

Supermac and Minibush: 'the last wet hope of the Establishment'

by Laurent Murawiec

"Mr. Crossman . . . you will always permit your American colleague not only to have a superior rank to yourself and much higher pay, but also the feeling that he is running the show. This will enable you to run it yourself. We, my dear Crossman, are Greeks in this American Empire. You will find the Americans much as the Greeks found the Romans—great, big, vulgar, bustling people, more vigorous than we are, and also more idle, with more unspoiled virtues but also more corrupt. We must run AFHQ [Allied Forces Headquarters in North Africa] as the Greeks ran the operations of Emperor Claudius."—Harold Macmillan, 1943, as quoted by Richard Crossman.

George Bush is, like Harold Macmillan in the 1950s, "the last wet hope of the Establishment," at least if we believe the March 9 issue of the London daily newspaper *The Guardian*, itself the wettest daily mouthpiece of the British Liberal Establishment. George, of course, could be flattered to be compared to Her Majesty's former prime minister, the "last Edwardian," as biographers call him, especially as the New England "bluebloods," whose political projection Bush is, spend lifetimes pining after the hope of being taken for, and behaving like, authentic British Lords. But the man who would be President of the United States might also look deeper into the comparison: Was it not Macmillan who presided over the final disintegration of the British Empire?

The Christmas 1973 issue of that other leading mouthpiece of the British Liberal-Imperial Establishment, *The Economist*, carried a survey supplement authored by deputy editor Norman Macrae, heralding the decay of the American Empire, announcing that Pax Americana had taken the devolving path of Pax Britannica toward final decline. Just as the wet Macmillan, the wet Bush, it stands to reason, is therefore conceived to be the manager of this withering away.

Talking of bluebloods, Macmillan was several steps ahead in the pecking order, an old Etonian and Oxonian who joined the exclusive Grenadiers Guard in World War I, and married Dorothy Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Cavendish. The future last wet hope of the Establishment, then a young Member of Parliament, in the years after that war, looked with interest at the politics of Oswald Mosley, the would-be Führer of Britain, and traveled to the Soviet Union in the early 1930s to observe with sympathy, in his own reckoning, Sta-

lin's great experiment.

Not bad for a member of the rarefied circle of the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of York, and for a protégé of Leo Amery, one of the chief policymakers of the "invisible government" of that day, the Round Tables.

George's background, if *nouveau riche*, is no less surrounded by the good fairies of the Eastern Establishment, the Trilateral Commission, and the New York Council on Foreign Relations, the latter the American subsidiary of the Round Tables. The fairies' policy has not changed: Just as Harold Macmillan was one of the principal architects of the early détente and arms control during his tenure (1957-63), so Bush has presented himself as "the candidate of détente and disarmament." It takes "conservatives" of that ilk to sell the kitchen sink to Moscow.

Macmillan wrecked industry, defense

Since London's Wets pray for Bush to enter the Oval Office, let us look at the model they give him: Macmillan, first, played a crucial role as Minister of Housing and Secretary of the Treasury, in squandering and destroying the extraordinary scientific, technological, and industrial assets that Britain had, second only to the United States in the devastated Europe of the postwar period. In particular, where pioneering work had been accomplished, in areas such as nuclear energy and aeronautics. Under the populist-sounding slogan of "bedrooms before schoolrooms," Macmillan assured after 1951 that industry would be starved of credit and of building elements, while a gigantic real estate boom of speculation raged for 20 years, enriching landlords at the expense of industry and population alike. This, for which he was granted great popularity by the British media, was a chief contributing factor in the "stop and go" cycle that was to paralyze the British economy decades thence. In the process, having won general elections by a landslide in 1959 with the cynical motto, "You've never had it so good," Macmillan earned from the same media the nickname of "Supermac."

