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THE DEFECTOR'S STORY

He Is the Highest-Ranking Intelligence Officer from a Soviet-Bloc Country to Defect to the West. He Paints Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu as Napoleonic in His Obsessions. His Defection Led to Purges in His Homeland and to the Recall of Rumania's Ambassador to the United States. He Suggests That Everyone Is Corruptible. For the First Time, He Tells His Story.

BY ION MIHAI PACEPA

When Ion Mihai Pacepa arrived at Andrews Air Force Base on July 28, 1978, aboard a US military aircraft that had taken off in West Germany, he was described by State Department spokesmen and newspaper reports as a "high-ranking aide" to Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu.

In fact, Pacepa, who quickly was granted political asylum by the United States, had been personal adviser to Ceausescu and deputy director of the Department of Foreign Intelligence—called DIE from its Rumanian name, Departamentul de Informatii Externe. He is the highest-ranking Soviet-bloc intelligence officer ever to defect to the West.

Within months of Pacepa's defection, the Rumanian ambassadors to the United States and the United Nations were replaced. In a November 19, 1978, report on Rumania, Michael Dobbs of the Washington Post wrote that the Pacepa affair "has contributed to the most thorough purge of ranking Communist-party and government officials since Ceausescu came to power thirteen years ago."

Educated as an engineer at the Polytechnical Institute in Bucharest, Pacepa entered the Rumanian intelligence service in 1951, when he was 23 years old. By the time of his defection he had been a frequent visitor to the United States.

Pacepa made advance arrangements for President Ceausescu's official trips to visit President Richard Nixon in 1973, President Gerald Ford in 1975, and President Jimmy Carter in 1978. He then accompanied the Rumanian president and his wife, Elena, on all three of the White House visits. During these state visits, Pacepa not only arranged discussions with American Presidents but even provided a food taster for the security-obsessed Ceausescu. Pacepa also arranged for special Rumanian intelligence teams to electronically sweep Ceausescu's quarters in the US for listening devices, including rooms at Blair House.

Pacepa, whose father worked in Rumania for General Motors before World War II, is now 57 years old and living under a new identity in the US. His daughter, Dana, an artist, remains in Rumania with her husband and family. Despite making repeated attempts, Pacepa has had no contact with her since he called her from West Germany in 1978, just before his defection. An "open letter" sent to her last year through a Paris newspaper—and repeated time and again over Radio Free Europe—ended:

"There is a picture on my desk. I took it on a sunny day, of you eating an apple. Bite the apple again, my daughter, for

infinitely more sunny days. I love you incredibly much, my Dana."

Pacepa is at work on a book about life at the top in the Communist world and about what he calls "the first Communist dynasty"—Nicolae Ceausescu and his family. These excerpts from the book manuscript represent the first time Pacepa has told his story for publication.

HEADS OF STATE

BLAIR HOUSE: THE LADY WASN'T IMPRESSED

Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, arrived in Washington on April 11, 1978, for a state visit with Jimmy Carter. Ceausescu has not returned to the United States since.

The presidential Boeing 707 landed at Andrews Air Force Base at 6 PM. A few minutes later Evan Dobelle, the US chief of protocol, came on board the plane and invited the Rumanian guests onto American soil. At the plane's steps, Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, were greeted by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and his wife, Grace, as well as by other American and Rumanian repre-

representatives. From the airport the Ceausescu rode in the same car with the Vances. Half an hour later, the motorcade arrived at the official residence for visitors, Blair House.

Blair House was already familiar to me from Ceausescu's last two visits to Washington, in 1973 and 1975. To alleviate Elena's traditional scene over not yet having her luggage when she arrived, I asked one of the people in charge of the house to show her around.

"Blair House was built by Dr. Joseph Lovell, America's first surgeon general, 154 years ago," the distinguished lady said with professional competence. "After his death, in 1836, the family sold the house for \$6,500 to Mr. Blair, who had just come to Washington as the new editor of the *Globe* . . ."

The tour began with the first floor's Blair drawing room and its beautiful Queen Anne desk and magnificent Sully portrait of Montgomery Blair, then it continued to the Abraham Lincoln Room.

"It was in this room full of memorabilia that Mr. Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation," the guide went on, pointing to a pen-and-ink drawing of President Lincoln. "The portrait of General Robert E. Lee is a reminder of the fact that, in this same room, Lee refused the command of the Union Army, which was offered to him by Lincoln through Blair, who was related to Lee by marriage." The table in the first-floor dining room was set with heavy linen damask cloths for the private dinner on this evening.

On the second floor Elena was shown Ceausescu's large bedroom, adjoining a spacious library, both decorated with fresh flowers. That morning's *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, as well as the just-arrived evening newspaper, the *Washington Star*, lay on a table in the library.

"This is your bedroom suite, madam," said the guide, pointing to a room with a lovely, canopied four-poster bed. "Although it could not be refurbished in time for the 1957 visit of Queen Eliza-

beth, it is still called the Queen's Suite to this day," finished the guide, wishing Elena an enjoyable stay.

"Close the door, Pacepa." Elena's acid voice suddenly rasped out. After I had executed the order, she exploded. "Just look at the harpy. She has never seen me before in her life, and she decides I should sleep here, not with the Comrade. Just so she can make up stories about the Comrade to tell other people who stay here."

Imitating the guide's voice, she went on, "We have an Emancipation Proclamation." It's a long way from that piece of paper until these idiots will really be



emancipated." Then, suddenly changing the subject, she ordered me, "Tell our press correspondents to include in their articles that the Vances came to the airport on behalf of the President of the United States and Mrs. Rosalynn Carter." Idiots that they are, they may forget that."

FRIENDLY PERSUASION

Jean-Bédél Bokassa became leader of the Central African Republic in a coup staged December 31, 1965. On December 4, 1977, he crowned himself emper-

or of the impoverished nation in a lavish ceremony. Ousted in a coup nearly two years later and sentenced to death in absentia for atrocities committed during his reign, Bokassa lives now in France.

Before the infamous president of the Central African Republic Jean-Bédél Bokassa made a visit to Rumania, the DIE spent months on intensive intelligence operations to study him. The most important vulnerabilities found were his insatiable desire for women and a primitive impulse to collect jewels, money, and personal bank accounts and safe-deposit boxes in Switzerland. Several

days after Ceausescu received a complete study on Bokassa, he took me for a walk in the enormous garden surrounding his personal residence.

