid what was marketed as a transition away from communism. “Unlike other Eastern European countries, which underwent the process of decommunization and lustration, where former members of

the communist oppressive apparatus were banned from taking high public appointments in government, media or academia, Bulgaria still remains very much in the hold of the former communist nomenclatura and its descendants,” explained Christy, who has written about Bokova’s candidacy in a variety of outlets.

“Bokova is a pure product of the communist nomenclatura—propelled by her privileged ancestry during communism and later by her former communist connections to top diplomatic posts,” Christy continued, calling it a “disgrace” and an “obscene offense” to victims of the communist regime that Bokova was being considered for the UN post. “She comes straight out of a political strata responsible for the horrors of the communist regime in her country. People like Bokova never saw a competition for her appointments at home because outsiders would not have been allowed to even approach those political circles. Her entire political career is a result of her membership in the Bulgarian Socialist Party (the former Communist Party) behind whose agenda she stood all her life.”

Other independent analysts from Bulgaria also emphasized to *The New American* that Bokova has never repudiated her communist past. “Irina Bokova, the Bulgarian candidate, has demonstrated that not only in [the] past but currently she has been serving the ideology of the outrageous communism from pre-1989,” explained International Institute of Anthropology Research Professor Lolita Nikolova, a US-based Bulgarian who is working to oppose Bokova’s candidacy. “After the nomination, she continues the propaganda of the anti-humanistic communism by organizing a campaign in Bulgaria led by a former secret agent from the communist regime.” Bokova’s candidacy, she added, “endangers the world.”

In interviews with former Bulgarian officials, investigators, journalists, and others, *The New American* found that understanding of the facts surrounding Bokova was widespread in Bulgaria.

Bokova the Progressive Internationalist

Today, Bokova portrays herself as a progressive globalist and humanist leading the way to a progressive globalist/humanist new order. In her job as chief of UNESCO, she denounces all the safe targets—ISIS, anti-Semitism, extremism, violence, and so on—while supporting everything good, such as jazz and “tolerance.” However, even in recent years, her statements and actions in defense of communist tyranny have been alarming. In 2014, for example, she appointed Peng Liyuan, wife of brutal Communist Chinese dictator Xi Jinping, to serve as her “Special Envoy” for female education. “You are an immense role model for millions of young girls in China and

beyond,” Bokova told the dictator’s wife at a ceremony in Paris. Bokova also joined communist dictators from around the world at Putin’s Soviet Communism-themed “Victory Day” festivities in Moscow last year.

She is also proudly leading UNESCO’s efforts, in open partnership with the Obama administration, to standardize and control indoctrination around the world under the guise of “education.” “UNESCO was founded to promote the principles of humanism,” boasted Bokova, adding that this was still the mission. A year ago, after a UN global “education” summit in Korea, Bokova also boasted of her efforts to indoctrinate children around the world. “We have the collective duty to empower every child and youth with the right foundations—knowledge, values, and skills—to shape the future as responsible *global citizens*,” she said. (Emphasis added.) Her admitted globalist, humanist, “progressive” values are, of course, fundamentally incompatible with traditional American liberties and Judeo-Christian values.

The “Little KGB” Behind Bokova

But despite the superficial transformation from communist diplomat to internationalist executive, the evidence suggests Bokova’s intimate links to the communist system and its mass-murdering operatives in Bulgaria remain as active as ever. Indeed, her campaign team for the top UN post, for example, is literally dominated by “former” spies for what became known, for good reason, as the “little KGB,” the secret “State Security” police of the mass-murdering regime that enslaved Bulgaria for generations and massacred hundreds of thousands of victims.

This spring, when authorities in Bulgaria unveiled the official campaign committee, the names sent shock waves through Bulgaria. The official campaign team is dominated by known communist agents, who were exposed in declassified government documents and are known to have perpetrated countless crimes in the service of international communism. Indeed, even the chief of the campaign team is a prominent former spy for the Soviet-backed regime.

