

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

"The weeding out of the terrorists, however, takes longer," said Mr. Lodge. "It is almost wholly a job for the Vietnamese." Thus the AP report in the Christian Science Monitor of January 13, 1967, stated a fact that should have been self-evident.

In an AP report of April 9, 1967, Mr. Lodge put it more strongly: "The real cancer in Vietnam is the terrorist inner circle. If we could destroy this terrorist inner circle the war would be virtually over. The hard-core professional terrorists who dress and look like everybody else are the biggest problem facing us now."

The question no American asked was: Why hasn't the job been turned over to a Vietnamese? Is there a Vietnamese capable of handling it? If so, why isn't he on the job? The answer to these questions is a long story.

TERRORISM, ORIENTAL STYLE. At the base of terrorism in the Orient is the age-old secret society. A world of faceless agents, hideouts, arms caches, friends, observers, informers, associates that no one knows or suspects; infiltrators with lines and sub-networks running through every level of business. A society of spies, collectors and executioners, with secret signs and passwords. The soup vendor on the corner, the little boy playing with his dog, the old woman weaving baskets—all serve as messengers, letter-drops and observers. About them swirls an ocean of humanity. Initiates of the secret society recognize and know each other.

Orientalists have spent centuries perfecting this system, and the chances are nil that CIA's "Blowtorch", Robert Komer, will be able to infiltrate and outwit it when he starts work with America's new Saigon ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker.

Only one Vietnamese ever succeeded in outwitting the Communists at their own games: General Le van Vien. America ran him out. Why America did so, and why he has not been permitted to return, since weeding out the terrorists will win the war and save thousands of American lives, is the subject of this report.

LORD OF THE SWAMPS AND MARSHES. There was no way of making a living in the swamps that lie to the south of Saigon, save by kidnapping for ransom and piracy. And since this was practiced against the rich, the majority of human ants in Vietnam had nothing but admiration for the man who could do it successfully.

Hidden in the impenetrable marshes below Saigon's Chinese suburb, Cholon, was a village called Binh Xuyen (pronounced Bean Zu-yen). Its name meant "towards the peace". A hundred small bands made up of the toughest ruffians of Indo-China, on the run from the French police, made sporadic raids and disappeared into the marshes again.

Out of the mass that made up this outlaw state within a state rose the greatest leader ever produced in modern Vietnam. This was General Le van Vien, whom Raymond Cartier described as the Vietnamese who rose closest to nobility when the chips were down, who rose above his past and acquired respectability.

During the smear years Marguerite Higgins, who later was to champion the cause of the Reds in Algeria, called him a gangster. TIME Magazine of April 4, 1955, saw him as a brute who led a band of bullies and kept pet crocodiles. Eight years later John Mecklen, the author of the TIME report, was back in Saigon, on loan to the U. S. Information Service and knifing the Ngo dinh brothers, for whom he had done the hatchet job on Le van Vien.

That with Le van Vien gone there was no one capable of assuring order in Saigon, neither John Mecklen nor Washington has admitted. It is hardly likely that "ex-CIA agent" Robert Komer, will do so in his new job as Ambassador Bunker's pacification expert. Here is the Le van Vien story:

GENERAL LE VAN VIEN. Neither the French nor the Japanese were ever able to conquer Le van Vien, so efficient was the secret organization he built up. During the World War II years it was a matter of immense pride to the Vietnamese that their "Bai Vien", as he was called, was able to defy with impunity the great power that had defeated the Americans in the Philippines and the British in Singapore.

Le van Vien became a popular hero. When the war was over, he was no longer regarded as a pirate but as a nationalist. Had he thrown in with Ho chi Minh, our own

government, which was arming Ho Chi Minh at the time, would no doubt have enriched him, but Le Van Vien never let the communists into his swamps.

In 1947 Ho Chi Minh's southern commander, Nguyen Binh, murdered the leader of the Hoa Hao sect and made the Hoa Hao members, numbering a million and a half, mortal enemies of the Reds. (Congressman Walter Judd, in a speech printed in a booklet called "Symposium on Vietnam", which the Diem lobby put out in September, 1956, credits General "Iron Mike" O'Daniel with instigating the crushing of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai sects and General Le Van Vien's anti-communist forces eight years after the assassination of the Hoa Hao leader. Actually, Allen Dulles' CIA man, Colonel Edward Lansdale, was as responsible as O'Daniel.)

Le Van Vien's friend, Muoi Tri, was sentenced to death by the communists for trying to save the Hoa Hao leader in 1947. Le Van Vien in turn saved Muoi Tri. As a result, Muoi Tri is alive today and with his Binh Xuyen followers occupies the area between Saigon and Cape St. Jacques. He has vowed to hold out until his old chief returns. American newsmen maintain the fiction that the forces in Cape St. Jacques are Vietcong. By letting one man go back to his country, the whole cape would be pacified.

The best description of Le Van Vien's character has been written by Lucien Bodard, author of a number of books on the war in Indo-China: "Each man worked knowing that Bai Vien would never abandon him. What he would not do to save one of his own! When a Binh Xuyen was touched, he was like a lion. In exchange he demanded complete loyalty. He punished pitilessly those who were not regular with their comrades."

THE BIG MISTAKE OF THE COMMUNISTS. On May 19, 1948, the communists tried to kill Le Van Vien, and while doing so cut down over a thousand of his men in cold blood. This drove Le Van Vien into the arms of the French.

AMERICA'S BIG MISTAKE, where Le Van Vien was concerned, came in 1955, when Allen Dulles gave his favorite, Colonel Edward Lansdale, the job of seeing that the Vietnamese accepted Diem, the leader America had decided they were going to have. To Lansdale the problem was "victory for our team", with no holds barred. The villains were the dirty French, not the communists. If Vietnam rejected Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother it was because "the French, striving to maintain by fair means and by sly means a remnant of influence and profit in the land they had exploited for seven decades," were obstructing Diem "with the wily rear-guard maneuvers of colonialism." (TIME, April 4, 1955)

William Tuchy, of the Los Angeles Times, was still trying to keep the Lansdale myth inflated twelve years later. On March 26, 1967, Tuchy described Lansdale as Eisenhower's special envoy during the "crucial 1954-'56 period when Diem, against long odds, won out over the warring sects who challenged his regime." There were no long odds. What happened was that Lansdale, with the unlimited bribing power of American money and the firepower we had provided, destroyed the three forces that had been warring against the Reds.

"Lansdale later soured on Diem," was the way Tuchy glossed over Lansdale's belated realization that he had been wrong. Tuchy made no mention of the prisons, and the torture house in the botanical garden, through which half of the members of Vietnam's present Constituent Assembly passed between the years when Lansdale began crushing those who did not like his man and the day he "soured".

By then 400,000 French troops had gone home, bitter against America. The Cao Dai pope had been despoiled, dragged in the mud and driven into exile. Communists were entrenching themselves in the pope's old fief, in Tay Ninh, and his followers had a score to settle with America. The Hoa Hao sect was being tracked down and its strongholds taken over by the Reds. Le Van Vien, the only man the communists feared, was in exile, and his forces driven underground.

No righteously indignant professors ever bothered to hold a teach-in to demand what was done to the Binh Xuyen prisoners who were captured while covering their leader's escape. The truth is, they were shot, by order of the man whom Colonel Lansdale was advising.

With the only three organized forces in the country broken, the next step was to destroy the throne and replace legitimacy with Colonel Lansdale's conception of

legality, to-wit: the rigged election. Under the legitimate ruler Buddhist monks might criticize but they did not dispute. Under Western-imported "legality", everyone disputed.

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1963, THE AMERICAN-ERECTED GOVERNMENT FELL. The Americans who were still duped by its propagandists gratuitously insulted the Vietnamese generals by inferring that they were too stupid to plan a coup d'etat on their own, without the help of Cabot Lodge. The parents of American boys who are wading in the swamps which Le van Vien once kept clear of Reds may well ask why Le van Vien was not permitted to go home after Diem and Nhu were deposed.

There are several reasons. First, bear in mind, General "Big" Minh and his friend General Don led the coup d'etat of November 1, 1963. Minh got his general's star in 1955 for tracking down Le van Vien and capturing his 26-year-old son, Colonel Le Paul, whom Nhu then threw into Phu Lam prison, in Cholon. Through the following year typical oriental negotiations went on between Nhu's agents and Le van Vien: First, reports of Le Paul's harsh treatment would be leaked to his father, then would come an offer from Nhu to release the son if Le van Vien would tell where he had hidden his money.

Le van Vien's personal property, and \$6 million in the Bank of Indo-China had already been grabbed by Nhu, but he and his wife were aware that Le van Vien had left a cache of buried treasure behind him. Le van Vien had no confidence in the man with whom he was dealing. But there was nothing else he could do. He ordered his son to lead Nhu's men to the money. Nhu, in return, promised to send the son to Paris to join his father.

On April 14, 1956, Le Paul was taken from his cell in Cholon. He did as his father instructed. Nhu's officers then shot him and left his body beside the road. By ways available to a man in Le van Vien's position, details of what had transpired drifted back. When Diem and Nhu fell, the officers who had participated in Le Paul's death were afraid to permit Le van Vien's return.

In early 1965 Mr. Phan Khac Suu, himself a victim of Diem's prisons, was Chief of State. Phan Khac Suu moved to bring back Le van Vien. This time the proposal was blocked by Premier Pham Huy Quat. In June, 1965, the Phan Khac Suu government fell and Saigon citizens again clamored for Le van Vien's protection against Vietcong assassins. But another obstacle arose.

Le van Vien made no demand that his property be restored. It had been sold and resold since Nhu appropriated it. What he did insist on was the return of the \$6 million seized from his bank accounts. He pointed out that he could not go back to Saigon without something to give the widows and mothers and orphans of the Binh Xuyen soldiers who were killed covering his retreat, or shot by Diem and Nhu after their surrender. And there the matter rested. America had paid \$3.6 million to bribe the Cao Dai general whose defection caused Le van Vien's defeat, and some more money for the Cao Dai troops (according to LIFE Magazine of May 13, 1957) but no one wanted to return the \$6 million our men had seized. Consequently, Le van Vien remained in Paris and G. I.'s go on dying under terrorist attacks and in the swamps.

In September, 1965, Edward Lansdale, promoted to Brigadier General and wearing the Distinguished Service Medal which Allen Dulles pinned on him for destroying the only effective anti-communist forces in Vietnam, returned to Saigon. When Lansdale became our "senior liaison officer, with the rank of minister, and member of America's 10-man mission council", Le van Vien's chances of being permitted to protect Saigon grew dimmer than ever.

THE THREAT OF ASSASSINATION HUNG OVER EVERY VIETNAMESE IN PUBLIC LIFE. As plans for election of a constituent assembly took shape, the calls for Le van Vien's return grew louder. On January 19, 1966, Robert C. Cody, of U. S. TV NEWSFILMS, interviewed Le van Vien in his apartment, outside Paris.

"If the Americans will let me return to Saigon and regroup my forces," the general said, "I will guarantee the security of Saigon, Cholon, Bien Hoa airbase and all the area down to Cape St. Jacques." (Cape St. Jacques, it will be recalled, is where Le van Vien's old lieutenant, Muoi Tri, is now operating. In the Plain of Junks eight more battalions of Le van Vien's old Binh Xuyen army are in dissidence under Bay Mon, the general's old Chief of Staff.)

Le van Vien continued, in the Cody interview, "Also, I will guarantee to liberate 90% of the American prisoners held below the 17th parallel." It was no idle boast.

