

Spanish police officers were dragging the ETA leader to the border, the French authorities intervened, arresting the Spanish officers and freeing the ETA leader. The Spanish officers have been in a French jail more than a month now.

In the first week after the arrests, the French ambassador in Madrid received over 7,000 angry letters from Spaniards demanding the release of the four officers.

There is no doubt that France has succumbed to the combined pressures of the KGB and Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi in offering ETA a sanctuary. The French government's impotent response to Qaddafi's genocide in French-speaking Chad is part of a package which includes a "non-aggression pact" signed with ETA by the French government. Another limited treaty was signed with the Corsican separatist FNLC to assure Mitterrand's recent visit to Corsica.

Although some local Socialist Party elected officials in the French Basque curry favor with ETA "refugees," it is well known that the real problem is Mitterrand's special advisers, the Che Guevara epigone Regis Debray, and Francois DeGrossouvre. Both are the architects of the French accommodation with ETA.

Within the Spanish government, González has suffered the debilitating consequences of his continued catering to the influence of a "fifth column" grouped around Vice-President Alfonso Guerra, popularly considered an extreme left-wing ideologue. Although recently the government has publicly attacked the KGB hand in ETA, the blind spot remains the untouched networks of the Nazi International reaching into ETA. Several months back, the two directors of the Interior Brigade charged with monitoring the right wing, including the Nazi International, were removed from their positions for incompetence. Both were Guerra men. The assistant director of the Interior Brigade is in prison charged with illegal possession of state secrets, and corruption.

The Spanish Interior Ministry has been overly influenced by British and Israeli anti-terrorist "technocrats" such as the London-based Brian Jenkins crowd. "Some people responsible for intelligence-gathering in this country are so incompetent that they quote Claire Sterling as a credible source," was the comment of a former Interior Ministry official. Anti-terror "groupies" such as Jenkins and Sterling, who make a living off terrorism, are increasingly losing credibility for obfuscating the issue of the role of the social sciences in terrorism, and covering up the Nazi International's role in international terrorism.

Interior Minister Jose Barrionuevo has attempted to balance all these contending influences by creating the Consejo Superior para la Informacion, a national advisory board on security policy. Although the Consejo will not get off the ground before the beginning of next year, the return of Manuel Ballesteros, former director of the Mando Unico Lucha Contraterrorista (MULC) to an advisory role in security policy indicates that the partisan politics in the intelligence community which weakened the government's counterterror policy, may be nearing an end.

Russian avant-garde art Rome' cultural assault

by Judith Wyer

In April 1983 an exhibition of paintings and prints by contemporary Soviet artists began a tour of several West German cities. The largest contemporary show to leave the U.S.S.R., the exhibition at first glance could have been mistaken for a turn-of-the-century exhibition from tsarist Russia. It was skillfully assembled, featuring every significant modernist style from the late 19th-century post-impressionism school to pure abstractionism.

Moscow followed that spring exhibition with a multimedia show of pre-revolutionary futurist art from the Mayakovsky Museum which opened in West Berlin in September. That exhibition featured some of the most extreme examples of the degenerate irrationalist Russian modern school which thrived during the years preceding the Russian Revolution.

Since the late 1960s, the U.S.S.R. has undergone a cultural transformation which is demonstrated by its policy towards the visual arts. The 50-year dogmatic adherence to "socialist realism," the propaganda tool of orthodox communism, has been eclipsed by pre-revolutionary modernism, and the Byzantine Imperial culture it glorifies. This is the correlate in art of the political turn in the U.S.S.R. toward the chauvinist doctrine, long nurtured in the Russian Orthodox Church, that Moscow is destined to become the seat of a "Third Roman Empire."

The avant-garde school of painting now being revived is the modern equivalent of the imperial art of Byzantium, the unchanging icon which represents a flat, lifeless hierarchical world dominated by Eastern mysticism. The fathers of the avant-garde abstract school lauded their paintings as the icons of a "new spiritual age." Painters like Wassily Kandinsky were followers of Oswald Spengler, whose *Decline of the West* heralds the final collapse of western civilization. One of the leading exponents of Spengler's apocalyptic worldview was the religious philosopher Nikolai Berdyayev, an enthusiast of the new "modern icon." Berdyayev wrote that the new artistic and spiritual awakening in pre-revolutionary Russia would overwhelm Europe: "For a long time we [Russians] have recognized the distinction between culture and civilization. Beneath their hostility to the West many Russian

craze: A 'Third on the West

writers and thinkers revealed not a hostility to Western culture but to Western civilization. . . . Russian Easternism, Russian Slavophilism was but the open struggle of the spirit of religious culture against the spirit of irreligious civilization."