The former New York-based communist spy leading Bokova’s UN election campaign, Rajko Rajchev, joined the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1982, according to official records. He was described by his brutal superiors in declassified regime files as “very well prepared ideologically.” In other words, Bokova’s campaign chief was a committed communist.

In addition to his job as Bokova’s UN campaign chief, Rajchev is director-general of “Global Issues” at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which organized the campaign team. If and when Bokova takes the top spot at the UN, Rajchev is certain to play a key role in her

administration. But Rajchev is hardly the only “former” communist security operative to run “former” communist Bokova’s campaign to lead the UN.

Another seven members of Bokova’s UN election committee, at least, are also reported to be ex-spies for the communist regime’s “state security” apparatus. In a post headlined “Outrageous! Seven team members working for Bokova—State Security agents,” Bulgarian media outlet Faktor.bg slammed the developments. “The metastasis of the communist secret services in the Foreign Ministry is intact, casting a dark stain on Bulgaria,” it said. The whole team orchestrating Bokova’s candidacy is “full of Chekists—the faithful guardians of the totalitarian communist regime in Bulgaria,” the report added.

Scandals Plague Bokova Camp

In addition to her communism and globalism, there are a number of scandals swirling around Bokova and her candidacy for UN secretary-general. Most recently, unanswered corruption questions have been raised about a number of luxury properties she owns, including a Manhattan apartment worth more than \$3 million. She also reportedly owns properties worth more than \$1 million each in London and in Paris, according to an investigation by Bulgarian watchdog Bivol. How she could afford to own luxury properties across multiple countries on a “civil servant’s salary” has raised serious questions. Atanas Tchobanov, a Bivol investigator in Paris, described how his investigative service analyzed and investigated the cost of the real estate owned by Bokova and her husband. “The numbers don’t add up,” he explained.

In her post as secretary-general of UNESCO, there have also been multiple red flags raised, including allegations of major procedural violations, conflicts of interest, and more in her appointment of a crony with fake qualifications to a top job. Bokova also tried to quash an internal report outlining the scandal to avoid impeachment. Bivol’s Tchobanov also said there are still “many questions” surrounding Bokova’s tenure at UNESCO that cast doubt on whether she is qualified to head the UN. Among them: the appointment of Anita Thompson-Flores, who did not meet the requirements for the job.

“So that was a big scandal. Bokova should still be accountable,” Tchobanov said. “She was questioned by the UNESCO board, according to documents we published. She is still using resources from the organization to promote her campaign, and traveling on UNESCO expenses.”

The communist Bulgarian operative was also caught falsifying information about her own qualifications, which she downplayed as a mere oversight. On her official biography posted at UNESCO’s website, she claimed to have

been Bulgaria’s foreign minister, when in fact she only served as “acting” minister and was never confirmed to the position. She also claimed to have “Harvard education” despite spending barely a month there.

The Globalist Establishment’s Choice for NWO Puppet “Front-runner”

Despite the facts outlined above, Bokova continues to be touted in the establishment press as the leading candidate for the top UN post. *The New American* first reported on the controversial candidacy of Bokova more than a year ago, when the current UNESCO chief was declared by establishment propaganda outlets to be the “front-runner” to lead the UN. *Time* magazine, for example, touted her as “one of the favorites” in April, never once mentioning her communist background. Also in April, the U.K. *Daily Mail* reported that the “Putin ally” was the “favorite to take the top job” at the UN after the current secretary-general, Ban Ki-moon, steps down at the end of 2016. Former Bulgarian communist spy Georgi Gotev, now a senior editor at the tax-funded news service *EurActiv*, has been relentlessly supporting her bid for months. Writers for *The Hill*, the *Economist*, *AFP*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *The Guardian*, the *Washington Post*, and other establishment organs have similarly touted Bokova as the “front-runner.”

The *Financial Times*, meanwhile, a newspaper that is always well represented at the shadowy international Bilderberg meetings, was among the early voices to suggest she was the “front-runner.” “It is perhaps no coincidence that of all the candidates touted so far the one most often considered to be the frontrunner is Irina Bokova,” reported David Clark, chair of the mysterious “Russia Foundation” and a PR operative, in one of several pieces touting Bokova. He also claimed she “ticks many of the right boxes” and, in addition to solid support from Moscow and the “East,” was “said to be acceptable” to the Obama administration.