This was his third appeal. On June 9, 1960, he wrote a letter to President Eisenhower, warning of what was ahead. There was no answer. On April 23, 1965, he addressed a plea to President Johnson, begging to be permitted to return to his country and run the Vietcong out of zones where every passage was known to his men. If it was ever broadcast in America, the Cody interview brought no more response than the appeals to Eisenhower and LBJ.

IN SAIGON, IN NOVEMBER, 1966, Mr. Tran van Van, opposition leader in the Constituent Assembly, said, "Le van Vien must come back so we can sleep in peace again." Tran van Van was assassinated on December 9.

TIME Magazine of November 11, 1966, with its usual disregard for truth, pictured Le van Vien as living in a mansion outside Paris. Actually, he is living in a small apartment in a working-men's suburb. The week the TIME story appeared, Le van Vien was interviewed by Gilles Mermoz for the French Catholic weekly, RIVAROL. The RIVAROL story, printed on December 22, is interesting, both for its information and for the general's frankness.

THE INTERVIEW WITH GILLES MERMOZ: Mermoz: You were born in a lunar year, under the double sign of running water and the dragon. Your friends called you Anh Bay, but to the French you were the unseizable Bai Vien, leader of the secret society of the Binh Xuyen. To the little people of Vietnam you were the "redresser of wrongs". And then His Majesty Bao Dai made you a general-General Le van Vien. But a legend still persists that you possessed a pet tiger which you petted like a cat and to which, when he was good, you tossed a prisoner from time to time. Is that true?

Le van Vien: That tiger only ate a dog once, and then by accident.

Mermoz: Did you tell a journalist, "I know the Vietminh too well to let them assassinate me like an imbecile. I'll assassinate them."

Le van Vien: I did.

Mermoz: At the age of 30 you had already made yourself leader of the Binh Xuyen. You committed armed robberies. You taxed the merchants. Why?

Le van Vien: At 18 I learned the misery of the little people and I wanted to help them. With my nationalist friends I was already dreaming of independence. For that I needed money—lots of money. And we struck on a means which those who knew Vietnam found only amusing.

The Vietnamese is a born gambler and Cholon was the city of gamblers. We organized gambling games outside the Chinese and European establishments. With the money we set up funds for the most miserable of the Vietnamese community. It was not bad, when you consider that we were all under 20.

THE MASTER OF PRISON DELIVERIES

Mermoz: And then?

Le van Vien: When I was nineteen, I inherited some rice land, which I sold to buy old cars to be converted into taxis. It was a community project. Many of my drivers were ex-convicts, escapees from French prisons, men banned from Saigon. We were trying to help the nationalists in the prisons of Saigon and Poulo Condore, but the taxi venture failed. At twenty-six I was ruined, but by that time the little people of Saigon and Cholon knew me and followed me.

In Cholon the wealth was Chinese. The Chinese controlled everything. So I decided to tax them. And they paid. At that time the prisons were filled with young Vietnamese who had studied in France. They had heard Maurras praise nationalism—French nationalism. And they had heard the socialists talk of independence for the colonies. These young prisoners had no lawyers. Their letters would reach me through my clandestine messengers. Though I was 120 miles from Saigon, ten days later they would have a lawyer

and money. If the lawyer could not get them out, I arranged their escape. We also needed money to buy arms, to hold my base in the swamps.

Mermoz: But these Chinese were not choir boys. They paid you, like that?

Le van Vien: They paid because they were afraid.

Mermoz: When you were 34, the French arrested you. You were charged with 17 armed robberies and condemned to 15 years of forced labor in the terrible island prison of Poulo Condore, 100 miles from the coast. You managed to escape?

Le van Vien: Yes, 15 days later. When I arrived at Poulo Condore everyone knew me and I had no lack of accomplices. I escaped on a raft and was picked up by a small boat. A year later I was recaptured and returned to Poulo Condore. Two months later I escaped again. Once more I was captured after a year of liberty and sent back.

This time, after two months of preparation, I escaped for the third time and was never taken again. When the police searched quarters where I was hiding, the little people did not bother to disturb my siesta. They were my guards, watching for me. I was protected by all the Vietnamese.

In 1942 the Japanese put a price of 10 million piastres on my head, because I had led guerilla attacks against them. The Vietnamese never betrayed me. The Japanese conducted themselves like warlords, pillaging, killing, mutilating. That is why I attacked them.

Mermoz: In 1950 you took over the Grand Monde, the greatest gambling house in the world. How did you do it?

Le van Vien: That was after I declared war on the Vietminh. The Grand Monde belonged to the Chinese through a concession for which they had paid 500,000 piastres a day to the government. No one dared defy them. I needed the Grand Monde to support my army, so I offered 700,000 piastres a day and got it.

Mermoz: You must have used other arguments than a higher offer. Those Chinese were from Macao and they were the toughest gangsters in the world.

Le van Vien: It was very simple. In 1945, '46, '47, Cholon was a place of terror and the Chinese were paying me to protect the city. When I rallied to the French I said to the Chinese, "I need the Grand Monde for the fight against the communists." They yielded. They were afraid. They knew me.

Mermoz: Yet, Lam Giong, the big boss of the Grand Monde, had the support of Premier Tran van Huu and the Chinese syndicate which controlled all the gambling in Asia. He had hundreds of professional killers at hand. Furthermore, you stopped all the pay-offs the Grand Monde was making on the side to police officers, officials, even ministers. How did you get away with it?

Le van Vien: I repeat. They were afraid of me.

Mermoz: In France they pictured you as a gangster.

Le van Vien: Those who gave me that label were ignorant of Asia and its problems. I was a nationalist. I was in revolt against foreign domination. The nationalist struggle required money. The Binh Xuyen were pirates but they were not pirates alone; they were above all a brotherhood for all the little people.

Mermoz: What influence did you have in South Vietnam?

Le van Vien: I not only controlled the cities of Saigon and Cholon. Aside from the Grand Monde I had all sorts of enterprises—transport lines, boats, junks, buses, timber and coal. I had bases in the villages, through the provinces and among the sects such as the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao. My influence extended over more than six million Vietnamese. I had a regular army of 11,000 soldiers and over 20,000 irregulars. I also supported the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao armies. All of this did not cost the French government a cent. I financed everything through the gambling houses, taxes on Chinese business men, etc.

Mermoz: It is undeniable that you commanded the bravest and most ferociously anti-communist troops in Vietnam. Yet, before that, you fought the French for three years.

Le van Vien: Yes. Often the Komintern and Ho chi Minh tried to recruit me. I always refused. In 1945 the Japanese turned power over to a Vietnamese government which we now know was communist, beyond the shadow of a doubt. But to the Viet-

name this government looked like the first independent one they had had since 1884. In view of my popularity this government asked me to police Saigon and Cholon.

Nguyen Binh was Ho Chi Minh's representative in the south, and the only authority he had was by grace of my resistance to the French. When Nguyen Binh felt that he was strong enough, he threw off his mask. He began killing. One day, in my underground headquarters, I received a message from the Emperor Bao Dai, asking me to return and establish a security system for his protection. That was how I happened to organize a protective guard of hundreds of thousands in Saigon.

Mermoz: Let's go back a bit. In May, 1948, Nguyen Binh invited you to his headquarters. You knew it was a trap, and hid 200 of your men in the reeds. When you called for help, they rushed in and helped you fight your way out. When you got back to your camp, you launched a wave of reprisals. In one night you exterminated all the assassination committees of the Vietminh.

Le van Vien: I knew all of them. In every quarter I had my eyes and ears.

Mermoz: In 1955 there was civil war. President Diem's army attacked the armies of the sects, which you commanded. They had heavy arms, furnished by the Americans, and they carried the day. You and your forces were driven back to the maquis. Later the police took your son out of prison and killed him. His arms and feet were tied, nevertheless Diem's press pretended that he was trying to escape. When you remember those days, what do you think of President Diem?

Le van Vien: Diem was put in place by the Americans, against the will of the Emperor, the French and the Vietnamese. He came from Central Vietnam and knew nothing of the South. He had lived in America. But he was honest. I used to explain the situation to him, and when I left him we would be in agreement. Next day he would have changed his mind. He had listened to his family—Nhu and his wife, who were mad for absolute power. They brought Diem to his downfall by turning all the forces of the country against him, including the 350,000 Catholics of Bentre, armed by Col. Jean Leroy.

THE SOLUTION FORESEEN BY GENERAL LE VAN VIEN: The solution I see is political. A truly popular government must be set up; then I will return and rally many who are now with the Vietcong, for not all of them are communists. I am thinking of my own Binh Xuyen forces who went underground in 1955 and which are still in dissidence. Today the Hao Hoa with their supporters number 2½ million, the Cao Dai almost 4 million. It is possible to set up an anti-communist government that will be supported by the entire nation.

When Vietnam has a representative government, the army will not be fighting alone. When we who were driven out are permitted to return, the population will see the struggle as their fight. The infiltrators from the north, where are they? In the hideouts and camps of my old army, where we know every avenue of escape. They could not get away. As for the Americans, they are foreigners; they will leave Vietnam, but, let me add, after the withdrawal of the North Vietnamese.

Mermoz: Can the Americans be defeated militarily? LVV: That is impossible.

Mermoz: Will North Vietnam negotiate? LVV: Not as long as they think they can win by being patient. But they can be forced to withdraw beyond the 17th parallel by formation of a government in the South supported by the vast majority of the population—the sects, Catholics, Buddhists, followers of the national tradition (His Majesty, the Emperor)—everybody.

MERMOZ ENDED HIS INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL LE VAN VIEN with the reflection, "Will Le van Vien end his days an exile in Paris? I would not bet on it. A few months ago a Vietnamese friend said to me, 'If Bai Vien went back to Saigon, no one doubts that he would quickly restore order through all the region. But afterward they would have to reckon with him. For his popularity is still great among the little people whom he protected.'"

Le van Vien's return could be disastrous to the Vietcong and to General Lansdale's reputation. It would, however, save the lives of thousands of American boys, otherwise doomed to die for the preservation of General Lansdale's "face".

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H. du B. REPORTS

PARIS, FRANCE

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

Tour of a Troubled Horizon

H. du B. REPORTS for January, February, March and April of 1967 dealt with pressing aspects of the war in Vietnam--a war which U. S. Delegate to U. N., Arthur Goldberg, told America and the world, over nationwide television on May 7, 1967, is not being fought with victory as its goal. It is now time to cast an eye over a troubled globe and the consequences of such a declaration.

THE BILDERBERGERS AGAIN: As March drew to a close, 90-some insiders in the highly secret group of internationalists which Prince Bernhard of Holland heads were converging on Cambridge, England, where the 16th meeting of the Bilderbergers was about to convene. This time Prince Philip, Queen Elizabeth's consort, was taken into the inner circle. His contribution was his name. The internationalists, while essentially leftist, are also snobs.

David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank and the inseparable companion of John J. McCloy, was there. To understand the importance of Mr. Rockefeller's speech in which he impressed--even shamed--Europeans with examples of their economic and technological backwardness, compared to America, there are a number of things the reader must bear in mind: Mr. Rockefeller was campaigning for more than American leadership, an economic and technological leadership in which he and his bank are not completely disinterested. He was doing the ground-laying for American entry into the European super-state which is every Bilderberg member's aim. Secondly: this 16th Bilderberg reunion and the selection of Cambridge as its place was for the purpose of preparing Britain's entry into the European Common Market as a precedent for bringing in America. That is why Prince Philip was the meeting's guest of honor.