"Central Africa has huge diamond reserves, which could spell a fortune for us. The problem is we cannot compete with the experienced capitalist sharks in obtaining concessions for diamond mining there. We'll have to steal them. Bokassa has five wives in Bangui. Let's give him another one, prettier and more high-class than he could ever dream of having. Get a good-looker ready for his visit, and then let Bokassa find her himself. And then I'll be magnanimous with him."

During his visit to Bucharest, Bokassa fell head over heels in love with a comely Rumanian doctor who was a

security agent sent to him when he gave the first sneeze of an apparent cold. Following Bokassa's repeated requests to Ceausescu, the doctor was sent to Africa on a special presidential airplane to further treat the cold he had allegedly contracted in Rumania. The doctor was overwhelmed with jewels, was given a personal villa full of servants, and became Bokassa's unofficial but favorite wife.

When she asked for fresh tomatoes and other vegetables, Bokassa implored the Rumanian ambassador to help him. Military airplanes brought an agricultural team and equipment into the country,

and soon a modern vegetable farm started producing for Bokassa and the doctor. The manager of the farm, an agricultural engineer, was actually a DIE officer who became the doctor's case officer.

Soon after that, Vasile Pungan and Nicolae Doicaru, two of Ceausescu's personal advisers, made a secret trip to Bangui. When they returned home, they reported that Bokassa had accepted 10 percent of the Rumanian profits from diamond mines developed on preferential terrains in his country, taking the business away from Western companies with experience in diamond mining.

Several years later, the doctor decided to take her life in her own hands. She escaped from Bangui with some of the jewels Bokassa had given her and began a new life in France. Discovered by the French press, she made history telling of her romance with Bokassa, but she carefully omitted all mention of her connections with the DIE.

"MAKE USE OF CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE"

We were walking along the garden path at his Bucharest residence when Ceau-

sescu suddenly started talking.

"I read through the whole file you gave me on Carter and his family twice." I had given him a briefing file on American President Jimmy Carter, based on material in DIE records.

"I can see that, despite his innocent smile, his soft voice, and shy manner, Carter is not an easy or predictable fellow. But he is not contradictory, as you describe him. The file says that, although he graduated from the Naval Academy only in 60th place out of 820, he has the intelligence of a near genius, a fantastic memory, an unusual capacity to absorb masses of information, and is a very good listener and a very hard worker. That's not a contradiction. I never graduated from any university before becoming a political leader. His rivals accuse him of having concealed a high degree of stubbornness and a vindictiveness behind his smile when he was the governor of Georgia. That's not a contradiction, either. It's probably normal for a politician.

"In my opinion, his weak points are other ones. One is his ridiculous religiousness. . . . Another weakness is his intense inner life, which is detrimental to the dynamism he needs to have.

"Nevertheless, as I read in your file and between its lines, Carter has enough

qualities to succeed. You probably haven't realized that there are even some similarities between him and me. Both of us consider that the people elected us not just as an individual but as a paterfamilias, that our wives and children were also elected together with us. Apropos, you might pull together everything you have on Carter's deep respect for his wife and children and on his commitment to giving them a high profile during his presidency, and then give it to Comrade Elena. That may help to change her broken record that Carter is nothing but a peasant.

"Carter's biggest disadvantage is that he is totally inexperienced—what can you expect from somebody who raised and sold peanuts all his life? That's one of the worst sides of the American system: Anybody can become President, if he has money and a nice smile, and then, just when he starts to learn something, he has to leave. They just can't understand that being chief of state is a profession. . . .

"Anyway, that's their problem, isn't that true? And we should make use of Carter's inexperience and friendship as long as he is President. That's why I insisted on having my visit there in the very first days of his presidency, to find him virgin, uncontaminated by the influence of others."

Suddenly Ceausescu stopped, hung onto a button of my jacket, and, looking me in the eye, continued in a low, conspiratorial tone. "In your file on Carter's family, I see that his brother, Billy, is some kind of drunk, a corruptible fellow who doesn't know how to do anything but is trying to turn a fast buck any way he can. I see also that the DIE has turned up a foreign agent who might manage to build up some business relations with Carter's farm and with Billy. Isn't that a Liberian who has an export-import company in London?"

"Yes, Comrade," came my answer.

"We should do everything we can to encourage this operation. We import enough peanuts into Rumania, so let's buy them from him, from his farm. We can use so many peanuts that we could buy up his whole production for at least the next ten years. Let's make Billy our representative for importing peanuts and other things. But for the beginning, let's work under a foreign flag. Let's import peanuts through the London company of your Liberian agent's. When Billy has gotten enough of a taste for this money, then we can tell him that it's not English or Liberian money, but ours. But only when we are sure that Billy won't be able to do without his new source of income."



Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, arrive at Washington's Andrews Air Force Base in December 1973. The hatless man in horn-rims behind them is the author of this story, Ion Mihai Pacepa, then a Rumanian intelligence officer and personal adviser to Ceausescu.

ADVICE FOR KOJAK

Although Ceausescu has never been in a public movie theater, he is a movie fanatic. Each of his four residences has a fully equipped projection room and a permanent film library. His favorites are movies about the Roman empire and Napoleon and American police films and television shows.

During a movie at his private residence, where he does not have to worry about protocol or what people looking at him will think, Ceausescu is a normal human being, relaxed and entirely different from his public image. He loves to watch *Kojak* shows, not only because they are full of action, but especially because with his quick mind he has no trouble figuring out the dénouement of a *Kojak* episode. Savoring the thought that he would once again be one step ahead of *Kojak*, he settled down into his chair, disappearing completely from my sight from where I was sitting behind him.

"Come on. Don't waste your time on him, Commissar. He's a friend. You'd do better to keep your eye on the dead man's girlfriend. Hey, Ropoteanu, tell him that in English."

Ropoteanu was an English teacher who had become an intelligence officer and was Ceausescu's favorite interpreter for movies.

"Don't listen to the captain, *Kojak*," Ceausescu continued his advice. "He didn't know anything in the last movie, either. In Rumania I wouldn't keep him on the payroll a single day longer."

"An idiot. Nick. An idiot," piped up Elena, who was sitting in the chair beside him. "All security officers are idiots. I've told you that many times. Wouldn't it be better to show a war movie, with the army in it? They're idiots, too, but at least they carry out orders without asking any questions."