Interestingly, the *Times* gave a remarkably candid assessment of what Bokova’s role would be in leading humanity toward the much-touted globalist goal of a “New World Order.” “The growing demands from emerging countries [governments and dictators] of the Global South for a UN that reflects twenty-first century realities adds a new factor to an already complex equation,” claimed Clark. “The old order is dying but a new one has scarcely been conceived. Whoever ends up being tasked with responsibility for managing that change will need considerable skill to ensure that the UN is still capable of contributing to a peaceful, rules-based world order.”

As mentioned above, both the Obama administra-

tion and the Kremlin reportedly support her candidacy. They also helped her secure her current post as head of UNESCO. There are several high-ranking officials in Washington, D.C., including US Deputy Secretary of State Anthony Blinken, who are said to be very cozy with the communist operative. Former Democrat New Mexico Governor and UN Ambassador Bill Richardson in the United States has also emerged as a powerful cheerleader for Bokova. The brutal communist dictatorship in Beijing also reportedly would support the Bokova candidacy, as would the Socialist Party-controlled French government.

The Threat of Communists in the UN

What does Bokova's candidacy mean for the United States, for Bulgaria, and for the world? A great deal.

For one, the candidacy shows clearly that the alleged "transition" from communism in Bulgaria was not all it was cracked up to be. But it may be even worse than it seems on the surface. Despite the ostensible collapse of communist slavery in Eastern Europe, the criminals and mass murderers, in many cases, remain at large and, as in Bulgaria, are now often in positions of power at the national or even regional level in Brussels. None of this should be surprising to longtime readers of this magazine, but the implications are enormous.

Among those who foretold precisely what is now coming out into the open in Bulgarian politics was Soviet KGB defector Anatoliy Golitsyn, who worked in communist disinformation and deception operations. Arguably the most important defector ever, virtually all of his predictions about long-term communist plans have come to pass, according to experts who have analyzed his track record. What he had to say is perhaps more relevant today, in light of Bokova's candidacy, than it has ever been.

After defecting to the West, Golitsyn warned of a long-range strategy being pursued by international communists involving supposed "liberalization" in Eastern Europe and the apparent collapse of the Soviet Union. In his 1984 book *New Lies for Old*, Golitsyn argued that the partial communist "suppression" of Eastern European anti-communist movements in the early 1980s was in fact part of the deception—an effort to dupe the West into believing that they represented genuine opposition, even while the communists remained in power.

Eventually, according to Golitsyn, those same communists would return openly to power, sometimes in coalitions with the infiltrated "opposition" that was guided from Moscow. On the creation of coalition governments with those components and much more, Golitsyn's prediction proved exactly correct. "Western acceptance of the new 'liberalization' as genuine would create favorable condi-

tions for the fulfillment of communist strategy for the United States, Western Europe, and even, perhaps, Japan," he wrote. In Bulgaria, the strategy appears to have been meticulously followed. Former Soviet dictator Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking in London in 2001, approvingly referred to the EU as the "new European Soviet."

Another key disinformation operation involved the phony "Sino-Soviet split," which was manufactured for public consumption in the West. Golitsyn also exposed what, in his understanding, was the end goal. "When the right moment comes the mask will be dropped and the Russians with Chinese help will seek to impose their system on the West on their own terms as the culmination of a 'Second October Socialist Revolution,'" he wrote in his 1995 follow-up book, *The Perestroika Deception*. The UN would logically be a crucial vehicle for the agenda. So the fact that one of the leading candidates for secretary-general has for decades been a communist operative should be viewed in context—the communists never left; instead, they made long-range plans, which appear to be coming to fruition.

The Same All Around?