Having given a senile Churchill the heave-ho in 1955, Macmillan, by now one of the shining stars in the Tory skies, bulldozed the inept and ailing Anthony Eden out of Downing Street two years later, and, after the Marquess of Salisbury so informed the Queen, was made prime minister. As a model

for Bush, the legacy is devastating: As Foreign Secretary under Eden, Macmillan had taken part in the first great achievement of the first postwar period of détente, the May 1955 Austrian State Treaty which neutralized the country, and aimed at providing a pattern for Germany to imitate. In the same capacity, he welcomed in London the first Bolshevik leaders to set foot in a Western capital since the Russian Revolution, when Khrushchov and Bulganin visited London in April 1956.

Under his prime ministry, and at his personal urging, the British defense budget was savaged, and the Defense White Paper (budget) of 1957 represented a unilateral conventional disarmament—the draft was abolished, manpower and equipment reduced. “Prevention rather than defense” became the catchword, and détente the corollary. In order to crush traditionalist opposition in the ranks of the British military, Macmillan called in as Chief of General Staff Lord Louis Mountbatten, who delighted in shaking up and out the military establishment, and basked in peacenik theories, then in private, before calling the Peace Movement into being in the late 1970s. The Macmillan-Mountbatten axis inclusively contributed to forcing Britain to drop out of the space race, and rocketry in general.

‘Supermac’ and the Russians

But the aim was strategic: Macmillan immersed himself in unending correspondence with the Russian leaders, innumerable schemes for setting up summits, disarmament committees, arms control forums, and the like. West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer compared his diplomacy to Chamberlain’s at Munich. Macmillan was the first top Western leader to visit Moscow in peacetime, in 1959, and was the prime mover behind the Paris 1960 Summit of Four (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, and France) which the U-2 incident aborted, while it should have been Mac’s “finest hour.” But, having succeeded in creating a father/son relationship with John F. Kennedy, Macmillan was not finished with the great work of détente. In December 1962, at his demand, he met the American President in Nassau: “The arguments were intense, prolonged and sometimes painful . . . fiercer than any previous [Anglo-American] negotiations. . . . The nightmare of nuclear holocaust stirred more than ever underneath Macmillan’s Edwardian flippancies and he opened the talks by evoking the awful prospects of an indefinite arms race” in order to impress JFK with the urgent necessity of a summit with the Soviets.

When Khrushchov detonated the Berlin Crisis in 1961, Macmillan put massive pressure to ensure that those in the American military who wanted to squarely teach the Russians a lesson, would be disowned. “Kennedy seems rather lost in wider nuclear issues of East and West,” he wrote. And he was in telephone touch thrice a day with JFK during the Cuba crisis one year later, while writing to Khrushchov, with complete duplicity with respect to Washington, that the Cuban

crisis would pave the way for the first nuclear disarmament agreement since Hiroshima. Kennedy was successfully “managed.” The nuclear test ban treaty was duly signed—one of whose victims was the “Plowshare” program of using peaceful nuclear energy for great projects of civil engineering. Macmillan let it filter out that he also wanted a non-aggression pact and a nuclear non-proliferation pact with Moscow. The “arms control” process, later continued by McNamara, Kissinger, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan, had successfully been launched. It is coherent that super-appeaser Lord Carrington, formerly of Kissinger Associates, should have been a protégé of Macmillan, and his Private Parliamentary Secretary in the early 1950s.

So, when the *Guardian* advises that George Bush, “like Harold Macmillan, represents the last wet hope of the Establishment,” such are the contents of what is meant by the parable of Supermac and Minibush. When such spooks as Miles Copeland of Oxford, a spokesman for a certain current of the Anglo-American intelligence community, praise Bush as the boy who will understand the necessities, and when David Rockefeller explains how well Bush is able to understand, “like one of us,” the necessity of a “one-world” policy, that is again what is meant. History repeats itself as farce.

And by the way, Macmillan resigned in the middle of the worst series of Soviet spy scandals ever to rock Britain.

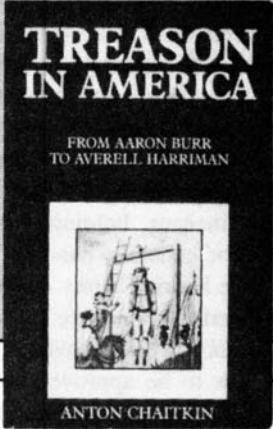
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