At the end of the movie the lights revealed Elena fast asleep, with her head resting on the soft back of her easy chair. Her mouth and her robe had both fallen indecorously open.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WRONGS CEAUSESCU'S GRAND PLAN

"Horizon" was by far the most secret DIE operation, and its files were locked in the DIE's super-secure vault, continuously covered by closed-circuit televi-



Shortly after Ion Mihai Pacepa defected in 1978, Nicolae Nicolae, then Rumanian ambassador to the US, was recalled from his country's embassy on Sheridan Circle (above), where Pacepa had served as an intelligence operative.

sion cameras and accessible only to the minister of interior, the political chief of the DIE, and me. Everything in its files is written only by hand.

"Horizon" was Ceausescu's grand plan, an extension of Euro-Communism, for strengthening his Communist rule in Rumania with help from capitalist governments. It was created by him as a masterpiece of a political-influence operation, aimed at gaining Western good will, political support, credits, and prohibited technologies, without in the least compromising Bucharest's orthodox Marxist rule.

"Horizon," contained in several bulky files organized by geographic area, was the only place where one could find a distillation of Ceausescu's overall goals and concrete objectives for each non-Communist country of interest, starting with the United States and ending with Bokassa's Central African Republic, as well as data on the most important influence agents created by the DIE over the years.

Concealed in the "Horizon" files was information on every major successful influence operations created by Ceausescu. Among the oldest was the operation to provide clandestine support for Willy Brandt, the chairman of West Germany's Social Democratic party, in two parliamentary votes of confidence, in

1973 and 1974, which he won only by also having two supporting votes from the opposition. According to the DIE station chief in West Germany, the two deputies in question had been approached by Rumanian intelligence officers, who plied them with valuable gifts and persuaded them to vote against their own party.

One of the newest operations documented there, and by far the most important, was the annual effort to have the United States Congress renew most-favored-nation trade status from Rumania.

For this operation, almost every Rumanian representative in the United States, including the ambassador, was replaced by an intelligence officer. More than 10,000 Rumanians were recruited as agents and sent to the West as émigrés in a mass operation designed to influence the governments of the United States and its allies, especially West Germany and Israel. Intelligence officers and agents were secretly sent to the United States to take over control of émigré organizations and direct their publications and social activities.

The file showed that the DIE had helped finance and direct the activities of such émigré organizations as the American-Rumanian Central Foundation, the American-Rumanian National Institute, and the American-Rumanian National

Committee for Human Rights. Through such organizations, the DIE conducted an intensive lobby on Capitol Hill and led street demonstrations in Washington. In 1975, when Rumania first received most-favored-nation status, the DIE's chief was rewarded by being made a Hero of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, and the chief of the US Brigade was promoted to the rank of general.

Ceausescu considered that this operation gave Communist Rumania the most valuable political, financial, and technological benefits in its history.

TARGETS OF ASSASSINATION

At the conclusion of his 1978 visit to the US, Ceausescu and Jimmy Carter issued a joint declaration in which both affirmed the "observance of and promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including all the conditions required for a free, dignified, and prosperous life."

Three months later, during a walk in his garden, Ceausescu ordered Pacepa to arrange the assassination of Emil Georgescu, a supervising editor in Radio Free Europe's Rumanian Department.

"Emil Georgescu must be killed, without involving the Rumanian government," Pacepa recalls Ceausescu saying. "Foreign professional criminals must be used, and that wasps' nest, Radio Free Europe headquarters, must be wiped out with powerful explosives."

Pacepa defected one week later.

In the totalitarian logic of the Rumanian government, émigrés are Rumanian citizens subject to Rumanian laws, regardless of their current citizenship. In dealing with them, the DIE has the same role as the security forces have inside Rumania: It acts as the "extended arm of the proletarian dictatorship."

In 1975 the DIE began an ambitious project to set up a complete, computerized data bank on the more than 600,000 native or second-generation Rumanians living in the West, using consular, mail-censorship, and intelligence information. Undercover officers and agents sent abroad to take over control of émigré organizations, publications, and social activities used various covers, from folk-art instructor to priest.

Because the Rumanian government has no prisons abroad, it uses beatings, kidnappings, and unattributable assassinations to "discipline" émigrés in the West. It has become a matter of political prestige for Bucharest to try to execute defectors who have been granted political asylum in such countries as the Unit-

ed States, France, and West Germany. Explosive letters and packages are sent to Rumanian anti-Communist leaders in exile, such as those mailed during the 1981 Madrid Conference on Security in Europe.

Dissidents who have been given exit visas from Rumania have also become DIE targets for assassination in the West. In April 1982, Matei Haiducu, a Rumanian who moved to France in 1975, confessed to French authorities that he was a Rumanian illegal officer and that his current assignment was to assassinate dissident writers Paul Goma and Virgil Tanase in France "by any means," the only condition being that Rumanian government involvement not become known. Haiducu turned over to the French a fountain pen loaded with a toxic chemical that he had been given to accomplish the deed, in true spy-thriller fashion.

Orders have repeatedly been given for the silencing of émigré journalists and others who publicly criticize the Rumanian dictatorship, including US government employees working for Radio Free Europe. Monica Lovinescu, a respected but outspoken French citizen who for years has been an employee of Radio Free Europe in France, has particularly incensed Ceausescu.

"Lovinescu must be silenced," Ceausescu ordered at one point. "Not killed. We don't need any uncomfortable French and American investigations just now. She should be beaten to a pulp and have her jaw, teeth, and arms broken, so that she will never again be able to speak or write—beaten in her own home so she and others will learn that no place is safe for people who calumniate the proletarian dictatorship, not even their own homes. She should become a living corpse, an unforgettable example for others."

In November 1976 Lovinescu was severely beaten in her home by a Palestine Liberation Organization group acting on Rumania's behalf.

Emil Georgescu, the program editor at Radio Free Europe in Munich whom Ceausescu had ordered me to have killed in 1978, was brutally stabbed 22 times at his own home on July 28, 1981, and barely escaped with his life. That order played a decisive role in my final break with Bucharest.