There are seven other main candidates for the next UN secretary-general, and every one of them is either a communist, a socialist, a globalist, or all of the above—and all of them would undoubtedly contribute to the efforts to empower the UN and what globalists refer to as the "New World Order." Those figures include António Guterres of Portugal, who led the Socialist International, the powerful global alliance of socialist and communist political parties around the world seeking to build a planetary socialist regime (and includes Bulgaria's re-named Communist Party). Another lead contender is Slovenia's Danilo Türk, whose past is also replete with communist activities and leadership positions.

But it does not have to be bad news. While a corrupt communist globalist at the top of the UN may be seen as a major boost to forces seeking to reduce liberty and national sovereignty around the world, it might also be a major opportunity for freedom-loving Americans.

Victims of the "former" communist regime in Bulgaria have been denouncing the "shameful" effort to push Bokova. For instance, a petition against Bokova's candidacy aimed at the UN Security Council is being circulated by Bulgarians, noting that authorities in the capital, Sofia, had nominated her despite the opposition of most of the public. "Irina Bokova is supported by profoundly anti-democratic political forces in Bulgaria," it reads. "Her nomination comes as a result of their threats to bring down the government of Bulgaria. . . . We are appalled

by her association with the brutal and corrupt Communist system to which she owes her entire career.” In Bulgaria, of course, this is all common knowledge. Outside of it, however, the press has gone out of its way to conceal the truth. While the international media has so far failed to report the most troubling details about Bokova, *The New American’s* online articles exposing what is common knowledge in Bulgaria have made headlines across the Eastern European nation and beyond.

And Bokova’s bid for UN secretary-general could actually be good news for broader American efforts to have the US government finally withdraw from and defund the entire UN system. After all, if a proven communist surrounded by “ex”-communist spies and accused of serious allegations of corruption can be selected to lead the UN, the “dictators club” cannot possibly be worthy of US funding or support. In fact, under Bokova’s leadership, American funding for UNESCO, which openly celebrates its efforts to shape children’s values and education around the world, has already been yanked. Despite the Obama administration’s huffing and puffing, US law bans taxpayer funding of any international organization that admits the “State of Palestine” as a member state, which UNESCO did in 2011 under Bokova. The blow to UNESCO caused by the loss of US funding has been devastating.

And that is excellent news for efforts to get the United States out of the UN. Legislation sitting in the US Congress’ House Foreign Affairs Committee, the American Sovereignty Restoration Act, would withdraw the US government from the UN and evict its spy-infested headquarters from American soil. So as top communist “security” operatives scramble to install their agent at the head of the UN with apparent support from Western internationalists, it is a great chance for Americans to see the light, and ditch the dictators club once and for all. As regular readers of this magazine know well, the future of liberty and self-government around the world depends, if not on divine intervention, then on a major educational awakening by the American people. If supporters of liberty play their cards right, perhaps Bokova’s candidacy can help bring that about.

—*New American*, July 4, 2016, p 17f

Ana Belen Montes—Red

by Devin Nunes

The Obama administration is reportedly in secret negotiations with Cuba that would result in the release from federal prison of one of the most damaging American spies in US history. Such an extraordinary gesture would be preposterous for many reasons.

Ana Belén Montes, who is serving a 25-year sentence as part of a 2002 plea deal, was a US Justice Department official with a top-secret security clearance when she was approached by Cuban intelligence agents in 1984. At the time the Cuban regime ran a pervasive spying program against the US, as it still does today, though then it often acted in conjunction with the Soviet Union. A devoted sympathizer of radical Latin American regimes, Ms. Montes quickly agreed to spy for Havana, thus beginning a 16-year-long betrayal of the US.

As prosecutors later showed, Ms. Montes took a secret trip to Cuba to meet with her new spymasters, then sought government positions with greater access to classified information that would be useful to the Castro regime. In 1985 she began working for the Defense Intelligence Agency, which specializes in military intelligence. Ms. Montes quickly rose through DIA ranks, eventually becoming the agency’s leading Cuba analyst. She was granted access to top-secret classified information that she would memorize at work and type up at home, later passing the information to her Cuban handlers.

