

the U.S. embassy and a U.S. naval base at Yokosuka. The police claimed they had seized 450 documents with attack plans and survey maps. Even before the Kyodo raid, police in Chiba, east of Tokyo, seized another 450 documents during an Oct. 21 raid at the hideout of a "leftist" group identified as the "Middle Core Faction." Police refused to reveal their contents.

Since the Oct. 9 terror bombing in Rangoon, Burma, launched by Kim Il Sung with Soviet backing, an outraged South Korea had urged Japan to crack down on elements of the Korean community in Japan suspected of being linked to Kim. On Nov. 7, two days before President Reagan's arrival in Tokyo, Japan's chief cabinet secretary, Masaharu Gotoda, taking aim at North Korea, announced the imposition of restrictions which forbid Japanese government officials from visiting North Korea and North Korean officials from coming to Japan. Contacts between North Korean and Japanese officials in third countries will be curtailed, no aircraft will be allowed to fly between the two countries, and controls will be tightened on the entry of other North Koreans into Japan.

Tanaka's intense opposition to him.

Following his LDP opponents' decision to pull back, Nakasone moved to outflank them, leaking on Nov. 2 that he is prepared to hold early Lower House elections, perhaps by December. Nakasone's backers believe the visits of Reagan, Kohl, and Hu will boost his popularity. They also think that financially powerful Tanaka faction forces will throw everything they have into the campaign since Tanaka has no alternative. Finally, if the LDP is able to limit its losses to 15 seats in the Lower House, the results will be considered a personal victory for Nakasone. With this victory and the backing of the Tanaka faction, Nakasone will hold strong cards going into the 1984 party primary.

Even before Nakasone's election ploy, it was obvious to Reagan administration experts that the Tanaka ruling could mean instability for the LDP. Both Pentagon and National Security Council (NSC) officials had made clear to the President that any visible pressure behind the U.S. effort to break open the Japanese domestic market on beef and citrus produce could be disastrous. The most powerful segments of the LDP are located in agricultural districts, and American pressure could reduce LDP vote totals in those areas.

Now, with the likelihood of early Lower House elections, the pressure on the White House to soften protectionist issues has intensified. White House sources say the "Tanaka affair" will force the U.S. entourage to "walk on eggshells" while in Japan. If these issues of subsidence in significance during Reagan's visit, Nakasone will be strengthened domestically.

## Italy's Craxi and the Third Rome 'Concordat'

by Umberto Pascali

Italians have been bombarded in recent days by photos and newsreel clips of U.S. President Ronald Reagan smiling and talking with Bettino Craxi, while in the background they glimpse the ambiguous, satisfied smile of Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti. Then came the announcement that Craxi will go to Hungary to mediate between East and West with the approval of Washington and, as anyone who knows how to read between the lines can conclude, with the benediction of powerful forces in the leadership of the Vatican.

At the same time, the "peace movement" is invading Rome from all over the world and, in an unprecedented development, has received the total and unconditional support of almost all the mass Catholic organizations, unceremoniously pushing aside the Christian Democratic Party, the mass-based party which has until now nominally been the Catholic political arm in Italy. An attentive observer immediately grasps that the repeated declarations of Craxi in favor of the installation of the Euromissiles and his sly polemics against the "pacifists" do not touch the substance of things as far as U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations go. The level at which Craxi and Andreotti are moving is much more complex: It corresponds to Henry Kissinger's plan of abandoning Western Europe to Moscow's expansionist aims.

To understand this situation, it is necessary to concentrate attention on certain factors of fundamental importance beyond the banality and superficiality of the mass media and the various propaganda fanfares. Above all it is clear that the formation of the Craxi-Andreotti government responds to diplomatic and strategic needs of the group inside the Vatican headed by Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, architect of the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*, or "opening to the East." Very probably this is what is making a government indestructible which, in "normal" conditions, would be weak and

short-lived, especially after the resounding defeat it recently took in parliament on a major housing bill. What is the viewpoint of these Vatican forces?

It seems that since 1956, after the defeat of the Hungarian uprising, Vatican diplomacy has considered an expansion of Soviet influence in Western Europe as inevitable—only a question of time. Therefore, with the advent of Andropov (the man who first allowed the Hungarian rebellion to explode, and then repressed it), one holds talks, and one makes deals. The fact that at this time the strategic beam weapons systems proposed by the U.S. government change the situation radically by putting the West in a position of defending itself does not seem to have changed much in the Vatican.