Mr. Harold Wilson, leader of Britain's Labor Government, is faced with declining prestige at home and loss of Labor seats in the recent elections. Consequently, he is determined to deliver Britain, bound and gagged, into the burgeoning continental super-state while he still has power to do so, which is to say before he falls. By the reckoning of the British Left, the sacrifice of sovereignty necessary to get Britain into the Common Market will prevent any future Conservative government from getting her out. Attacked by Conservatives on his right and a disillusioned electorate on his left, an extreme left which includes such Laborites as Emmanuel Shinwell, Michael Foot and Koni Zilliacus, Wilson pushes Britain toward the regional super-state. This meeting of the Bilderbergers was convoked to give him a hand. His principal ally within the Common Market group is Pierre Werner, Luxembourg's Prime Minister.

All that went on behind closed doors in Cambridge we will never know. Leaks have disclosed that Mr. Kohnstamm, Vice President of the Action Committee for a United States of Europe, made a plea for Atlantic community union. This is in line with the objectives pursued by John J. McCloy in his various capacities as head of the Council on Foreign Relations, leader of the steering committee of the Bilderberg group itself, and President of the Atlantic Institute. When Wilson has shaved Britain of enough sovereignty to fit her into the European super-state, it will be Mr. McCloy's turn to deliver America.

THE HORSE-TRADING. Coming at this time, on the heels of Labor's setback in Britain and with Wilson racing to take the helpless electorate into regional one-worldism while he is in the driver's seat, the deals that went on in Cambridge were far-reaching. Leftists had accused Wilson of weakness over Rhodesia. Sir Frank Roberts, his ambassador to Bonn, warned him that West Germany, under Bilderberg member Chancellor Kiesinger and his extreme left Foreign Minister, Willy Brandt, would block British initiatives unless great concessions were made. The Michael Foot group in parliament, which had thrown Britain behind communist terrorists in Algeria and Castro revolutionists in Cuba refused all-out support for Wilson until his government condemned American action in Vietnam. Such was the climate in which the Bilderbergers sat, with Prince Philip as a novice. Should the Bilderbergers succeed in removing the stumbling blocks, Britain's entry into the seed group for a United States of Europe would automatically bring 235 million people under the supra-national government on the seventh floor of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The deciding factor may be West Germany.

A CHANGING WEST GERMANY. LIFE Magazine of April 28, 1967, said there are "signs that the two Germanys are slyly inching closer." The inference was that this, like America's bridge-building to the East, would be good for the West. "Thoughtful Herbert Wehner, Socialist, the new minister in charge of East German affairs in Chancellor Kiesinger's West German government," was credited with the new trend by LIFE's Hugh Moffet.

This "Socialist" Wehner whom LIFE praises is an old-time communist revolutionary who went to Moscow in 1933 and stayed there until Hitler fell, after which, on Stalin's orders, he returned to Germany. His role in certain of Stalin's purges has never been fully aired. A thick file known as the "Lux Dossier", after the Moscow hotel in which the German Reds on whom Wehner was informing were lodged, is known to be in existence. It could be extremely useful as a means of putting pressure on Wehner today.

After the war he joined Willy Brandt's Social Democrat Party, became the principal lieutenant of West Germany's socialist leader and moved steadily forward to the position he now holds. He is a key man in the Willy Brandt plan to "reconcile" East and West Germany by making West Germany pink in hopes that the East will in turn dilute its red hue. This is "bridge-building to the East" German style. The bridge-builders are anchoring their western span to a dangerous theory, to the effect that peaceful co-existence will bring about Russia's progressive rallying to the West.

BRIDGE-BUILDING THROUGH TRADE WITH RUSSIA. An intense propaganda campaign astutely orchestrated by politicians and international organizations now pictures Moscow as the home of "white communism", which they claim is no longer dangerous or aggressive. With commercial exchanges between East and West on the rise, Soviet Russia proposes technological collaboration as well. While liberal politicians oppose the election of conservatives on grounds that it will bring back the threat of war which "peaceful co-existence" has ended, Russia provides 80% of the war matériel used by the Vietcong. Still the myth is maintained that a new era of friendship with Russia has dawned, despite the fact that Russian espionage soars and the United Nations committee on colonialism which we so long fanned into white heat against our allies is now being asked by Moscow to look into America's presence in Puerto Rico. Russia's objective: Enlargement of the Cuban threat on America's doorstep.

For proof of the fallacy of any claim that Russia has abandoned revolutionary militancy and assumed the role of America's friend and ally in keeping the peace, against Red China, a study of the Africa-Asia-Latin America Axis is in order.

THE TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE OF JANUARY, 1966, was the great meeting of Africans, Asiatics and Latin Americans in Cuba, to concretize communist action against America by bringing Latin America into the world Red coalition. The choice of Havana as the seat of this conference was natural, for not only is Havana the base for the Red drive in Latin America, but the Kennedy administration made it a Red sanctuary.

It will be recalled that the first axis-type coalition including Cuba was formed in 1959. This was the Egypt-Cuba-Panama axis in which Nasser offered to train Cuban and Panamanian underwater demolition teams for action against America, and Castro made an accord with the Algerian terrorists--whom America continued to support. As America gave way in Panama, this line-up crumbled for lack of opposition.

The fall of 1962 brought the Cuban missile crisis. Two weeks before a congressional election, President Kennedy jolted America with photos of Russian missile sites in Cuba. European intelligence services observed that Khrushchev was aware of American observation flights over Cuba. Abundant reports had poured into Europe, announcing the construction of underground missile sites in tunnels, caves and concealed silos. AGINTER PRESSE, of Lisbon, stated in a special report on the Tri-Continental Conference, that Khrushchev had undoubtedly set up a small part of his Cuban platforms in open air for the deliberate purpose of testing America's will.

If America made no reaction, Russia could estimate the extent of our deterioration and form an idea as to how far she could go. If America reacted with vigor, Khrushchev could always negotiate. Kennedy, with the aid of a compliant press, made political hay of the incident. America was led to believe that he had stood up to Russia. Actually, not a Cuba-bound Russian ship was boarded. And Kennedy himself was duped. While Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the above-ground pads which had been photographed, and promised to send no more missiles to Cuba,

all of the concealed and thus unphotographable sites and missile stockpiles remain.

Kennedy, on the other hand, committed America to a promise that America would never invade Cuba nor permit any territory on the American continent to be used as a take-off point for a Cuban invasion. Thus, for the dismantling of a few visible Russian missile sites, America agreed not only to tolerate a communist sanctuary on her doorstep but accepted responsibility for its security. Since 1962 Cuba cannot be invaded, and the American people were given nothing in return. The communists, while preparing to exploit their new position, let Kennedy proclaim that he had won a victory; thereafter Cuba became an invulnerable communist base. For this reason it was chosen as the exterior capital for communist revolution. Since the security of the island was guaranteed by the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement, what better place for conspiracies, preparation of plots, revolutions and wars?

Fortified by this assurance, Fidel Castro from 1963 onward had no other concern than conquest of the Americas. In 1964 he called a secret conference of 19 Latin-American communist parties for the purpose of planning a greater conference which would unite the Reds of Africa, Asia and Latin America in a common drive. The 1964 meeting was a personal success for Castro. One of the Asiatic leaders on whom he was counting most was Sukarno of Indonesia. For an example of the sort of leadership our leftist administrations have foisted on America: On Thursday, Nov. 19, 1964, while Castro was building his hopes on Sukarno, a meeting was held by the World Affairs Council of Los Angeles. Here Mr. Roger Hilsman, hailed as the State Department's "former specialist on the Far East", informed a hall full of awe-struck listeners that "what America needs to save the nasty situation in South Vietnam is a strong leader like Sukarno of Indonesia."

THE THREE-CONTINENT ALLIANCE of which Castro dreamed had its beginning at a conference which Nasser sponsored in Cairo from Dec. 6, 1957, to Jan. 1, 1958. Nasser was anxious to establish Egyptian leadership over black Africa and assure himself of the support of Asia as a preparation for the long-desired "holy war" against Israel. Africa would furnish cannon fodder and Asia the backing in U. N. Nasser called this meeting the Conference for the Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples.

In late 1958 another conference was held in Accra. In view of this, the confession of Thomas Wardell Braden in the Saturday Evening Post of early May, 1967, that he had once given \$50,000 in fifty-dollar bills to the Reuther brothers, plus other sums to Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone, takes on greater importance. Mr. Braden says he delivered this money to our labor revolution-spreaders on behalf of CIA chief Allen Dulles.

At this December, 1958, conference in Accra appeared Mr. Irving Brown, accompanied by Mr. Lawrence C. McQuade. The Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune of January 13, 1959, carried a piece by Mr. McQuade entitled "Ghana's Bid for Leadership". With the cry of "Africans, unite! You have a continent to regain and nothing to lose but your chains!", Mr. McQuade went all out to sell America on Nkrumah. A year later Mr. McQuade was praising Nkrumah's communist hell as "The Showplace of Black Africa" (Yale Review). In April, 1967, as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic and International Business, Mr. McQuade launched a move to send medical supplies to Red China(!). Algeria, which Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone had supported to the hilt with CIA and labor union funds, is running training camps for the Vietcong.

IN CONAKRY, AT A SECOND CONFERENCE, APRIL 11-15, 1960, the Organization for the Solidarity of Afro-Asian Peoples was officially formed. Two Americans, Frank Montero and William X. Scheinman (Scheinman carrying an extra passport in the name of John Ball) had already entered Angola on Feb. 5 to contact terrorist leaders and stir up the bloody uprising which African leaders, agitated by George Meany, Walter Reuther and G. Mennen Williams, continue to support. Thus was created the African coalition which Castro was to inherit.

After the Conakry Conference other meetings followed in rapid succession. No. 3 took place in Moshi, Upper Volta, from Feb. 4 to Feb. 19, 1963. Two years later, May 9 to 16, 1965, the synchronisers of African violence were back in Accra. At the instigation of Soviet Russia Havana was selected for the fifth and most important conference of them all, the one that would package Africa, Asia and Latin America in a communist coalition, enveloping the three continents. The date set was January 3 to 17, 1966.

THE BIG TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE IN HAVANA. Not enough attention has been paid to

the role of Morocco's Mehdi Ben Barka in setting up this Havana meeting which was, among other things, to plot the overthrow of the king in Morocco and establish Ben Barka as first president of the Moroccan republic which would take its place in the communist camp. For Ben Barka would never have been anything but a down-at-heel coffee house revolutionary had it not been for the backing he received from American labor's Irving Brown, who in turn was using the money supplied by Allen Dulles and CIA via the stupid or subversive (it is a moot question which) Mr. T. W. Braden. A cursory study of TIME Magazine over the years prior to Mehdi Ben Barka's kidnapping in late 1965 will disclose that TIME supported the Moroccan Red as doggedly as TIME supported Mr. Braden on May 19, 1967.

Though Ben Barka was not present in Havana for the long-planned meeting, representatives of all the communist "National Liberation Fronts" were there. Over 600 delegates, representing 82 countries with their parallel organizations and fronts were present. The decisions made by this vast assembly are vitally important to the free world. They can be placed under 3 headings.

GLOBAL REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY held top priority. Havana was selected as the operational and logistical command center for the struggle against "imperialism". Member nations agreed to provide fighters and psychological support for the campaign to win the masses. Violence and armed struggles were unanimously approved. In essence the Tri-Continental Conference was communism's declaration of war against the free world, with Havana as a base. The aim was to leave Moscow's hands clean and avoid embarrassing Senators Kennedy and Fulbright. Significantly, Moscow's representatives made no mention of peaceful co-existence.