THE FLESH TRADE

Trade in human beings became another important business for the DIE. Ceausescu was obliged to open the door for emigration, despite his personal repugnance to it, by the international movement for human rights and the freedom



The Ceausescus join President and Mrs. Nixon on the White House balcony in October 1970. Earlier in the month Ceausescu had addressed the UN General Assembly, where he called for the "abolition of military blocs."

of movement, in particular the Helsinki Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the decision by the US Congress to tie most-favored-nation trade status to emigration rights. Emigration provided Ceausescu with political gain, and he soon decided to use it for financial profit as well, in a highly confidential operation kept so secret that at his direction it was handled only through the DIE.

The DIE initiated discreet contacts in Israel and West Germany and cautiously suggested that, if Rumania could be reimbursed in hard currency for the social and education expenses incurred for the ethnic German and Jewish émigrés seeking to leave Rumania, the emigration process might be accelerated.

Secret, unwritten agreements were made with the Israeli foreign intelligence service and with the West German Ministry of Interior. The Israelis and the West Germans paid thousands of dollars for each Rumanian Jew and ethnic German granted an exit visa, in some cases as much as \$50,000 per person, depending on his or her level of education and profession.

Over the years, many hundreds of millions of dollars were secretly paid to Rumania, along with low-interest credits issued through the DIE as bonuses for increasing the emigration quotas. For reasons of secrecy, most of the payments were made in cash and only in US dollars. No other member of the Rumanian government knew anything about them except the prime minister, who was given only a general briefing and instructed that, if the matter even came up, he should vehemently deny any suggestion that Jews and Germans were being sold.

In February 1972 Ceausescu decided

that additional side benefits might be had from the emigration of Jews and Germans. "No Rumanian citizen," Ceausescu stated, "whether of Rumanian, Jewish, or German ancestry, should be given an emigration visa unless he is a security agent, has signed a secret, written agreement with the security forces, and has agreed to act as an intelligence agent abroad." More than 10,000 emigrating Rumanians were recruited in a mass operation between 1972 and 1978 and instructed to penetrate the governments, political life, and scientific and technological circles of the United States, Israel, West Germany, and other Western countries.

Most of the Jewish and many of the German émigrés never used their secret communications systems and simply disappeared as agents.

AS OTHERS SEE US

THE AMERICAN WAY

During a previous visit to the United States, I was in the Cabinet Room with Ceausescu, when, counting the labeled chairs, he suddenly said, "Can you believe it? Only thirteen secretaries! Why do we have to have a president and a prime minister? Why do we keep a prime minister, twelve deputy prime ministers, and 40 ministers? Why does the prime minister need 53 labeled chairs for a government meeting? We should learn from the American system of democracy. We should apply the same principles. And if some journalist says we have a dictatorship, we should an-

swer that our government is a faithful copy of the American government. As here, we should have only one boss and several secretaries carrying out his orders."

That was when Ceausescu gave me the order to give him a complete study on the American system of government. Based on this order, a DIE officer under deep cover, Colonel Dumitru Mazilu, was sent to the United States for six months to prepare the study.

When I gave the final report to Ceausescu, he promptly said: "You don't understand anything! I don't need to know anything about the Congress and the judicial system. Stop talking about the three branches of their government. Rewrite the report covering only the administration, and strongly emphasize that the American government has only a President, a Vice President, and a few secretaries, that they don't have and never have had any prime ministers! Write that they have a presidential system without any prime minister or deputy prime ministers and that that's all they need. Someday we have to finish with the wastefulness we have. We don't need two governments, one run by the president and the other by the prime minister."

THE AIR-CONDITIONED NIGHTMARE

Air conditioning was probably my biggest headache for all the presidential visits I prepared.

Shortly after he had taken over, after the death of his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Ceausescu returned from a secret visit to Moscow and began worrying about a protracted pain in his throat. Gheorghiu-Dej had died from a fast-developing form of cancer, its first symptoms having appeared as throat pains not long after his return from a vacation in the USSR together with the Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti, who had died very suddenly after his return under circumstances considered strange. Ceausescu was convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that both had been assassinated by the Kremlin through secret radiation with a strong source of isotopes, and his throat pains therefore caused him indescribable panic.

Doctors from all around the world were secretly brought to Bucharest over an anguishing period of long weeks. Finally an old, very conservative West German doctor put it to him very bluntly: "You, sir, talk too much and too loudly, and your vocal chords are terribly irritated. If you want to keep them,

you must protect them."

The doctor's prescriptions were old-fashioned: chamomile tea as often as possible, but always when he had to speak longer and louder than usual, and protection from any kind of drafts, including fans and air conditioners. Since then, during every speech Ceausescu makes, a waiter changes his chamomile-tea glass every half hour, no matter whether it is a routine meeting, a Politbureau session, or a Party Congress. Every single fan had to be removed from all his residences, and the central air-conditioning system installed at the Central Committee of the Communist Party was dismantled.

During his foreign visits, especially to North and South America, I encountered indescribable difficulties in having the air conditioning and heating turned off in every building he was to visit and closing or at least covering every vent. In Venezuela, for instance, he ordered me to disconnect the air conditioner in his official vehicle, so that the Venezuelan driver would not under any circumstances be able to turn it on. As it was an armored car, the windows of which could not be opened, the trips around Caracas quickly became a nightmare.

I also had never-ending discussions with the management of the Waldorf Astoria in New York and other hotels used by Ceausescu, when I would ask them to turn off the central air-conditioning or heating systems and to seal off every vent. It repeatedly happened that Rumanian dignitaries accompanying Ceausescu abroad spent their nights trying to find and seal off hidden vents or leaky windows.

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS

"Pacepa's just been telling me some interesting information about the American President," Ceausescu told Elena as she entered the room. "Carter looks unexpectedly nice, even distinguished, showing esteem for his wife and devotion to his family. I've asked him [Pacepa] to prepare a file for you that I hope you'll like."

"Go soak your head, Nick! Have you ever seen a 'distinguished American'?" Elena squawked, trying to put all her knowledge of English into the last two words. "Name me just one movie where you've seen such an American, and on top of it all a loving husband and devoted father, and I'll eat it, Nick. And you," she went on, turning toward me. "Don't you fill the Comrade's head with your intrigues and fantasies. Do you understand?" Then turning back to Ceausescu-

cu. "You'd better come to bed, Nick, rather than wasting your night away listening to fairy tales. You want to learn about Americans? You have your *Kojak* movies. They are at least authentic, made by Americans!"