Another philosophical inspirer of Russian modernism was Dmitri Merezhkovsky, who wrote of the coming "third kingdom" that would mark the final phase of world history. Merzhkovsky, whose ideas were expressed in the early 20th century modernist movement known as the "Blue Rose," also influenced Arthur Möller van den Bruck, author of *The Third Reich*, one of the books which shaped the Nazi movement.

Today it is no surprise to those who know this history to find Moscow working with old Nazis to build a German-



"He who comes to use with a sword, will perish by a sword" (detail), by Soviet avant-garde artist S. Prisekin. The work was shown in the exhibit by graduates of the V.I. Surikov Art Institute.

Soviet cultural axis based on the common fascist ideology which spawned the Third Reich and the revival of the "Third Rome" doctrine in the early decades of this century.

Soviet President Yuri Andropov's fondness for modern art, which has occupied the attention of the Western media, is not a matter of his private taste, but reflects state policy. That Andropov and the KGB which he headed have been the guiding force in the current cultural shift makes them the modern-day equivalent of the White Russian nobility which backed the early emergence of the degenerate Bohemian Russian avant-garde cult. Vladimir Lenin, the father of the Russian Revolution, never accepted this circle of artistic anarchists and stated publicly that the modernists' leading patron, Education Minister V. Lunacharsky should be "flogged for his Futurism"—a term characterizing the fascist utopian ideology of the modernists. Lenin rightly perceived the radical art movements as a threat to his nascent socialist state. Lenin tolerated the radicals, however, in part because his wife was a collaborator of Lunacharsky, and in part because Lunacharsky's vast international network was used in the early days of the revolution to build support for the new Soviet state.

Modernism and Nazism

Some foolish and shortsighted Kremlin watchers might shrug off Moscow's modernist revival and its use as a foreign policy tool as an opportunistic ploy to woo the West into believing Andropov and his cohorts are really a liberal westernized lot with whom peaceful co-existence is possible.

Only a fool would believe such a claim.

The fascist ideology which underlies Russian modernism in all its stylistic forms shares the same mother as early 20th-century German expressionist modernism. The father of the Russian abstract school of painting, Wassily Kandinsky, and other Russian painters like Marc Chagall, frequented the same Bohemian Schwabing district of Munich as the aspiring young artist Adolf Hitler and the many German anarchists who became expressionists.

The abstract school of painting was invented by Russian mystics like Kandinsky, Malevich, and Tatlin in the early days of this century, coinciding with a revival of the ancient icon as the image of pure Russian culture. The Russian modernist cult was integral to the Russian religious revival of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Leading exponents of this revival Igor Berdyaev and Vladimir Solovyev believed that the Eastern "barbarians," the Russians, would eventually conquer the West and impose a new "age of spirituality." Little wonder that these Russian spiritualists found a common ground with Rudolph Steiner, the founder of Anthroposophy—an eastern mystic cult linked to the Thule Society that gave Adolf Hitler his early ideological indoctrination.

The organizer of the spring 1983 exhibition in West Germany was Henry Nannen, editor of *Der Stern* magazine and the leading West German propagandist promoting fascination with Nazism. *Stern* sensationally—and fraudulently—

claimed to have discovered Hitler's "secret diaries" earlier this year. It is no secret in German elite circles that Nannen's *Stern* is sympathetic to both old Nazis and the neo-Nazi Green Party and tree-worshipping German environmentalist movement.

Stern itself evolved from the magazine *Sud Stern* (South Star) which was an arm of Hitler's propaganda machine in southern Germany. Nannen studied art history in Munich during the same period that Russian modernists like Kandinsky were there, and was an official in Hitler's Propaganda Ministry under Göbbels.