As I conveyed in a July 12 letter to President Obama, it is difficult to overstate the damage caused by Ms. Montes’s treachery. In May 2012, Michelle Van Cleave, the former head of US counterintelligence who oversaw completion of the damage assessment on Ms. Montes, told Congress that her activities likely “contributed to the death and injury of American and pro-American forces in Latin America,” and that she compromised other, broader intelligence programs.

Nevertheless, press reports indicate that the Obama administration is considering releasing Ms. Montes to the Castro regime as part of a prisoner swap for American fugitives from justice now sheltered in Cuba.

This exchange would be part of the administration’s

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campaign to normalize ties with Cuba, which has included restoring diplomatic relations, loosening sanctions, and removing Cuba from the list of state sponsors of terrorism. Hopes that the Castro regime would reciprocate by granting basic freedoms to the Cuban people and releasing political prisoners have gone unfulfilled.

The abundant incentives that President Obama offered to get Iran last year to sign a nuclear deal have already shown how far this administration will go to curry favor with hostile powers. As we saw in 2014 with the trade of five dangerous Taliban prisoners for Army Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl—now arraigned on charges of desertion and misbehavior before the enemy in Afghanistan—this president has odd ideas about what constitutes a beneficial prisoner swap. Even so, releasing Ms. Montes cannot be tolerated.

In the past, the US has deported or traded captured foreign spies, but it is extremely rare to trade American citizens who have betrayed their country. Doing so would be especially egregious in these circumstances. The American government should not pay the Castro regime a bribe, in the form of a released American spy, in hopes of advancing normalization.

Ms. Montes' release would send a dangerous message that convicted spies may be able to secure a deal through the foreign government that employed them. Potential traitors to this country should know that betraying America will bring harsh penalties, without exception or the potential for a get-out-of-jail-free card.

"Prison is one of the last places I would have ever chosen to be in, but some things in life are worth going to prison for," an unrepentant Ms. Montes wrote to a relative, the *Washington Post* reported in 2013. If releasing American traitors from prison is the cost of "normalizing" relations with Cuba, then clearly that price is too high.

—*The Wall Street Journal*, July 15, 2016, p. A11

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Ethel Rosenberg—Red

by Ronald Radosh

There is a consensus among historians that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were spies who gave the Soviet Union valuable military information and even prototypes of mechanisms related to the atomic bomb acquired from Ethel's brother, David Greenglass. Other atomic-related data were gathered from Russell McNutt, who worked on gaseous diffusion at the Oak Ridge nuclear facility that was part of the Manhattan Project.

Yet, every few years, another book comes out on the case, either challenging the couple's guilt or minimizing the nature of their espionage. A new approach is now emerging that focuses not on the question of their guilt but on Judge Irving Kaufman's decision to issue the death sentence, the Rosenbergs' execution, and the international protests that followed, which damaged America's reputation. The publication of *Executing the Rosenbergs* coincides with a recent campaign by the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, to pressure President Obama to posthumously exonerate Ethel Rosenberg, affirming that she was unfairly convicted and, therefore, not guilty. A pardon would be unacceptable to them because they consider their mother to be completely innocent.

There is also a consensus among historians, including those who acknowledge the Rosenbergs' guilt, that the death sentence was ill-advised. At the time, many thought the sentence extreme, especially when compared with the British sentence for atomic spy Klaus Fuchs, who served a relatively short time in prison and, when released, went to East Germany, where he had a successful career in physics working for its Communist regime. Moreover, executing the Rosenbergs gave the international Communist movement a major propaganda victory: It was able to arouse sympathy for the doomed couple and vilify America because the United States was executing a mother of young children, who would be left as orphans, and because many believed evidence of Ethel Rosenberg's actual guilt was either slight or nonexistent.

Lori Clune argues all of these points as if they were new revelations. Her main thesis is that there was opposition to the sentence in 80 cities abroad, and in 48 different nations, most of them in Europe. She makes much of her discovery of two lost boxes of State Department records in the National Archives that contain the reports from American diplomats abroad on the continuing protests.