BOOKS, BLACKS, AND BARBARA WALTERS

The following conversation took place at Blair House on April 11, 1978, the first day of Ceausescu's visit to Jimmy Carter.

"What about the book exhibition I ordered?" Ceausescu asked me.

"It opened today at the Martin Luther King Library, with books printed in all the languages of the various ethnic groups living in Rumania and with a special exhibit case containing books written by and about you. The report says that the director of the library opened the exhibition with an address presenting you as a brilliant thinker and political personality, whose love of books has favorably influenced the whole course of publishing activity in Rumania."

"Listen to him, Nick," Elena broke in. "In all of America, they couldn't find any better place than a library for black people!"

"Anything new on the television interview?" Ceausescu intervened.

"Yes, ABC insists on taping the interview tomorrow afternoon so they can put parts of it on the air during the prime-time news tomorrow evening, the first day of the visit, and broadcast the entire interview on Sunday, April 16, on the *Issues and Answers* show."

"Is the interviewer somebody?" he asked.

"Yes, Comrade, Barbara Walters, one of the ABC's best television interviewers."

"A woman? A woman to interview you, Nick? That's ridiculous! Isn't she the harpy who interviewed Castro and made a whole circus out of his personal life, his estranged wife, and his love affairs? Isn't she that one?"

"I think, Comrade Elena, that she interviewed Fidel Castro several years ago."

"Fiddlers! That's all they all are, nothing but fiddlers. I told you so. It's all a plot against you, no question about it. Why else, out of 200 million Americans, could they find only that harpy to interview you? It's a plot to compromise you, Comrade. Can't you see that?"

After reaching this decision, Elena furiously left the dining area. During Ceausescu's visits abroad, Elena was al-

ways dissatisfied with everything and everybody.

TRADECRAFT

THE NUCLEAR GO-BETWEEN

In 1975 I showed Ceausescu credible DIE information indicating that Pakistan was conducting secret operations to develop its own nuclear capability. Two days later he ordered me to arrange a secret meeting for him with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's prime minister. With the help of Andrei Stefan, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party and chief of its international department, a short stopover was arranged to take place in Karachi, with Bhutto welcoming Ceausescu at the airport.

When Ceausescu's airplane landed in Karachi, Bhutto was there, accompanied by numerous local dignitaries. He invited Ceausescu for lunch to a nearby palace, where we arrived after almost an hour's ride on a hot, dusty day. In the palace garden tents were already waiting, filled with food in large silver pots. For each guest there were several servants ready to carry out his least wish at the slightest signal. In the main tent, the highest Rumanian and Pakistani dignitaries joined their two leaders for lunch.

Ceausescu has a great talent for personal diplomacy, most of his successes having been brought about by personal discussions. A good psychologist, he pays a great deal of attention to knowing his discussion partners, and he tries to impress and subdue them with a deliberately open and direct manner and with discreet anti-Soviet allusions.

Bhutto was a relatively easy prize for the experienced and well-prepared Ceausescu. By the end of the luncheon, Bhutto was addressing Ceausescu only in superlatives.

After lunch, Ceausescu asked for a private discussion, accompanied only by a DIE interpreter and me. He opened his frontal attack on Bhutto. "You and I share the same dream, to make a place in history for our countries, and the best way to do that is to build their power. In our time the only real power is nuclear power. We should build it secretly. Working separately, our intelligence services"—pointing toward me—"have obtained remarkable results. Together we might be able to realize our dreams. In this envelope is a sample of what we can do. Read it later on. If you agree, give me a sign. If not, you may forget the whole thing."

Bhutto put the envelope carefully into

his pocket, without opening it. It contained a detailed inventory of the nuclear-intelligence information Rumania could secretly provide to Pakistan.

Then there was a short break in the meeting.

When Bhutto came back into the room, he proposed that he and Ceausescu make a public declaration. Ceausescu spontaneously gave a public speech, followed by Bhutto.

Intelligent, sensitive, and ambitious, Bhutto reacted almost exactly as Ceausescu had expected. Just before our departure, he gave Ceausescu an envelope. "Inside is a name, one of our most secret names. Don't try to find him," Bhutto said in my direction, "because he doesn't have any official positions. I will personally instruct him and send him to Bucharest. I will send you the date and flight number through your ambassador, without further explanation. In Bucharest one of your people should meet him and organize future cooperation. It should be a personal contact between two individuals, not two governments. I hope we never need discuss this matter again in our future cooperation, my dear friend."

Two weeks later I had a meeting in a safe house with the man who would become "235," and the next day Ceausescu had both of us for a private dinner at his residence in Snagov, not far from Bucharest. Radu Andreescu was the operational name of a brilliant DIE engineer who became his case officer. Ten days later Andreescu left for Pakistan with a voluminous diplomatic pouch containing the whole documentation secretly obtained from Canada and used to construct a Rumanian heavy-water plant.

He came back with the complete project for a small Canadian Candu reactor that the Pakistani government had bought as well as significant intelligence data on the industrial-size Candu nuclear reactor.

On further visits to Pakistan, Andreescu took with him technical intelligence on West German and French nuclear reactors and security systems, and he brought back to Rumania the Degussa centrifugal system for enriching uranium, data on the industrial production of uranium 235, and other military technical nuclear intelligence that Pakistan had obtained.

A recently arrived postcard was the first sign of life we had gotten from "235" after the July 5, 1977, coup, when General Muhammed Zia ul-Haq arrested Bhutto and declared himself chief administrator of martial law.

"You must be terribly careful! We badly need to keep our Rosenberg," said Ceausescu.

THE CORN CAPER

Technological espionage was also extended to unclassified projects, in order to save costs on legal imports. The complete blueprints for newly designed American aluminum rolling mills were used as the basis for constructing high-capacity aluminum-foil and sheet-metal factories, which were scheduled to go into production between 1982 and 1984. Three glass factories were built from 1976 to 1980 based on illegally obtained intelligence provided by an American engineer in exchange for the initial sum of \$200,000. The intention was to flood the American market with glass products at dumping prices. Today Rumanian glass products are for sale at attractive prices all over the United States and Western Europe.

Through an agent recruited at the United States Department of Agriculture's Research Center in Beltsville, Rumania secretly obtained the entire US national hybrid-corn collection, containing more than 14,000 assortments and species, which became the basis for further research in Rumania. Together with other genetic materials also illegally obtained from the United States, American brands of corn, such as Pioneer or Wyoming, soon began to be replaced by Rumanian hybrid strains. As of 1978 they numbered from RH-101 up to RH-291, RH standing for "Rumanian hybrid."