Sabotage and guerilla warfare were to be stepped up, from Vietnam to Aden to Chile, and a committee was appointed to study new ways of assisting "liberation movements" around the world. In the end, the conference saw Latin America no longer a poor relation but an honored member of the world revolutionary movement. Its 27 delegates were named to head "OLAS"-the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity - which will have Havana as its base and hold its own first congress in July, 1967. OLAS' aim is to supply, arm and aid by all means the liberation movements of Latin-America.

WHAT IS KNOWN OF THE GLOBAL REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY agreed upon in the accords signed in Havana comes mostly from European leaks and the newspaper GRAMMA, published in Havana. Briefly, aid to Vietnam was placed at the top of the list, for this war's outcome will affect all other "liberation movements" around the world. After Vietnam, stepping up of the struggle of "patriotic people of Latin-America against the imperialist United States " takes second place.

Project No. 3 is the "war of liberation" in Africa, particularly against Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. Barring a sudden awakening in Washington, communist victory in Africa seems virtually assured, since the U. N., backed by America, is until now solidly on the side of the Cuba-based conference.

ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN WESTERN EUROPE were surprised that North America and Western Europe were not given more attention at this conference. The explanation: In the end it was a victory for Marshal Lin Piao's theory of "final triumph of the countryside over the world's cities", in the struggle for world conquest; as such it was a partial victory for Mao Tse-tung.

The co-ordination of two tactics--the pretense of peaceful co-existence while actively fomenting and supporting wars--is to be an accepted fact of life wherever communism comes in contact with the free world, whether our leaders recognize it or not. Russia, while preaching peaceful co-existence, finds no contradiction in her participation in the war in Vietnam, first on the technical and logistical level, then on the political and psychological front. The demonstrations for peace in Vietnam which pro-Russian communists have launched in Europe and America have a Ho chi Minh victory as their aim. There is no place in their plan for a no-winism policy. Yet, in the communist world, Vietnam is a Chinese pawn. It must be remembered that in 1965 Ho chi Minh was designated "Delegate General for Affairs of the Mekong" by Mao Tse-tung.

While Russia pretends to be the West's ally against Peking, though advancing Peking's aims in world communist circles, our recent ambassador to Japan, Edwin O. Reischauer (formerly of the Institute of Pacific Relations) blithely advocates support for "a strong Red China" and trade with Peking. How men like Reischauer, Roger Hilsman and Lawrence C. McQuade

acquire such posts no official can ever explain, unless furtherance of world communism was our objective from the start.

CO-OPERATION WITH COMMUNIST PLANNERS is equally apparent in Africa. The government of the Abbe Fulbert Youlou was toppled in Brazzaville-Congo by a concerted effort of two CIA-financed labor unions and one union directed from Prague, though theoretically it was to fight the latter that CIA was financing American labor. Fulbert Youlou was anti-communist, pro-Tshombe, and opposed to military action against Portuguese Angola. Accordingly, America's CIA-supported unions took the lead in destroying him. Since 1964 Russians, Cubans and Chinese work together in Brazzaville. Russian advisors and instructors run the army. Over 400 Cuban military specialists teach guerilla warfare and sabotage. Chinese technicians teach underground subversion.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, as Nasser-directed terrorism in Aden increases and build-up for the war against Israel continues, the influence of the Havana Tri-Continental bloc grows. On January 17, 1967, the president of the Federation of Syrian Workers, the president of the Syrian Students' Association and Syria's Minister of Labor dispatched their pledge of solidarity to Cuba.

One objective of Nasser's crisis with Israel is to topple the Saudi Arabia king and restore his pro-Egyptian brother to power. Saudi Arabia is supporting the royalists in Yemen, against Nasser. If Nasser takes a warlike stance against Israel, the king of Saudi Arabia must drop Yemen's Imam el Badr and rally to Nasser or risk being overthrown by his Nasser-incited subjects. But why did the Kennedy administration rush to recognize the Egyptian puppet "Republic" of Yemen?

PART TWO OF THE TRI-CONTINENTAL ACCORD: ARMED WARFARE. On one thing all the delegates agreed: The communist revolution must be advanced by all means, including violence. Consequently, armed conflict was accorded priority over peaceful co-existence. This does not mean that peaceful co-existence will be abandoned, but that it will be reserved as an alternate means for particular areas.

In his closing speech Fidel Castro told the more than 600 delegates present that conditions were ideal for armed revolution in all the countries of Latin-America. He recommended that pressure be redoubled in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Guatemala. Indoctrination, political drives, underground organization, creation of fronts and other indirect maneuvers classic in a prolonged struggle were proposed for the rest of Latin-America.

A similar classing of ripe and not yet ripe nations was outlined for Africa. Plans for terrorist attacks within and armed attacks from without against Portuguese provinces in Africa were explained in minute detail by Mr. Amilcar Cabral, who represented the revolutionaries in Angola. Shortly after the Havana congress the Tri-Continental Conference held another meeting in Brazzaville, under the sponsorship of the government which two American-directed labor unions in league with a Prague-controlled union brought into power.

Here it was decided to make the crushing of Rhodesia the No. 1 goal of communism in Africa, even ahead of the Union of South Africa, if the U. N. cannot be persuaded to undertake an invasion under its own flag.

Cuban and Algerian guerilla experts told a hall full of hushed delegates that to "liberate" zones in enemy-held territory and attain objectives, a special type army is necessary. One does not raise a subversive army as one would recruit a volunteer corps. A hard-core revolutionary starts by organizing small groups. Later, little by little, as the movement gains strength the groups amalgamate, ready to strike as a united force or splinter and disperse as the situation warrants.

AMERICA'S CONTRADICTIONARY POSITION as Red revolution-spreader and free world leader will perplex future historians more than Russia's role as both advocate of peaceful co-existence and supply camp for communist wars. Examples: In 1945-'46 American agents armed, advised and set in motion Ho chi Minh against the French. Many of the French troops captured by the communist force we helped to set up were from France's colonies in Africa. Ho chi Minh's psychological warfare specialists indoctrinated them. After their release they were anti-

European, insubordinate and worthless as western soldiers. It would have been inhumane to take them out and shoot them, so they were sent back to their native countries. There they spread the virus of Ho chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung.

In early 1957, speaking in Nkrumah's violent Ghana, CIO labor boss George Meany incited African mobs with a speech about "Algerian patriots deprived of liberty and now locked in a final, and I am sure victorious, struggle for independence from French colonialism, the most degrading expression of an outworn and declining imperialism."

The patriots Meany extolled were patriotic to Moscow and Peking, the degrading expression of imperialism from which Meany would deliver them was nothing to what he was letting them in for. Today guerilla specialists of the Tri-Continental Conference go over and over the lessons learned in Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba--seeking "the correct solution"--i. e., the weak points of the West.

President Johnson and Arthur Goldberg state that victory is not our goal in Vietnam. The goal of the Tri-Continental Conference is victory over us. The united Reds of Asia, Africa and Latin-America are not fighting for a draw. Herein lies the greatest morale booster for the Tri-Continental Reds.

PART THREE OF THE HAVANA AGREEMENT DEALS EXCLUSIVELY WITH LATIN-AMERICA. By it the revolutionary groups of Latin-America are officially integrated in the communist world revolution. For the first time Latin-American revolutionaries sat as equals with their counterparts from Africa and Asia, and engaged the American continent in the common struggle. For over a year Fidel Castro had been preparing for this moment, ironing out discord and preparing a surface picture of continental cohesion. OIAS--the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity--was the result. The program he elaborated "in accord with the resolutions taken by the Tri-Continental Conference", calls for:

1. Increased aid from abroad in matériel and advisors, particularly foreign specialists in guerilla warfare.
2. Unconditional support of any armed rebellion, regardless of its political tendency, as a means of stirring up the masses.
3. The spread of political confusion by action within universities.
4. Creation of economic conditions favorable to the spread of revolution and discontent.
5. The setting up of organs capable of directing revolutionary struggles.

HAVANA WAS UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED HQ FOR OIAS. A general staff, complete with corresponding military branches was set up. A subversive school directed by the Soviet general Valenkeszky opened its doors, in conjunction with a Soviet intelligence and counter-intelligence school known as the KGB. Co-ordination is handled by the head of the General Office of Cuban Guerillas, Manuel Pineiro Lozada, known as "Red Beard". Top students are sent to Moscow for further training. The student movement is co-ordinated by OCLAE (Organization Continentale Latino-Americain des Etudiants).

Counteraction to date has been timid. Look for more trouble in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin-America as America fights for a draw and communism fights to win.

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East coast subscription office: Miss Ruth Noble, Suite 356, 18 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Subscription price: \$10 per year.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, \$5) may be ordered from Western Islands, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont, 78, Massachusetts.

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

The June issue of H. du B. REPORTS was unavoidably delayed. The reason: your correspondent underwent surgery.

THUNDER OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Came the spring of 1967. Nasser was desperate. 38,000 Egyptian troops were tied down in Yemen, powerless to subdue the elusive royalists under the Imam Badr. Egypt could not continue the drain indefinitely. Yet on victory in Yemen depended Egypt's drive for control of Aden, the federation of South Arabian rulers which Aden protects, and eventually the rich oil sultanates, of which Kuwait is the ultimate prize.

Britain's labor government had announced intentions of cutting adrift Aden and the Federation sultans who had placed their faith in Britain. November 1967, or, at the latest, February 1968 was the date set by the Wilson government. It was no secret that Nasser was planning what he thought would be a master stroke. Arch villains of the scheme, from the start, were Egypt and Algeria.

VIEWED FROM CAIRO, THE SOLUTION WAS SIMPLE: Cut the Yemen royalists off from Saudi Arabian support and the resistance that was tying down 38,000 Egyptian troops and draining the Cairo treasury would collapse. There were two ways by which the Imam Badr could be delivered into Nasser's hands. One: by forcing Saudi Arabia's King Feisal to rally to Nasser. Two: by deposing Feisal and restoring his brother, King Saud, who was living in Cairo as Nasser's guest.

Either could be achieved by provoking a crisis with Israel--a crisis in which Arab passions could be whipped up and Feisal presented with the two alternatives: alliance with Nasser in the long awaited Jihad (Holy War), or Feisal's ousting by his own inflamed people.

THROUGH THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF MARCH, 1967, Britain and America talked. The labor government in London preferred a wait and see attitude, dispatching arms and a few instructors to Saudi Arabia without stating what Britain's stand would be in the event of an Egyptian adventure.

Dean Rusk, in a personal message to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, urged that a joint message be addressed to Nasser, warning that any warlike move would be opposed by the inflexible determination of Britain and America.

Among the first to support the Rusk proposal in Britain was Foreign Secretary George Brown. But the left wing of the Wilson government paralyzed all initiative. Around such members as Mr. Anthony Greenwood and Mrs. Barbara Castle a solid bloc for appeasement was formed, its cry: "Don't be rude to Nasser; you will only force him to harden his stand." At that point Mr. George Thomson, Minister of State in the Foreign Office, was rushed from Aden to Washington to try to hammer out a common position.

While Britain's emissary was winging his way to Washington, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Semenov was on his way to Cairo and Damascus. His mission: to promise complete Russian support against the "dogs of the imperialists" in Amman and Ryad (meaning Jordan's King Hussein and Saudi Arabia's Feisal.)