Consequently, we have witnessed the lineup of Catholic organizations and religious orders alongside the “pacifists,” while with messianic spirit the Italian Communist Party Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer goes to Assisi to meet the leaders of the Franciscan order, to work out plans for “peace” and joint Catholic-Communist rallies. On Oct. 20 the Pope, receiving Cardinal François Marty on his way back from an “ecumenical pilgrimage” and meetings with the heads of the Eastern Church, stated that “one cannot as a Christian, or better, as a Catholic, only breathe with one lung; we need two lungs, one Western and one Eastern.” The Pope also asked for an intensification of the ecumenical thrust toward the Orthodox Church.

It is clear that the Vatican strategy contemplates a “dialogue” with the purpose of re-evangelization, a “dialogue” that must necessarily pass through ecumenical accords with the Orthodox Church, the Church of the Third Rome. Hence Andreotti, from the United States, showing notable clairvoyant powers, announced that he foresees that before long the U.S.S.R. will make a new proposal on the Euromissiles. To the question of whether he was thinking that such a possible proposal by the U.S.S.R. would have only propaganda value, Andreotti replied with evident annoyance that “If we continue to always have mutual mistrust, nothing good will be done.” The foreign minister also stressed that he is sure that a faction of “hards” exists in Moscow, which is the same as saying that there is also a faction of “softs” with whom one can deal. A few days earlier, speaking at the Food and Agriculture Organization conference of the United Nations in Rome, Andreotti himself had declared that the problem of hunger in the world will be resolved more with East-West agreements than by new North-South relations.

We do not know how big a part was played, in the context of Andreotti’s and Craxi’s visit to the United States, by certain illusions President Reagan has about the presidential election, nor do we know how real the understandings between the U.S. President and the two Italian government leaders may be. But what Kissinger’s faction is trying to do is very clear. Craxi as usual is taking the initiative, but not for the sake of Western interests. Yuri Andropov essentially wants two things to guarantee the possibility of moving his plans for political and military aggression forward: to stop

the thrust toward a massive development of defensive beam-weapons systems and prevent the United States and the West from getting out of the spiral of the depression. Craxi has never wanted to take a position on the new defensive systems, not even indirectly. As far as the economic question goes, it is important to note that what Andreotti has asked the United States to immediately increase its quota of participation in the International Monetary Fund as Italy did in October from 3,121 to 4,882 billion liras. Andreotti hence asked exactly for that policy which would ratify the supranational dictatorship of the IMF and result in the triumph of the usury and austerity which is bringing the West rapidly toward a worse collapse than that of 1929.

Craxi also wants, at this point, dictatorial political and institutional level—what could be defined as a coup strategy. Since the government was put into the minority on the unconstitutional housing bill Craxi called parliament a “zoo of bulls,” although he had to eat his words a few days later. Craxi turned up in Athens for the meeting of Socialist prime ministers of the Mediterranean countries, hosted by that Andreas Papandreu who is preparing to jump out of NATO and into the Warsaw Pact. Craxi’s top deputy, Claudio Martelli, specified that “parliament is badly put together and anyway largely out of date. It is not complex: It is uselessly complicated and archaic.”

It should be noted that Craxi was preceded to the United States by the neo-Fascist Giorgio Almirante, head of the MSI party which took over the “unreconstructed” Mussolinians from the outlawed National Fascist Party. Almirante publicly declared his boundless admiration for Craxi and his firm intention to vote for a socialist candidate for the election of the next president of the republic, the formal head of the Italian state.

The debate on the “institutional reform” is meanwhile heating up. Once Parliament is out of the picture, *de facto* if not *de jure*, it would be relatively simple to pilot Italy toward the foreign policy desired by whomever holds the reins of power. Would a real coup d’état be possible at that point? It is a question which does not seem academic. In late October, Prince Amedeo d’Aosta, the cousin of the last king of Italy whose name has often been mooted to head a restored monarchy, repeated in an interview that a Craxi government is perfectly in tune with a monarchical regime. Moreover the entire “royal” family of the Savoy (deposed in the 1946 referendum that made Italy a republic), minus “heir apparent” Victor Emmanuel and his young son, who are forbidden by the Italian Constitution to re-enter national territory, was received in the Vatican by the Pope. They presented as a gift the Holy Shroud and Golden Rose given to Queen Elena by Pius XI at the moment of the Concordat and conciliation between the Italian state and the Vatican in 1929. The prime minister at that time was named Benito Mussolini.

Does this scenario reflect reality? A pile of illusions, plots, double-crosses, and clamorous miscalculations will not necessarily turn into reality.