Professor Clune deserves credit for conducting a prodigious amount of research in these records, as well as in various archival collections in the United States. But the results of her research contribute little that is new about the case and its aftermath except to fill in some details. Indeed, the reader becomes quickly numbed to messages from one diplomat after another, all saying much the same thing: European Communists are waging a major propaganda campaign and seem to be gaining influence; scores of luminaries are upset about the death sentence and want the American president to override it with executive clemency; the diplomats are unable to answer the protesters without State Department talking points about the case.

Only one of these reports, by my reading, is of impor-

tance: C. Douglas Dillon, the American ambassador to France, asking Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to reconsider the Eisenhower administration's decision to refuse the Rosenbergs clemency. Dillon stressed that all the French were upset about was what they considered "unjustifiable punishment," making a distinction between Julius's guilt and Ethel's apparent role as an accessory. The majority of the French, and not just Communists, he wrote, believed that the death sentence was "completely unjustified." Dillon also added that his embassy staff believed that if the "death sentence is carried out, this will have a most harmful long term effect on the opinion and attitude of the French people towards the United States." Communist propaganda would continue, he advised, but the long-term effect of the executions would damage all foreign views of the United States "and of our whole democratic processes."

Dillon's analysis is the most comprehensive and insightful of all the messages Professor Clune cites. The rest of this volume, if the long messages are omitted, summarizes the origins and trajectory of the Cold War, the lack of response by both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations to the foreign protests, and reverberations from the case at home and abroad. It is in these sections that Clune, who wants to appear nuanced and balanced, reveals her strong ideological view of both the Rosenberg case and the Cold War, downplaying the role the Communists (directed by Moscow) played in disseminating anti-American propaganda and encouraging protests.

For example, Clune accurately notes that the Vassiliev KGB files reveal how Moscow tried to orchestrate its campaign in the West, advising that arguments should be made about the trial's real purpose to create a "spy mania" that might turn the United States "completely fascist." But she argues that these points appeared only in Communist newspapers for a few months, "or had little to do with the protest." She knows that the KGB advised that the propaganda be placed not in Communist papers but in the independent non-Communist press, but she doesn't realize that many of these supposedly non-Communist left-wing newspapers were actually controlled by Communists.

In the United States, for example, the campaign started when a fellow-traveling "independent" left-wing paper, the *National Guardian*, used all the KGB directives to sow doubt about the Rosenbergs' guilt. Its articles aroused the passions of its readers, and two of them began a major American effort to free the Rosenbergs and urge clemency. Clune blandly describes the *National Guardian* as a "progressive" weekly, not one run by pro-Soviet fellow travelers and edited by secret Communist party members.

A similar pattern emerged in Europe, especially in France. Clune writes that the left-wing paper *L'Humanité* claimed the Rosenbergs were "ordinary young American non-Communists persecuted solely for their progressive ideas," and the charges were "trumped up" by Democrats "anxious" to prove they were "as good as Republicans at massacring 'reds.'"

Clune does not seem to be aware that *L'Humanité* was not a non-Communist leftist paper but the official newspaper of the French Communist party. Later she writes, "Novelist Howard Fast's article in the French left-wing paper *L'Humanité* . . . highlighted judicial irregularities and argued for the couple's innocence." Yet she fails to inform readers that Howard Fast was a member of the American Communist party and a prominent leader of its cultural section.

When Clune turns to the protests, she argues that American officials were surprised "when European protests began to spread beyond Communists to Socialists and other liberals." This is not quite accurate: Ambassador James Clement Dunn had predicted that the Communist campaign for the Rosenbergs was about to be started with full force. Later he "credited the 'Commie campaign' with some success." Dunn, of course, was correct and was not at all surprised by the outcome. To further support her effort to downplay the role of the Communists, Clune mentions that the leader of the Italian Socialist party, Pietro Nenni, had written to President Truman on behalf of the Rosenbergs. But Nenni was not an anti-Communist socialist; he was the very leader who had forged an alliance with the Communists in Italy, for which he received the Stalin Peace Prize in Moscow.