"To attack the Zionists with any hope of success," Semenov told Nasser, according to confidential reports reaching Paris, "you must first eliminate the traitors in your rear--Hussein and Feisal. Then you will have nothing to fear from the diversionary tactics in Washington. The Republicans (Nasser puppet forces) will at last be victorious in Yemen and the oil royalties of Saudi Arabia will finance your war in Palestine."

Overnight the radio attacks against Hussein and Feisal were stepped up. Out of Cairo came an endless flow of hate from Nasser's "Voice of the Arabs", condemning Hussein to death. Dr. Nur-ud-Din Atassi, the President of Syria, went on the air to proclaim that the days of Hussein and Feisal were numbered. Terrorist commando

teams began striking daily in Saudi Arabia and Jordan. A bomb, a rifle shot, a palace coup d'etat could at any moment upset the delicate balance of the Middle East. Yemen continued to drain the Egyptian treasury faster than Suez could bring profits in. Because of Yemen something had to be done.

BEHIND THE STUBBORN RESISTANCE OF YEMEN'S ROYALISTS lies one of the greatest adventure stories of our time, a story which should have appealed to America's traditional sympathy for the underdog had the American public been told what was going on.

In 1962, it will be recalled, Moise Tshombe's forces, whipped into shape and led by a handful of French officers under Commandant Roger Faulques, a hero of the First Paratroop Regiment of the Foreign Legion in Indo-China, inflicted a crushing defeat on UN's cocksure Blue Berets. An irate Hammarskjold, seeing himself more and more as God's viceroy on earth, contemptuously branded Tshombe's foreign advisors despicable mercenaries. Hammarskjold's outburst set the tone for the entire American press, which proceeded to muster public opinion behind a military offensive to crush stable Katanga and clear the way for the Simba massacres which followed.

In the months to come, Faulques and his team were forgotten. The American public was never told that they had suddenly popped up in Yemen and, under merciless Egyptian bombings, were running a military school in mountain caves, forging the royalist army that was tying down 40,000 Egyptians.

There are many unexplained things about America's role in the plot to serve up Yemen on a platter to Nasser. The Egyptian-contrived revolt against the Imam Badr could in no sense be considered a national movement. It was a naked Egyptian act of aggression from the first. Why then did the Kennedy administration jump in, in a matter of hours, to recognize the fictitious Yemen Republic, headed by a Nasser puppet?

The only possible explanation is that a small group of Americans in positions of power through personal friendship with Kennedy were able to use America in an effort to strike a deal which they thought would be advantageous to themselves or a cause which they were espousing. Though it meant putting a knife between the shoulder blades of Britain in Aden and clearing the way for Egyptian control of the Arabian Peninsula, they were willing to let Nasser devour the Imamate of Yemen in an attempt to bribe him away from Israel.

Common sense should have told them that an Egyptian stranglehold on Saudi Arabia and the oil sultanates of the peninsula would only hasten the inevitable. Five years later Nasser was still bogged down in Yemen. Every promise to pull out his troops had been broken. Each month the Imam Badr grew in stature. Commandant Faulques and his team brought in gasoline engines, lathes and tools. In concealed caves they were teaching Yemeni tribesmen how to make arms and ammunition.

AS '66 DREW TO A CLOSE NASSER'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, nominally headed by the mysterious Colonel Mahmoud but backed by Nazi officers from Hitler's Arab bureau, began feeding in encouraging reports. Israel was facing mounting tension on her Syrian border. An internal struggle between orthodox religious leaders and modern Israeli doctors was dividing the new nation into two hostile camps, split on the issue of whether or not autopsies were permissible under religious law. Unemployment had more than doubled in 1966, despite the fact that for the first time in Israel's existence more Israelis had left the country than had come to it. The figures were 122,000 departures as against 115,000 arrivals, with most of the emigrants going to America.

Worst of all, in the deadly underground war between Israel and her neighbors an operation had gone wrong which cost the lives of all of the agents of an entire Israeli network. So great was the disaster that the survival of the Eshkol government itself was at stake.

THE ISRAELI SECRET SERVICE IS KNOWN AS "SCHIN BETH" - the initials of the words Sheroutei Bitakhon - services of security. The founder of Schin Beth and its director under David Ben Gurion, in the days of its greatest victories, such as the

Eichmann kidnapping, was the dreaded Isser Harel. Harel was a small man, inclined to take great risks and endowed with exceptional luck. Often he himself went abroad on dangerous missions. When Eichmann was spirited out of the Argentine, Harel and one of his top New York agents--the New York bureau chief of El Al Airlines--personally participated. At the time the jubilant Israeli newspapers proclaimed that three independent but parallel intelligence lines protected Israel's interests around the world.

At a word from Harel the boasting stopped. Nations watching tax-free donations pour out to help "struggling" Israel, and already worried over the matter of dual loyalties, were not likely to take kindly to the idea of three parallel espionage rings operating on their soil, at their expense, staffed perhaps with native citizens, working for a foreign power.

Harel's recruiting methods were his own. What he was after was results. If a criminal could produce results his past record could disappear. Consequently, under Harel the "Mossad"--Schin Beth's Action Section, which is a diplomatic way of saying assassination teams--became an effective arm against Israel's enemies.

With the rise of Levi Eshkol to power as prime minister, Harel was replaced by Colonel Meyer Amit, also from Schin Beth but with other ideas. Amit was tall, outgoing, very pleasant, and a compiler of files. Methodical army officers, not desperados with prison records, were to Amit's taste. Reports were clear and precise. Then came "the affair" as it is referred to in whispers, the Israeli secret service operation so disastrous that it became a state secret.

Leaks from the Israeli espionage school in Paris place the date at sometime in mid-1966. It appears that Amit had little stomach for what had to be done from the start, and asked the prime minister for a signed letter authorizing what he was about to do. Eshkol, with his usual indecisiveness, wrote the letter, but in such vague terms that it provided little cover for Amit.

After the debacle an investigating committee was set up to decide who was responsible. On the committee sat Mrs. Golda Meir, secretary of the Mapai Party (Levi Eshkol's party); Israel Galili, Minister without Portfolio in charge of information, and Yigal Alon, Minister of Labor and head of the Akhduth Avodah Party which is closely aligned with the Mapai. Alon, a former shock troop commander in the Haganah, was no stranger to such operations.

The committee concluded that Eshkol should accept responsibility for the enterprise and its setback. Not wishing to request the resignation of a prime minister over a sordid cloak and dagger affair, they agreed that Amit would be the scapegoat. Eshkol asked him to resign, explaining that if the story were ever to leak out he would then be able to smother it at once by stating that the responsible officer had been relieved of his functions. Amit came back with a refusal and added that if he were ousted he would talk.

By this time Ben Gurion, leader of the opposition, and Isser Harel were making political hay of the Eshkol-Amit conflict. Out through Zionist organizations abroad rippled recriminations and counter-recriminations. Syrian terrorist attacks were stepped up. A mine in the Hebron region exploded, killing three Israeli soldiers.

Pushed to do something, Eshkol approved a reprisal raid against Samua, in Jordan. In a storm of protest the opposition announced that under Harel, action squads of the Mossad would have simply liquidated the leaders of El Fatah, the Palestinian Arab organization, and the matter would have been settled. In early January, 1967, the Executive Committee of World Zionists charged that Eshkol had launched the operation against Jordan, and endangered the throne of Hussein, the most reasonable leader in the Arab world, solely to strengthen his weakening position at home, and conceal the fact that Amit could not react against Syria, from where the trouble stemmed.

In the ensuing scramble Harel's past exploits at intimidating Nasser's German technicians through explosive packages in the mail and threats on their families, were held up as examples of the way things should be done. When the editor of the

MIDDLE EAST OBSERVER, published in Britain and financed by British Zionists, added his opinion, he was promptly sacked.

Granted, there was reason for Nasser to believe that Israel was ripe for attack. Had he taken a second look, however, he might have concluded that a moment when Eshkol was fighting for his political life and being ridiculed for lack of decision, was no time to force him into proving himself a man of action.

THE ISRAELI AIRFORCE, WHEN NASSER DECIDED TO BLOCKADE THE GULF OF AQABA, consisted of between 350 and 400 planes--French Mirage and Mystere fighters, Ouragon interceptors and fighter bombers. On the ground was a mixed force of old American Sherman tanks, M-48 Patton tanks, British Centurions and French armored equipment.

France's providing Israel with modern materiel began in the days of the Algerian war, before De Gaulle's return to power. The Arab and communist blocs were throwing support to Algeria and threatening a Pan-Arab coalition against France. As a deterrent, France's leaders signed an agreement to sell Israel the latest planes of the French airforce. It was as an outcome of this period of collaboration that the Israeli espionage school in Paris was started. After De Gaulle's sellout of Algeria and swerve toward the Arab world and Moscow, the sale of French planes and armor to Israel continued for economic reasons.

AMERICA'S SUPPORT OF THE ALGERIANS WAS BOTH SHAMELESS AND INEXCUSABLE. In viciousness, the Algerians were second not even to the Vietcong. No thinking man could have doubted that, when the time was ripe, our proteges would turn against us and line up with the enemy camp. The only possible explanation for our actions is, as in the case of Kennedy's recognition of the Nasser puppet government in Yemen: Powerful Americans were conducting their own diplomacy, compounding in 1962 the errors of 1954 to 1961.

The New York Times and Washington Post, both defenders of Israel, threw their weight behind the Algerian FLN. TIME Magazine's Edward Behr stopped at nothing to provide the last component for war in Africa and the Middle East: an independent, Red Algeria. In U. N. our delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, an avowed crusader against "colonialism", backed the Algerians who have now turned against us.

In early 1956 America's foreign trouble-sower on the labor level, Mr. Irving Brown, addressed a meeting of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. His listeners doubted the wisdom of building up another powerful, independent Moslem state that would be a potential enemy of Israel. Brown had no mandate to make policy decisions or speak in America's name. However, he assured the innocent electricians that he personally had directed North African nationalism into "channels of democracy" which would destroy the totalitarian forces in the Arab world and make for unity between the Arab countries and Israel. Brown has never been called to an accounting.

Senator John F. Kennedy, in June 1957, from his vantage point on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told the then wavering Algerians that they must not give up. George Meany, "Soapy" Williams, CIA, USIS and every level of American officialdom supported the Algerian Reds against our NATO ally. Algerian students, selected by a communist-directed student union and flown to America in planes carefully routed to avoid French soil (where our "scholarship" recipients would have been arrested) were poured into America at the taxpayers' expense. Professors, lawyers, columnists--all in principle pro-Israel--glorified the Algerians. From City College of New York Mr. Stanford Griffith became their fiery propagandist. The Hearst press sent leftwing writer Anita Ehrman to Algeria to live with and extol the FLN. CBS Television took up their cause.

In 1959 the Overseas Press Club of New York gave its yearly award for foreign reporting to Joe Kraft, for an out-and-out Algeria propaganda article written while he was a guest of terrorists who put on a "show" for him.

No American paper reported the visit of Algerian representative to U. N., Abdelkader Chanderli, to Cuba and the signing of a treaty with Castro, though EL MOUDJAHID, the FLN official organ, proclaimed it to the skies.

On December 1, 1960, Mr. Jay Lovestone, AFL-CIO representative to U. N., wrote his famous letter to the U. N. ambassador from communist Mali, calling for support of a resolution that "can only hasten Algerian independence and serve the cause of world peace." (Lovestone still heads the foreign affairs section of AFL-CIO and has never been called to an accounting.)