In July 1978 the Rumanian ministry of agriculture estimated the total savings for Rumania generated by this operation over the years at a staggering 300 billion dollars.

SHALLOW PENETRATION

Accompanied by Pacepa and others, Ceausescu visited the Dallas headquarters of Texas Instruments during his April 1978 trip to the United States. Afterwards, at a dinner arranged by the Texas Chamber of Commerce, Ceausescu said, in part:

"Some of the products turned out by Texas Instruments also have a strategic character. We are not concerned with turning out such products, because we stand for disarmament, for the destruction of atomic armaments and of weapons in general. We stand for a world without weapons, a world of peaceful cooperation."

In all of Eastern Europe, and in their foreign intelligence services, Texas Instruments was considered to be the most advanced producer of microelectronics and chips in the whole world, and also



The Ceausescus join the Carters in 1978 for more waving from the White House balcony. On this trip Elena Ceausescu was not pleased with the sleeping arrangements at Blair House.

one of the best-protected private companies working on classified government contracts.

During the Brezhnev-Ustinov-Andropov militarization era. I was repeatedly asked by Soviet KGB representatives to direct the DIE toward penetrating Texas Instruments and obtaining its highly secret microelectronic technologies, but the intensive efforts made in this direction over many years were without success.

Some technological information was later obtained indirectly, however, through cooperation with a prestigious British firm producing microelectronics under a Texas Instruments license. Several hundred volumes, containing tens of thousands of pages of classified American documents, were photographed and turned over by a newly recruited and well-paid British agent.

These documents almost entirely filled Ceausescu's executive-committee room when they were presented to him. He considered this operation one of the most valuable producers of technological intelligence for Rumania, and he directed that it be used as the basis for the secret production of chips and other microelectronics in a top-secret military plant close to Bucharest especially created for this purpose. But this beginning only whetted his appetite for a real penetration of Texas Instruments.

After Leonid Brezhnev had personally asked him for information on American microelectronics, Ceausescu asked me to include a visit to Texas Instruments in the itinerary of his April 1978 visit to the US, as a way of opening the door to a

direct intelligence operation. At the end of March, when I was sent to the US by Ceausescu to prepare for his visit, he ordered me to go personally to Texas Instruments in my official capacity as presidential adviser and to open its doors for officers from both the Washington and the New York DIE stations. But up until the time of Ceausescu's visit there, the Rumanians had been totally unable to talk with any engineers or technicians from Texas Instruments, being restricted to meeting with only public-relations or security officers.

Several weeks later as Ceausescu stepped inside the company's building, he shot me a triumphant look, then turned to the other people present, his face and eyes lighted up with enormous self-satisfaction. He had accomplished his wish to be the first Communist president to set foot inside Texas Instruments, to do something Brezhnev had been unable to do. Indeed, Ceausescu was at last able to walk into that prohibited microelectronics empire, but the equipment and the people working there could be seen by him only through a protective window wall.

STEALING NASA'S SECRETS

On Saturday, April 15, 1978, we were flying from Dallas to Houston on an Air Force One airplane provided by the White House for Ceausescu's visit to the United States. Without enthusiasm we began a new game of chess.

"Was the contact with 'ARMAND'

put on ice for the duration of the visit, as we discussed, Pacea?"

"Yes, Comrade. We paid him to take a two-week vacation in Italy. It's best for him to be as far away from NASA as possible."

"That's good. Sometime you may bring him to the Black Sea, under another name, and treat him to a vacation there that he'll never forget."

"ARMAND" was a British engineer who was recruited in the early 1970s on the basis of "tax-exempt" money to provide technological information. He proved to be a workaholic who was greedy to make a fortune, and he turned his contact with the DIE into a big business.

Ceausescu became aware of "ARMAND" when the NASA technical documents he furnished caused stupefaction in Bucharest and a report about them, handwritten and signed by Gheorghe Oprea, the first deputy prime minister, was presented to Ceausescu. The report stated that the NASA documents contained incredibly valuable technological and technical information never before seen in any published material. Because of imperfections in the American bureaucratic system, the material had not yet been legally classified. The report further stated that the information could be immensely useful for the creation of a Rumanian space industry, with meteorological rockets as its public facade and military rockets as its most important and much larger component.

It was proposed that the DIE mount an intensive operation to steal as many technical and technological materials from the United States as possible, before the deficiency in the security precautions would be discovered and measures taken to classify such material.

Ceausescu has a particular fascination for everything that is on a grand scale. Now, because of the NASA documents, he could visualize his dream of a space program as not only fantasy but as a real possibility. He ordered me to arrange an exposition of the most significant NASA documents in a room next door to his office, taking maximum security precautions to ensure that the secret of our possession of the NASA documents be tightly kept.

These NASA documents became a cult object of admiration for Ceausescu. The exhibit remained next door to him for many weeks, and he repeatedly visited the secure room where they were kept, asking for explanations and details. Then he started showing the exhibit off—first to his wife, Elena, then to his son, Nicu, and to his brothers, Ilie and Nicolae, both generals, and eventually to his closest collaborators, such as Prime Minister Manea Manescu and

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Ilie Verdet, Andrei Stefan, and Corneliu Burtica.

Whenever Ceausescu took me for an evening stroll in his garden, I understood very well that he wanted to talk about something very confidential.

"Remember how, on our last visit to the United States in 1975, Kissinger said that his time and his life were limited, and that he could and would not spend them dealing with small countries, because they couldn't play any significant role in contemporary history? Or how he said that he should spend his time only on the big countries, because only they held the key for the peace and the future of mankind? I said then that he was wrong and that history would prove it. With his German head he can't understand that in today's scientific explosion, undeveloped countries like India or small countries like Pakistan can one day possess nuclear arms and then have a powerful voice in world affairs."

Ceausescu stopped, grabbed one of my buttons, and said, looking deep into my eyes, "Maybe one day Rumania, too, if we could attract Qaddafi's money."

AGENTS OF TERROR

Through cooperation among the Soviet-bloc services, Communist state-owned land, air, and sea transportation organizations were secretly used as cover for the movements of specially trained officers and for the clandestine shipping of captured persons.