Nannen wrote in 1939 in *Volk und Kunst*, a magazine devoted to fascist culture:

. . . the Führer has so wonderfully elevated our innermost being, the concentrated being of our people as a whole, so has he grounded our people again firmly in the unshakeable ground of origin and blood, where art also ultimately received its nourishment. . . . When National Socialism came to power in Germany, the isolation of art, its remoteness from life, were also overcome. If this situation had been merely the result of the Jewish-Bolshevik domination of art, it would have been easy to change. It is the unique and brilliant merit of our Führer that he recognized that purges alone . . . could not bring about the necessary change.

Nannen has numerous "art loving" friends in very high places in the Soviet Union today. His inspiration for the spring 1983 show was former ambassador to Bonn, Valentin Michaelovich Falin, a protégé of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Falin's successor in Bonn, Vladimir Semyonov. Falin, the son of an art historian, has like many other Soviet notables cherished his private collection of Russian avant-garde art through the years, despite the communist ban. Falin and Semyonov maintained a gallery of Russian modern art in the Bonn ambassador's residence, which functioned as a kind of salon for social affairs with West German business and government officials.

Nannen is said to have won the support of Soviet Culture Minister Pyotr Nilovich Demichev to allow certain paintings to leave the U.S.S.R. for the spring exhibition. Nannen freely travels in and out of the U.S.S.R. and has met many in the Kremlin hierarchy including Leonid Brezhnev. One of Nannen's close friends Lothar-Günther Buchheim, the author of the novel about Hitler's navy which became the film *Das Boot*, arranged three years ago for the first German expressionist exhibition in Moscow in decades. Up until then German Expressionism had been officially associated with the decadence of Nazi culture. The leading early German expressionists such as Emile Nolde had publicly supported the Nazi Party.

The role of Andropov's KGB

Beginning in the early 1970s, the ban on the underground

Russian avant-garde cult was gradually lifted. A turning point occurred in 1974 when a group of underground avant-garde painters showed their works during the now famous exhibition in a Moscow park. The show was violently disrupted as the Soviet KGB used water hoses and bulldozers, even roughing up Western reporters on the scene. Andropov, then head of the KGB, and Culture Minister Demichev staged the exaggerated response to the exhibition knowing it would provoke an international outcry. The ensuing uproar in the Western media was used as the pretext to give official status to many of the artists whose work was represented in the exhibition which toured West Germany this spring.

Another watershed in the U.S.S.R.'s cultural transformation occurred in 1977, when a Russian-born Greek national named George Costakis, then an employee of the Canadian embassy in Moscow, collected 5,000 pieces of pre-revolutionary modern art and managed to take about 1,000 of them to the West where they were promptly shown at the Guggenheim Museum in New York, and in Houston and Ottawa. This sparked a new craze in the United States for Russian abstract art. Costakis, who was officially salaried at only \$100 a week, had several apartments—a luxury reserved only for the most powerful in Moscow's closed political world—and flaunted his enormous collection of Russian abstract paintings. Though he was listed as holding a functionary post at the Canadian embassy, he was considered more powerful than the ambassador, given his privileged ties to the top echelons of Moscow's ruling circles.

There can be no doubt that the mysterious Mr. Costakis' sudden departure from the U.S.S.R. with 1,000 pieces of Russian modern art was arranged through the good graces of Andropov's KGB. Costakis pledged to give some 4,000 pieces to Moscow's Tretyakov Museum, as well as making private gifts of select paintings to many high-ranking Soviet officials.

Another, much better known dealer in Soviet art is U.S. oil magnate Armand Hammer, who has enjoyed an intimate relation with the Soviet leadership since the Russian Revolution. Hammer's family were art dealers to the White Russian oligarchy before 1917; Hammer himself has played a role in championing the revival of the avant-garde in the U.S.S.R.

In September 1982 Hammer made one of his frequent visits to Moscow, taking along Jerry Weintraub, producer of the science fiction film *E.T.*, an anti-science cult extravaganza. Sources say that Hammer and Weintraub conferred with Demichev about producing a Russian version of the film. East-West collaboration to produce sci-fi brainwashing films is very much the rage in Moscow these days. On Oct. 26 Fyodor Burlatskii, Andropov's designated spokesman against President Reagan's beam-weapons strategic defense doctrine, penned an attack on the President in the magazine *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. He proposed that instead of U.S.-Soviet parallel development of these weapons, Washington and Moscow instead make a joint movie, "Star Wars of the Earth Men against Extra-terrestrial Evil Empires."