Thus was created by American leftists the vicious, hostile Algeria which in June, 1967, broke off relations with America. Since independence Algeria has been only a factor for war. The first official act of independent Algeria was to offer 200,000 men for a war against Israel, establish training camps for terrorism in Angola and training of the Vietcong.

NASSER, WITH MORE THAN 500 RUSSIAN-BUILT PLANES, FELT SECURE. On May 5, 1963, his elite assault force, EL SEAKA, formed and directed by Hitler's Waffen-SS, presented an impressive spectacle when, under an air umbrella of Russian MIGS, more tanks than Rommel had ever had at his disposal in North Africa went through their paces in the Sinai Desert.

Nasser knew that Israel had tested a small atomic bomb in September, 1962. (H. du B. Reports, May 1963) He likewise knew that on May 6, 1963, Ben Gurion had been informed, prior to his appearance before the Knesset (Parliament) that Egypt was prepared to use missiles armed with warheads packed with foreign-purchased, radioactive waste material, which Nasser's German scientists had developed.

There was only one drawback: the humiliating bog-down in Yemen. For four years it was to occupy Nasser's every consideration. Yemen had to be taken, and Feisal and Hussein neutralized.

THROUGH FEBRUARY, MARCH, 1967, the Ben Gurion-Isser opposition to Eshkol mounted. There was talk of replacing the prime minister with Yigal Alone, "the nationalist of the Left", as he liked to call himself, or General Dayan, or even Golda Meir if her health would permit.

Clandestine pamphlets lampooned the harassed prime minister. "What is the difference between Eshkol and Choukeri (the Palestine Arab leader)?" went a popular joke.

"Choukeri only talks about destroying Israel," was the answer.

"What is the difference between Eshkol and James Bond?" was another riddle. The answer was "7".

Concerning the prime minister's indecision, his detractors said that when asked whether he wanted coffee or tea, he replied, "A little of both."

In May, 1967, Nasser threw out the so-called peace-keeping forces of the U. N. which Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban had praised to the skies in LOOK Magazine of June 29, 1965. The blockade of Aqaba went into effect. Nasser provided the provocation. He did not expect war, according to reliable authorities in Western Europe. He was out to "amputate" Yemen.

On June 5 General Dayan, recalled to command by a Levi Eshkol forced into making a decision at last, opened the war, with the results we know. For the following three weeks U. N. stood exposed to the world as the expensive absurdity it is.

De Gaulle, jolted to full realization of his entanglements with Russia and the Arab bloc, cut off supplies for Israel, allowing one week before the embargo on French shipments of parts for the airforce that gave Dayan his lightning victory would go into effect. Israel had had her first intimation that a French position

shift was in the works when De Gaulle's ambassador, Monsieur de la Sablière, refused to attend the military parade marking the anniversary of Israel's independence, on May 15 in the Israel-controlled section of Jerusalem. A short time later it was announced that French arms and planes would be made available to King Hussein.

How soon the next round will come depends on Israel's willingness or refusal to withdraw from the territory seized between June 5 and June 10.

What Washington and the American press will do next, having helped to create the cancer in Yemen and the pro-Nasser, pro-Russian threat to Europe in Algeria, is anybody's guess.

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Extra copies of this newsletter 20¢ each to regular subscribers, rates on large quantities given on request.

East coast subscription office: Miss Ruth Noble, Suite 356, 18 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Subscription price: \$10 per year.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, \$5.00) may be ordered from Western Islands, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont 78, Mass.

H. du B. REPORTS

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

PARIS, FRANCE

SPOT-CHECK OF THE WORLD

SVETLANA STALIN'S BOOK. Through the first half of 1967 European conservatives awaited appearance of Svetlana's book, "Twenty Letters to a Friend", with misgivings. There were many unknowns, questions unanswered and apparent contradictions. One of the obscurities that bothered anti-communists was the role and personality of Priscilla Johnson, described as a "journalist" in whose large Long Island estate, Kaintuck Farm, Svetlana was sent to live, guarded by seven detectives.

Presumably Priscilla Johnson is the Priscilla J. McMillan listed as Svetlana's translator. But a translator, under the conditions in which Svetlana was permitted to come to America, could be at once both ghost writer and censor. The high spots of the story Svetlana might tell and Priscilla deform were well known. The list of husbands, lovers and friends who brought Stalin's daughter unhappiness until the last one at least made her a millionaire.

She was eight years old when her mother, Nadia, went to the home of Vorchilov to dine on that night when Stalin and most of the Politburo were there to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution, on November 8, 1932. Before them Nadia protested against the impending execution of a student. Stalin told her to mind her own business and Nadia walked out of the dinner with her head in the air. Stalin followed a short time later, "to calm her", he said. Nadia was never again seen alive. An official communique announced that she had died of a sudden attack of appendicitis. Whether her mother had killed herself or Stalin, in a wild rage, had shot his wife, we are not going to learn from Svetlana.

Eight years later, at sixteen, the precocious Svetlana met a Jewish student named Gregori Morozov and fell in love with him. Stalin, viciously anti-Semitic, sent him to Siberia and married his daughter--against her will, it was claimed-- to Yuri Jdanov, son of the belligerent André, who was close to Stalin.

The West had all but forgotten Stalin's only daughter when, in December 1966, she suddenly arrived in the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh with the ashes of her 59-year-old common law husband, an Indian communist named Brejesh Singh. Though Brejesh Singh, like Svetlana, was a translator for the Soviet publishing house "Progress", it was his good luck to have an uncle who was important: Dinesh Singh, the Maharajah of Kalankar, a small state in the Indian federation. He had also been under-secretary of state for foreign affairs in Indira Gandhi's previous government and was one of the leading voices among the rising young members of the Congress Party.

It was to avoid offending the uncle and the party Moscow was courting that Svetlana was granted a passport and exit visa on December 20, 1966, to accompany her lover's ashes.

Svetlana stalled in India, visiting her husband's family, then his uncle, finally meeting Indira Gandhi. Two officers from the Russian Embassy in New Delhi descended on her in Kalankar, demanding to know when she was going home. On March 6 she was called to the Russian Embassy in New Delhi, where she signed a telegram announcing that she would fly to Moscow on March 8. Instead, early on the morning of March 7 she boarded a Qantas Airline plane with a ticket for New York (presumably paid for by the American Embassy), accompanied by embassy attache Robert F. Rayle.

President Johnson, trying to build "bridges to the East" and at the height of a new flirtation with Moscow, did not know she was coming until after she was on her way. Across the Atlantic went a series of coded messages. Suddenly Svetlana's flight was halted in Rome. She was bundled off the plane without Italian visa or landing permit and rushed to the home of an American embassy official in the residential quarter of Parioli, a suburb of Rome. There she remained until March 11, when Rayle, taking no chances of the plane being hijacked and flown to Algeria, hurried her aboard a chartered Italian airline Viscount on which he and Svetlana were the only passengers. At dawn the Viscount came in for a landing on Runway 23 of the Geneva-Cointrin airport, where a black Mercedes under the protection of two Swiss inspectors was waiting. Its destination: the convent of Burgbuehl, near Sagine, in the Canton of Fribourg, in Switzerland.

Both the Federal Government of Switzerland and the police of Fribourg took measures to assure the secrecy of Svetlana's hiding place. But the International Left, through

its various shadings, has means of piercing the layers of official secrecy. Three men, with the consent of the Bern government, soon contacted Svetlana in the house of religious retreat where she was living incognito.

One was the French communist leader, Baron Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, known as the "Red Baron". Svetlana went for a meeting with d'Astier in the home of his niece, Bertrande, wife of the Fribourg industrialist, Claude Blancpain. The reason the Red Baron contacted Svetlana through his niece was to try to persuade her to go back to Russia. Failing this, it is quite likely he gave her some instructions as to what she should and should not say--or else.

Bertrande, the niece, had had a hand in many political events, from the days of the French resistance to her acting as go-between, arranging meetings between furtive gentlemen during the Algerian war. This, however, was Bertrande's last political role; she died in an auto accident the day Svetlana landed in New York.

Visitor No. 2 was George Kennan, America's former ambassador to Russia, now a professor at Princeton University. Though the ex-diplomat did not make the trek to the convent of the Sisters of Saint Canisius in an official capacity, it was clear in the chancelleries of Europe that the purpose of his visit was to lay down the terms on which Svetlana might enter America. Whom she would see and whom she would not see, what she would say and what she would refrain from saying. Out to the world went the story that Svetlana was not choosing freedom; she was choosing God.

Where she would live and who would "assist" her in the writing of the book was put to her firmly by Kennan. At this point the mysterious Priscilla Johnson, "journalist" with a large property on Long Island, came into the picture, and the chances of any anti-communist getting information he could sink his teeth into disappeared.

Mr. Kennan may also have specified who was to publish said book, since the contract with Harper & Row, negotiated by Mr. Edward Greenbaum (Visitor No. 3), was signed at the convent in Fribourg before Svetlana got within reach of any other American publisher. It is doubtful that any publishing house except the one run by the son of Norman Thomas, America's leading socialist, could have gotten to her.

The Book of the Month Club is reported to have paid \$325,000 for distribution rights in October. Harper & Row put up \$250,000, and the New York Times \$250,000 for condensed version rights. Foreign rights, handled by Knowlton & Wing, Inc., were quickly grabbed up by Japan, Israel, Holland, Latin America and eight European countries for a total of \$2.5 million.

What conservative America-watchers want to know is: Who is Priscilla Johnson, also known as Priscilla J. McMillan? Is she a conservative or a leftist? What has she written before? With what groups, fronts or party is she affiliated? In sum, what is her past? This would provide a clue as to whether she is serving as Svetlana's interpreter, or her ghost writer and censor, her hostess or her insulator, in the year preceding an American election.

WHILE SVETLANA REVISED HER MEMOIRS, aided by the journalist with the Long Island estate, Moscow was busy purging Russia's security services. Out went Semitchasny as chief of the Commission of State Security, the dread KGB, and in went Yuri Andropov, a smiling fifty-year-old party stalwart. Simultaneously Ambassador Bendiktov, Russia's ambassador to India, was called home, and Gaspodin Lapine put in charge of Tass news agency, long recognized as a carrier body for Russian intelligence.

There was talk of two top level Russian agents having been dispatched to New York to kidnap Svetlana and bring her home, a report which led AUX ECOUTES, the anti-Gaullist Paris weekly of June 14, 1967, to estimate that some 4,500 Russian agents are operating in New York City, through 18 well-organized networks. UN, UNESCO and Russia's two official news agencies, Tass and Novosty, were recognized by AUX ECOUTES as principal nerve centers and transmission belts.

WHILE THE SHAKE-UP WAS GOING ON IN MOSCOW, Fabrice Laroche observed in his right-wing Paris weekly *Observateur Européen* that Mr. John Daly, 53-year-old son-in-law of Chief Justice Earl Warren, would henceforth head Voice of America with its 2,372 employees diffusing the message of American liberals over the world in 58 languages.

All of these events may be directly or indirectly related to the flight of Svetlana Stalin and the memoirs which were destined to pass through Priscilla J. McMillan and Harper & Row before reaching America and the world.

IF RUSSIA IS HAVING HER TROUBLES ABROAD, SO IS AMERICA. The administration has said little about it, but American troops in a number of European bases, particularly those at Heidelberg, where General Edwin Walker was ousted by Kennedy and a liberal press for trying to prepare our soldiers to withstand subversion, are being flooded with brochures. Their aim: to persuade GI's to desert rather than go to Vietnam.