Based on the Bulgarian model, in 1972 the CIE (Centrala de Informatii Externe) assumed direct control of the whole TIR (Transport International Routier) land transportation system. Bulgaria has one of the largest TIR fleets in Europe, basically intended for the rapid shipment of its fruits and vegetables to the West. As was the case in Bulgaria, in less than two years' time most of the drivers of the Rumanian TIR trucks were CIE officers under cover, who were trained to transport people and equipment and to pick up espionage materials from dead drops placed along Western highways.

Patterned after Bulgaria's Balkanair, the Rumanian airline company TAROM was taken over by the military intelligence service, Directia de Informatii a Armatei. Positions in TAROM offices in Western countries were filled with officers of the DIA (Rumanian military intelligence).

Drawing on the Hungarian experience with using water transportation on the Danube for clandestine intelligence operations, the CIE took over control of the

Rumanian chartering agency NAVLOMAR, introducing undercover officers into most of its offices abroad. The Bulgarian foreign intelligence service adopted identical measures.

These measures opened a new era in terrorist operations. The intelligence officers assigned under transportation cover were intensively trained. The logistical support systems at their control soon began to be used for illegal import and export. The TIR system was used for the secret transportation of intelligence materials and prohibited goods, from embargoed alloys to Western military equipment captured in Lebanon. TIR trucks were used to ship drugs and contraband arms sold to obtain foreign currency, particularly to Turkey, with the cooperation of the Bulgarian authorities.

Some of these shipments were protected by diplomatic courier seals and papers, as well as by foreign customs seals. In Rumania, every kind of seal used by foreign customs authorities was duplicated over the years and used when needed to replace an original customs seal destroyed in an intelligence operation.

TAROM airplanes were used for the "unaccompanied diplomatic pouch," which consisted of documents, illegally obtained cash, illegal arms for use of the CIE abroad, and technology and other military equipment, including relatively large napalm bombs and COBRA and MILAN antitank missile systems.

NAVLOMAR's ships were occasionally used for bulky pieces of equipment, such as a Centurion tank the DIE obtained, Air Force radar equipment and rockets, and for technology equipment illegally imported from Japan or Hamburg.

Drawing on the experience of the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs, in the 1970s the CIE started to look for foreign professional criminals capable of carrying out terrorist acts on its behalf. Rumania's close relations with Yasir Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, opened the way for personal cooperation between DIE leaders and Hanny Hassan, the chief of the PLO security department. Specially trained PLO teams were used to carry out terrorist acts, which only Hassan knew were undertaken for Rumania. Paramilitary training schools were organized in Rumania for training Greek and Spanish Communist-party members for terrorist and guerrilla-type operations. Although the foreigners were trained under the direction of the Rumanian military forces and the DIA, the DIE utilized them for spotting foreign professional criminals. The Greek Communists were useful in recommending Greek and Turkish terrorists. The Spanish Commu-

nists, for many years exiled to France, facilitated contact with French smugglers and drug dealers.

The Mafia is another pool in which the Communists fish. In the 1970s an American citizen who lived in New York City was arrested by the Bulgarians at their border for carrying undeclared, illegal merchandise. He was turned over to Rumanian security authorities because his wife was a native Rumanian. He admitted to being a member of the Mafia in the United States. Asked to locate Rumanian defectors, he came up with reliable information through Mafia sources. He was given the assignment of assassinating several defectors in the United States, but the killings were prevented by my defection.

ENEMY OF THE STATE

Within the Soviet bloc, religion is considered to be even more dangerous than capitalism, because faith cannot be destroyed through political-administrative measures such as the nationalization of capital. When Communist governments, directed from the Kremlin, came to power in Eastern Europe, thousands of churches were seized and turned into cultural clubs, public libraries, Communist office buildings, or simply sealed up. Baptism, marriage and other religious sacraments were outlawed and replaced by civil ceremonies. Many churchmen were sent to labor camps and interrogation centers or secretly assassinated. In Rumania more than 400 Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and other priests and religious servants were secretly arrested on one night, January 7, 1951. These operations were orchestrated by Moscow, as a step toward clearing the way for a society in which Marxism would be the sole religion.

The Roman Catholic Church, because of its close ties to the faithful, its historic ability to mobilize large population groups, its huge international membership, and its financial power, is considered by Communist governments to be a dangerous threat. The neutralization of the Catholic Church is a cardinal task for every Communist government, even in countries where there are relatively few Catholics, such as Rumania. There the Catholic bishops began to be confined to monasteries in 1948. The campaign against Catholicism culminated in a show trial organized in Bucharest by the Soviet forerunner of the KGB and the Rumanian political police in April 1951. The Vatican was accused of anti-state plotting and espionage on behalf of the CIA and other Western intelligence organizations. A number of Catholic cler-

gy were sentenced to jail, official relations with the Vatican were broken, and the seat of the Papal Nuncio was closed.

In the 1950s operations against the Catholic Church inside the Soviet bloc began to be closely coordinated by the Kremlin. A fanatical and experienced member of the Politburo in each country was put in charge of measures against the Catholic Church. In Rumania it was Emil Bodnaras, a former colonel in the Soviet Army during World War II whose real name was Bodnarenko. In 1945, backed by the Red Army, he had been the main person behind the overthrow of the recently elected Rumanian democratic government. Bodnaras remained in charge of measures against the Catholic Church until his death shortly before my defection in 1978.

By 1949, special departments charged with supervising the activities of the Catholic Church had been created in all Soviet-bloc security forces. Every Catholic Church building and religious servant became a target. An operation coordinated by Moscow placed microphones in every Catholic church, especially in the confessionals and priests' residences. In Rumania, they were still there at the time of my defection.

THE FIRST COMMUNIST DYNASTY

IS RUMANIA REALLY A MAVERICK?

Should the West support "maverick" Rumania? Within the limits of Marxist-Leninist principles and Warsaw Pact obligations, Bucharest does display a certain degree of independence from Moscow, deciding its own day-to-day foreign and domestic policies. The nature of this administrative independence is strongly influenced by the kind of personal relationship existing at any given moment between Rumania's leader and the top man in the Kremlin.