Professor Clune consistently portrays Communists as independent leftists, as well as exaggerating the numbers involved in protests. Concentrating on Canada, for example, she cites 75 members of the Canadian Rosenberg committee protesting at the American consulate in Montreal; but 75 people is not necessarily evidence of a mass protest. When 2,000 turned out for a rally in Toronto's Massey Hall, the leaflet for the event (reproduced in the book) shows that Albert E. Kahn was the featured speaker. Kahn, another secret American Communist, was

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the author of a book entitled *The Great Conspiracy* (1946), in which he tried to prove that the United States, during World War II, had been engaged in a giant conspiracy to smash the Soviet Union and destroy world socialism. (Kahn later started a publishing firm secretly funded by the Soviet Union, and since the release of the Venona papers, the evidence has indicated that he was most likely also a spy for the Soviets who gave them information about anti-Soviet Ukrainians living in America.)

Intent on heralding the protests in Europe, Clune actually writes that “Jewish leaders in Hungary supported the Rosenbergs”—as if Jewish leaders permitted to subsist in a Communist state, controlled by Moscow, had any other choice. And turning to America, she writes, “Famous African-American actors and singers, such as Paul Robeson and Harry Belafonte, also spoke out for the Rosenbergs.” Robeson, of course, was a secret Communist party member and outspoken apologist for the Soviet Union, and Belafonte was then (as he is now) a leftist sympathetic to the Soviet Union, now a supporter of Cuba and Venezuela. Clune also notes that a group called the Civil Rights Congress “led crowds picketing the national headquarters of the Republican Party.” But the CRC was the major Communist front organization in the United States, controlled and staffed exclusively by Communists.

Clune portrays both Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower as political leaders who were not sincerely for peace. She indicts Truman for getting tough with the Soviet Union and attributes his policies not to aggressive Soviet behavior leading to the Cold War but the desire to avoid charges that he was soft on communism: “Already under fire from the Republicans. . . . Truman decided he could not be gentle with the only spies they were able to indict.” No evidence is offered to sustain this judgment, and of course, it was not Truman but the United States Attorney in New York that indicted the Rosenbergs after evaluating the evidence. Similarly, she claims Eisenhower’s 1953 “Chance for Peace” disarmament speech,

delivered shortly after Stalin’s death, “was not a sincere peace proposal” because it would “force” the Soviets to alter their Cold War policies. In Clune’s eyes, evidently, the Cold War was started not by Stalin but by the United States, whose Democratic and Republican leaders were always provoking the Soviet Union.

In her conclusion, Clune writes that Julius Rosenberg spied for the Soviets “as a way to fight fascism” and began his espionage “after the Germans invaded the Soviet Union.” She calls him “idealistic and naïve” because he continued to spy for Moscow after the Soviet Union had been proved to be an “authoritarian” regime. (“Totalitarian” regime, of course, would be a more accurate description.) And as for fighting fascism as a motive, Clune ignores the fact that, during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact, Julius Rosenberg had asked another Communist friend, Abe Osheroff, to help him pass armament technology to Moscow. Moreover, the Rosenbergs weren’t simply fighting fascism: They were spying for the Soviet Union for five years after the end of World War II. Indeed, by 1948, the only way the Rosenbergs could have claimed antifascism as a motive is if they had considered the Truman administration to be fascist—which is what the American Communist party argued. It was loyalty to the Soviet Union, not opposition to fascism, that motivated Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Clune bemoans the fact that, by refusing to admit that they were spies, as their codefendant Morton Sobell did in 2008, the Rosenbergs “discredited the political left, both in the United States and around the world.” But in reality, the left discredited itself by taking positions and actions dictated by Moscow to gain support within America and the West for the Cold War waged by Stalin and his successors. Nor is Clune correct when, in her final paragraph, she argues that “Cold War terror and paranoia drove the US government to prosecute the couple.” The Rosenbergs were prosecuted because they ran a Soviet spy network that did great damage to America’s national security.

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