Signatories of the appeal are twelve pacifist and/or communist groups of different nationalities. Similar tracts are printed in Britain and Canada, urging GI's to desert or claim conscientious objections to war, with the assurance that Lord Bertrand Russell's Committee of 100, the International War Resisters (of which Mr. David McReynolds is the head) and the Peace Pledge Union, of London, will be behind them.

In France the American desertion drive is run by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Movement, according to Observateur Européen (9 rue aux Ours, Paris 3.) The JCR, as it is called (from Jeunesses Communistes Revolutionnaires), is Trotskyite in tendency, and one of its main cards is the recent announcement by French authorities that GI deserters apprehended on French soil will not be turned over to American authorities. This is contrary to NATO agreements and explains why the 20-year-old American negro, Louis Armfield, was granted right of asylum. Supporters and perpetrators of the American desertion drive in France are the people America applauded in 1961 when Simone Signoret, Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and 118 other militants of the extreme Left launched a manifesto calling upon French draftees to desert or resort to insubordination if ordered to Algeria.

IN BELGIUM THE ANTI-AMERICAN DRIVE is pushed most strongly by a pro-Chinese Communist movement called "Action for Peace and the Independence of Peoples" (APIP). As more information comes out on the fire in the Innovation Department Store in Brussels which caused 317 deaths, many see the Peking-inspired riots shaking Hong Kong and the wave of black terrorism and looting sweeping America as part of a concerted Chinese action throughout the West.

The Innovation had launched a 15-day "U. S. Parade" period; American flags covered the front of the huge building. It was risking trouble. All Belgium knew that in April, 1966, pro-Chinese Reds, including left-wing Catholics, had staged a monster peace march in Brussels, shouting anti-American slogans. Through Brussels and Liege pass the funds to finance pro-Chinese subversion in Europe.

Belgium's Peking groups are well-known. Aside from APIP, there are the Young Guard Socialists, the Walloon Workers' Party and the Movement Against Atomic Weapons. The directors of Innovation were defying a formidable coalition.

Two days before the fire, members of APIP surged through the store, bearing placards proclaiming "The anti-imperialists will not halt until they have cleared the Innovation store of the flag which symbolizes aggression and crime." Reds picketed the door, and threatening letters were sent to the directors of pro-American enterprises. Finally fire-crackers were thrown in the store itself. Police cleared the premises. Then came the catastrophe. That it broke out simultaneously in two places removed any doubt of its criminal origin.

Though America's war in Vietnam was the ostensible reason for these communist disturbances, just where America stands in that war is far from clear.

VIETNAM: AMERICA'S AREA OF CONTRADICTIONS. On the night of July 17, your correspondent, aboard an Air Vietnam plane bound for Saigon, suddenly found himself in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, where the plane had been directed after being unable to land in Saigon. Very politely, seriously and in flawless French, Cambodian officials asked, "What is the reason for your visit to Cambodia?" If this seems ridiculous, it is no more so than the two-faced game being played by our own government on its voters and the people of South Vietnam.

EXAMPLES: U. S. News & World Report of January 16, 1967, told Americans, "Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, is trying to talk Premier Ky out of the idea of running for office on his own...The United States would prefer to see civilians, not military men, running things in South Vietnam."

Name writers, TV commentators and daily papers in America hailed the forthcoming elections that would bring into power "a civilian government in South Vietnam", as though the election of a civilian was assured and such a victory would be an end-all in itself.

In Saigon, on July 15, U. S. Ambassador Bunker declared that there had been and would be no American interference in South Vietnam's elections. Representative John E. Moss of California had called on America nine days earlier to "force the South Vietnamese to co-operate."

The pressure upon Premier Nguyen Cao Ky to step down in his race for the presidency and permit himself to be sandwiched, as Vice Presidential candidate, between the more maneuverable General Thieu and a premier to be appointed by the Chief of State must have been terrific. Yet "Everyone was surprised, said one U. S. official in Saigon," according to the National Observer of July 3.

Audiences with the premier are ordinarily made through the American Embassy. Should an American conservative attempt to bypass this roadblock and get to the premier directly, a second obstacle is standing guard--the American "confidential advisor" whose job it is to attach himself to and influence the Vietnamese leader in power. Consequently, Ky has no way of knowing that a rising conservative force in America is behind him in his determination to fight for victory.

THE PHENOMENON OF THE AMERICAN "ADVISOR". Premier Ky, facing newsmen in Christchurch, New Zealand, on January 23, 1967, declared, "I am not a puppet of the United States or any other government." Asked if he or any other Vietnamese officer could overrule General Westmoreland in Vietnam, Ky replied, "Yes. We are in charge of overall military operations south of the 17th Parallel."

A week later Joe Kraft, not so long ago a leading apologist for the Reds in Algeria, told Americans that the danger of Premier Ky blocking a negotiated settlement (meaning a sell-out to the Vietcong and Hanoi) is "...manageable. For Premier Ky cannot make a move against the will of the American command."

America's way of imposing this will is through the friendly "advisor" system. Under Ngo dinh Diem Allen Dulles' man, Colonel Edward G. Lansdale, was eased into power--behind-the-throne by being made President Eisenhower's personal envoy. After ruthlessly destroying every effective anti-communist leader and force that would not accept his "candidate", even to deposing the only man in Vietnam above regional, political and religious differences--the Emperor Bao Dai--Lansdale, we are told by the Los Angeles Times of March 26, 1967, "soured on Diem". Having cleared the field for the communists by crushing the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects, the Binh Xuyen army of the swamps and the legitimate monarchy, Lansdale came home to be promoted, decorated by Allen Dulles, and to write "VIETNAM: Do We Understand Revolution?" for Foreign Affairs Quarterly of October 1964 (published by the Council on Foreign Relations).

Since that time succeeding American politicians, without attempting to undo the wrong, have spouted drivel about "winning the people of South Vietnam", the effective groups of which Lansdale turned against us.

GENERAL NGUYEN KHANH ROSE TO POWER IN THE SUMMER OF 1964, while Lansdale, the alienator of thousands of South Vietnamese, was telling the Council on Foreign Relations what America ought to do. The CIA man who latched onto General Khanh by persuading him that he needed the aid of a smart American "friend", in the know and with powerful backers, was an American liability named Conein.

An American-naturalized Vietnamese named Nguyen Xuan Oanh, who had been fifteen years in America and had all but forgotten his native tongue, was brought back and foisted on the Vietnamese as premier, with no protests from the press that habitually prattles about democracy. The leader of the anti-communist Dai Viet Party, Dr. Nguyen ton Hoan, was given the vice-premiership as a sop, and Khanh was persuaded to launch a campaign against pro-French plotters within the army, the most vicious and ridiculous the country had seen since Lansdale's 1955 determination to see dirty colonialists, not communists, as South Vietnam's only danger.

On the advice of his American friends, Khanh exiled Dr. Hoan from his own country when Hoan tried to block the return of Lansdale. Today Khanh himself is an exile, living at 26 rue Emile Zola, in Chaville, France, among the people he reviled, and Lansdale is selling himself as the friend with savvy and connections to Premier Ky.

"LANSDALE'S STAR SEEMS IN ECLIPSE," wrote William Tuohy in the Los Angeles Times of March 26, 1967. The question the real specialists asked was: What is Lansdale's game? Is he fighting to hold Premier Ky's ear and confidence as a means of clinging to importance for himself while he is slipping?--of retaining power a little bit longer as the one man with a claim to being able to influence the premier? Or was he assigned the job of working on Ky, to persuade him to step down and accept second place under General Thieu?

While Lansdale pretends, rightly or wrongly, that he has a monopoly on the premier's ear, the new, even less popular power-wielder in our embassy is presidential appointee Komer; his sole qualification is the friendship of LBJ, which makes him resented by American associates and Vietnamese alike.

MORE AND MORE AMERICANS BEGAN TO BE ALARMED. Carl T. Rowan, the colored columnist who as a government official once stretched the truth to breaking point in his personal smear job against Tshombe and Katanga, wrote an article called "Secret Key to Vietnam Peace" (Los Angeles Times, February 8, 1967.) In it Rowan stated, "Secret contacts between representatives of the Ky regime in Saigon and spokesmen for the Communist Vietcong now seem to be the key to ending the Vietnam war. And, quietly and gently, you can expect the United States to nudge Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and Saigon's military junta in this direction during the next several months." Ky's refusal to be nudged may have had much to do with his being edged out of the race for the presidency.

R. W. Apple, Jr. had already written in the New York Times of July 13, 1966, that "Abba Schwartz, who resigned as Administrator of Security and Consular Affairs in the State Department, arranged for some indirect contacts with the Vietcong and interested the Soviet Union in the situation."

To try to unravel a policy that fluctuates between no-winism and treason, three conservative candidates for Congress in 1968 traveled from Washington state to Saigon in July, 1967, to seek information firsthand. All three were Republicans, two Catholic.

It was the first time any American fact-seeker had ever eschewed the official guided tour, the briefing session by an information officer from the embassy, plane rides to bases passed off on impressed visitors as "the front", introductions to Vietnamese ready to confirm what the visitor had been told.

There are some 750,000 montagnards in South Vietnam, including the warlike Nungs. Leaders of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects claim to represent 2,700,000 and 1,500,000 respectively. The three Republican candidates from Washington state were the first to ever sit with the representatives of these groups and ask questions. A commander in the Binh Xuyen came to promise the loyal co-operation of his eight battalions at Cape St. Jacques and the Plain of Junks, as well as their million supporters, if his general were permitted to return from exile.

A Vietnamese devoted to the monarchy which we helped abolish and which, in a country without any real checks and balances, composed of disparate minorities, is the only possible counterpoise to the misuse of executive power, sat with them for hours.

A young man who had been trained in America at our psychological warfare school readily admitted that he had worked with Colonel Lansdale. Yes, he knew of the torture house in the botanical gardens, he had helped set it up. "It was supposed to be an interrogation house, with lie-detector machines," he said, "but when the machines did not elicit the proper answers, Nhu turned it into a torture house."

Unable to believe what he had heard, one of the congressional candidates put the question to Mr. Phan khac Suu, the 61-year-old President of the Constituent Assembly, who from September 1965 to May 1966 was Chief of State and who is now a candidate for the presidency of South Vietnam. "I spent ten months in a subterranean dungeon in the torture house," the statesman replied. "I bear its marks on my body."

For the first time a party of solid Americans began to understand, on the spot, why officers returning to America from Vietnam are forbidden to talk.

"Can we win the war?" the candidates asked. "If we denounce the Americans who treated you unjustly, and insist that your wrongs be righted, will you help us?"

"And if you do, how long would it take to win the war?"

"A few months," was the answer. "But you would have to make it clear that you are fighting for victory."

An immediate consequence of our prolonging the war by ruling out military victory is the constant appearance in Vietnam of new and more deadly Soviet weapons which, had the war been won quickly and effectively, would not be there today. While Vietnam runs its course as the civilized world's cancer, Algeria, a product of the same American policy that created Ho chi Minh, builds up explosive power in North Africa.

ALGERIA'S LEADER, COLONEL BOUMEDIENNE, was named in H. du B. REPORTS of May, 1963, as the man who would ultimately seize power when the politicians had had their day. In April, 1958, Robert Murphy told New York Times newsmen in Paris, "The United States is increasingly convinced of the need for a non-military settlement of the Algerian rebellion." The time lag between American-imposed no-winism in Algeria and our Algerian proteges' communist offensive against the West is about the same as between our 1945-46 backing of Ho chi Minh and our having to help fight him.