Under Nikita Khrushchev, who was considerate of Rumania's leader, Bucharest took pains to inform the Kremlin about all its overt and covert decisions. Leonid Brezhnev, however, ignored the Rumanian leader, an extension of Brezhnev's earlier career as First Secretary of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, where he forcibly ejected the Rumanians living there after the province came to the Soviet Union following World War II. As a result, Ceausescu kept Brezhnev at a distance. Under Yuri Andropov and now under Mikhail Gor-

batchev, who seems to show less rigidity toward him, Ceausescu has evidently resumed closer ties with Moscow.

It is true that Rumania's political position within the Warsaw Pact embodies a degree of genuine independence and is an irritant to the Soviet Union. Until now, however, the pragmatic purpose of that posture has been solely to increase Ceausescu's personal stature and to attract Western money and technology to help build Communism in Rumania.

Rumania has today the second-most orthodox Marxist domestic policy in the whole Warsaw Pact, topped only by Albania, in the entire world. The West's support to Rumania over the past seventeen years, since its spectacular reaction to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, has not brought about any change in Ceausescu's policies toward his own people, in terms of the economy, the standard of living, or human rights. Rumania's political police are now the most oppressive in the entire Soviet bloc. The ratio of security forces to the total population is one to fifteen, higher than that in any Western jail.

In order to export more fuel, presidential decrees signed in November 1984 forbid the illumination of the streets at night and drastically restrict the use of private automobiles throughout the whole country. According to the Western press, during this past winter the highest temperature permitted indoors in all public buildings in Rumania, including hospitals, was only 40 degrees Fahrenheit, which reportedly caused the deaths of numerous newborn babies in maternity hospitals.

Despite these dramatic signs of economic distress, Rumania has not stopped its politically motivated practice of providing long-term, low-interest—4 percent—credits to Third World countries.

In another recent announcement, the Greek newspaper *Acropolis* called attention to confidential negotiations taking place for the sale of Aristotle Onassis's famous personal yacht *Christina* (now *Aristoteles*), which was given to the Greek government after his death. It is to be purchased as a presidential yacht for Ceausescu. One of the most publicized yachts in the world, the 325-foot *Christina* is fitted with such niceties as a canary-yellow amphibian airplane on the upper deck, a lapis-lazuli fireplace, and bar stools covered with whale foreskin, which may strike only a Ceausescu as not being too much.

At the same time, Ceausescu's messengers have been visiting the United States and other Western countries asking for new financial assistance and the renewal of most-favored-nation status, all of which they claim is vitally needed to support Rumania's independence.

PORTRAIT OF NICU

Now 67 years old, Ceausescu is thought to be seriously, perhaps terminally ill. His death, though, would not necessarily mean that control of Rumania would pass from the Ceausescu family.

Among Ceausescu's most likely successors are his wife, Elena, and his son Nicu. First deputy prime minister and head of the National Council for Science and Technology, Elena has been called by the Rumanian press "a scientist of world renown." Nicu was once hailed by the newspaper Rumania Libera as being a part of "the line of great continuity of the revolutionary, patriotic spirit."

In the small portrait that follows, Nicu is at the Ceausescus' Bucharest residence. Located on Primavera Street, it is enclosed by a nine-foot, gray-brick-and-concrete wall. Ceausescu has a weekend home in nearby Snagov, a summer home in Neptun on the Black Sea, and a winter home near Predeal in the Carpathian mountains.

Ceausescu continued silently on the fast walk with me through his Bucharest garden, without looking at me or at anything around him. We passed around the indoor swimming pool, a massive, modern building constructed of concrete and glass, illuminated now in the evening. Through the open sliding door I could hear noisy rock-and-roll music and then splashes, not loud enough to have been made by someone diving but too loud to have been made by someone swimming.

As we passed the open door, I glanced inside to my right and saw Ceausescu's son Nicu throwing Scotch bottles into the pool. He was probably drunk again. Nicu had been a hard drinker ever since his middle teens, when he would often disappear from home and be found days later, drunk as a lord, at some friend's house or in some seedy restaurant. At that time he would drink anything, from *tsuica*—a strong plum brandy similar to *slivovitz*, and the Rumanian national drink—to Cointreau or champagne. Now he drinks only Johnny Walker Black Label Scotch.

A passionate automobile driver, Nicu has demolished at least a dozen cars on his drunken sprints, killed one young Rumanian girl, and injured many people.

LADY MACBETH OF TRANSYLVANIA

When we returned from a reception and dinner given by the mayor of New Orleans during the 1978 visit to the United

States, Elena was in good spirits. Ordering her favorite champagne, she said, "I had an interesting conversation with the 'mayoress.' You know, Nick? They are serious people. They don't want abortions. The 'mayoress' said that there's an anti-abortion movement in all of Louisiana and that the Catholic Church played an important role in it."

Draining her glass at one swallow, she continued: "Church or no, I've told you many times, Nick, that we should sign a presidential decree prohibiting abortions in Rumania and obliging every family to have at least four children."

Elena asked for another glass of champagne and emptied it before going on. "Everybody agrees that you are the greatest contemporary statesman and economist. Even the mayor, who met you for the first time tonight, said that you were a visionary, a personality that would live for centuries. A man like you is born once every 500 years."

Elena got yet another glass of champagne. "How do you feel, being so big, so important, and yet the head of such a little country? Only Albania is smaller than our country. If we sign such a decree, in less than ten years Rumania will grow to at least 40 million people. It will be entirely different then," she concluded.

"Hey, woman, be serious—shut up," said Ceausescu, laughing but flattered.

That was not the first time I had heard Elena trying to push through an anti-abortion law. During the countless hours I spent with her, I often saw her dreaming. Her most cherished dream is to become president herself in Rumania as her idol, Isabel Perón, did in Argentina. She dreams of having her name go down in history as the only woman president who during her presidency doubled the population of her country.

In the summer of 1977 Elena sent me to Paris for two weeks with her daughter, Zoia, in order to arrange there for an "accidental" meeting with the man she had selected to become Zoia's husband. A passionate mathematician, Zoia is a genuine dissident, fighting against her father's cult of personality and her mother's reign of terror.

One evening, when we were together in a striptease nightclub in Montmartre, Zoia exploded, having understood very well what was going on: "I don't want my husband to be picked by anybody but myself. I don't want to spend my whole life just having babies. I want a life decided by myself, not by ridiculous rules and laws. If I hear the harpy trying just once more to persuade Papa to sign an anti-abortion law, I'll crack her skull open. She doesn't know how to do anything else but dream about becoming a queen over 40 million idiots!" □