Officially, some 3,000 Russian technicians are instructing Boumedienne's National Popular Army. What 2,000 of them are doing is anybody's guess. 200 work out of Batna, on some mysterious mission in the Aures mountain ranges. The 200 Soviet tanks, heavy automated artillery and new delivery of MIG 17's over which Russians and their students are swarming are relatively unimportant. It is assumed that they were brought into the country for war against Morocco.

What the West should be considering is the long range missile sites which the Russians are reported to be installing on the fringes of the Sahara. Algerian officials have informed French agents that Soviet installations will never threaten anything but America's Sixth Fleet.

In La Calle, the small port east of Bone, Russia now has a submarine base. Despite the fact that four-fifths of his population is unemployed, Boumedienne is urging Nasser to reopen the war against Israel in October. If he refuses, French experts outside the reach of De Gaulle's influence are convinced that Boumedienne will launch the same campaign against him that Nasser has waged against Hussein and Feisal. If Nasser falls or is defeated, Boumedienne, safely entrenched in Algeria, is expected to be Russia's leader of an allied Africa and Arabia against Europe's flank and the Middle East.

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THE CONGO -- AMERICA'S BAD INVESTMENT

July: The word "Mercenaries" flashed over the teletype wires again. Revolt in the Congo. Back of it all were the despised foreigners at whom Hammarskjold shrieked with impotent feminine rage in 1961, when his plans were frustrated.

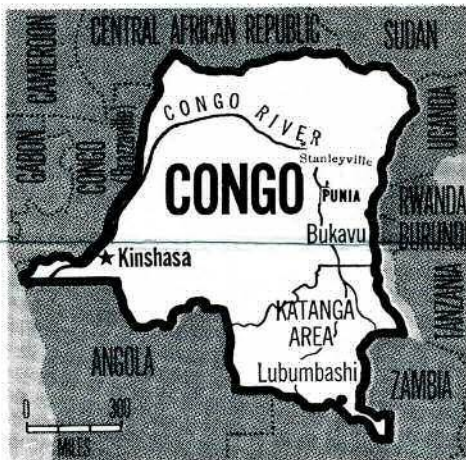
It started in Kisangani, formerly Stanleyville. The Congo, eighty times the size of Belgium, had periodically been the scene of indescribable horrors since its independence in 1960. For three years some 120 foreigners headed by Colonel Robert Denard, the Frenchman, and Major Jean Schramm, the Belgian, tried to maintain a semblance of order in President Mobutu's country. Their instruments: two troupes of Katanga gendarmes leavened with a few Simba rebels who had rallied after the senseless Simba revolt of 1964. The Simba revolt had taught America nothing. Open support and financing of a campaign to destroy Tshombe and his stable province, plus American labor's role in toppling the neighboring government of pro-Western Abbe Fulbert Youlou in Brazzaville Congo, in 1962, laid the most prosperous part of Africa open to Simba savagery. Among the scores of whites massacred was Dr. Carlson, the American missionary. The horror was halted by an American airlift of Belgian soldiers.

In June 1964 Tshombe returned to restore order. With order restored, Mobutu wanted him out again, and in November 1965 the American ambassador and CIA agent Devlin persuaded Tshombe to accept Mobutu's promises of a fair election and step down.

By June 1967 savagery was again on the rise. In spite of the horror, the violated women and the Europeans killed for things as minor as possession of a transistor radio, some 100,000 whites still refused to leave their beloved Africa. After three years of loyalty to Mobutu, it became clear to the white officers trying to impose restraint and common sense that they were at a cross-roads. The moment of decision had arrived -- whether to act like civilized human beings or watch a blood bath, beginning with their old friend Tshombe.

Had there been a Congolese capable of assuming responsibility, there would have been no reason for Mobutu's employing the men our press calls mercenaries.

PARIS MATCH of July 29, 1967, displayed a two-page, double-spread photograph showing four young Europeans down on their knees, with their hands in the air, under the guns of scowling black soldiers. A serious-looking Mobutu official, neatly dressed in gray flannel trousers, dark jacket, white shirt and wearing a somber tie, stands at their right, holding a book and solemnly peering through thick glasses. The young whites on their knees were waiting to receive bullets through their heads.



THE KIDNAPPING OF TSHOMBE ON JUNE 30 was the last straw. Someone had to do something. H Hour for the revolt was 3:30 A.M. on July 5. Troops under Denard and Schramm were to form a junction and take the government camp in Ketele, near Stanleyville. That hour was chosen because the Congolese fear evil spirits at night and fight only by day. Schramm was late; the road was difficult. As a result the attack was delayed three hours. Instead of throwing their arms away and fleeing, the Congolese fought as they withdrew to the other side of the Congo River. For the first time Congolese national troops made a stand.

Denard, Schramm and the Europeans with them carried the weight of the attack against Ketele's 1400 Congolese regulars. Their 300 Katanga gendarmes occupied the positions that Denard and Schramm captured. At the ultimate moment before victory, with Ketele in their grasp, a Congolese mortar shell hit an ammunition truck and decimated the column. Denard was hit in the head by a sniper shot from across the river, and continued to direct his 6th commando group sitting upright in a jeep till, on the third day, he felt his

right side going dead. He collapsed on July 7, half paralyzed, and was flown to Salisbury, Rhodesia, some 1300 miles away, in a requisitioned DC-3.

IT WAS THE END OF THE WAR FOR COLONEL ROBERT DENARD, at least temporarily. Denard had been in tough spots before. At sixteen he entered the naval school at Saint Mandrier. In 1947 he was sent to Indo-China, to serve under Dominique Ponchardier, the "gorilla" whose commando raiders sallied out of jungles and swamps to raid Vietminh strongholds at night, festooned with cartridge belts, stark naked. Those who saw Schoendoerfer's stirring documentary, "The 317 Section," unknowingly saw Denard. He was No. 2 in command.

In 1952 he was back in the regular navy. From Indo-China he went to Morocco to train an anti-terrorist police force to protect the Sultan. Then came the war in Algeria and the upsurge of the French Left. Denard was accused of planning an attack on Mendes-France, leader of the extreme socialist Left, and barely weathered the storm.

1961 saw him in Katanga with his old friend Roger Faulques, hero of the disastrous 1950 retreat from Cao Bang in Indo-China. Faulques and Denard, with a small group of pals from Indo-China, trained the Katanga army that defeated Hammarskjöld's cocksure UN blue berets. From Katanga Denard went to Yemen to fight for the Imam Badr against a communist-backed Nasser puppet whose job it was to put a knife at the backs of the British in Aden. The Kennedys jumped to recognize the illegal government in Yemen before it got off the ground.

When Tshombe returned to the Congo as premier in June 1964, Denard went back to help him put down the Simbas, who had slaughtered an estimated 50,000 Africans since UN's "victory," which UNICEF and America helped finance. With the Simbas defeated, Tshombe was run out again, and sentenced to death in absentia to prevent his coming back, but Denard was kept on by Mobutu with the rank of colonel.

"What made you and Schramm decide to strike?" an old friend asked Denard in the hospital in Salisbury.

"We had to," Denard answered. "The Congolese army is a horde of criminals. They live off the Congo like an army of occupation, on what they can loot and shake-down. It ought to be dissolved. How do you think Mobutu, who knows nothing of military matters, is ever going to restore order in that immense country already full of gangrene? Besides, we owed Tshombe a debt of honor. He was the first to have Europeans in his army. We fought together against the worthless crowd in Leopoldville. We would rather see a corner of the Congo sane and livable instead of anarchy everywhere."

"You should have seen it. Mobutu's officers made the natives pay for vaccinations, which were supposed to be free. Medicines, everything the outside world sent in, went through a local black market, with officials getting the proceeds. Things got so bad we had to share our rations with the villagers, while we helped them build roads."

When told of AP reports that the rebels were holding Europeans as hostages, Denard blew up. "Hostages! We never had any hostages. The Europeans were taking refuge with us. Furthermore, a lot of Simbas whom we had been tracking for two years rushed to join us rather than face the advancing Congolese, who amuse themselves by hacking their prisoners to pieces with hatchets."

"You must understand. We know the country. We know its leaders. In the end we had to face the fact that there was no other solution but revolt. Without us the whole Congo would be at the mercy of murderers and cannibals. Last year when there was an uprising we stuck by Mobutu and let the Katangans lose. It was with a heavy heart, I admit. One of their leaders, a colonel named Boyo, told me as he fled the country, "Colonel, we have lost. We're finished. But let me tell you, one of these days you won't be able to stand what is happening any longer. You will revolt also!"

After Denard's departure, command passed to Schramm, his No. 2, by then a colonel.

JEAN SCHRAMM: Thirty-seven years old, son of a lawyer in Bruges, Belgium. One brother is a lawyer, another a pediatrician. Schramm went to the Congo for his military service. After that he did not want to leave. When he got out of the army, he begged from his family, borrowed from friends and bought a coffee plantation. Easy-going, likable, Schramm was the last man likely to lead a rebellion, but to make him sound sinister the American press began calling him "Black Jack."

REASONS GIVEN THE WEST FOR THE REVOLT. TIME of July 21, 1967, still sneered at the rebels as "mercenaries" who had not received their pay and might have decided to seize everything worth taking before Mobutu could send them packing. Grudgingly TIME admitted that the kidnapping of Tshombe may have had something to do with it, adding that it was only a "hit-and-run" affair. The U. S. Airforce had been ordered to fly in soldiers and motorized equipment to put it down.

TIME had been full of indignation when the French flew the communist Algerian revolutionary Ben Bella to Algiers in 1956. For Tshombe TIME couldn't care less. He had been living in Madrid since our Congo team persuaded him to step down in 1965. Adoula, America's protege whom he replaced, continued to work against him in Washington as Mobutu's ambassador. In Madrid the intelligence services of half a dozen countries, plus several African intelligence services -- another name for gunmen dignified with a rank -- had been swirling around his home, trying to contact those living off him.

When the crime occurred, it was all but impossible to separate the wolves from the sheep. Tshombe had been persuaded to fly to Ibiza via Palma de Majorca, in a chartered British plane with the equivalent of \$60,000 in his briefcase. Reason for the trip: to inspect property he was being urged to buy as an investment.

The day before the trip Tshombe hesitated. He suspected a trap. Someone wore him down. Tshombe's explanation before the Algerian judges who ordered that he be turned over to Joseph Mobutu for execution was, "I am a victim of the CIA."

In America the statement was ridiculed. As the pieces fall into place, attention is drawn to a French underworld character named Francis Bodenan who had been given twelve years for murder in 1957 and released before the end of his term. Into Madrid, London and Paris trickled reports that Bodenan's firm, "Barracuda," at 90 rue de la Victoire, in Paris, was a front for other business than real estate.

Bodenan had flown to Madrid from Liechtenstein, the principality regarded as a CIA operations center in Europe. Was there any relation between Liechtenstein offices and Leopoldville? Possibly one: No. 1 CIA man in Leopoldville is Frank Devlin, a firm Mobutu supporter. And it was for Mobutu that Bodenan was assigned the job of luring Tshombe on a chartered British plane.

Working on the hypothesis that a line existed from Devlin to Liechtenstein to Bodenan, Madrid investigators probed further. Two women secretaries from the American embassy in Leopoldville, one white and one colored, had been watching Tshombe's movements in Madrid and showing interest in his entourage. With them was a Mobutu police officer named Nicolas Roulet, reputed to enjoy the confidence of Congo CIA chief Devlin.

Add to the above the fact that U. S. Ambassador to Madrid, Mr. Angier Biddle Duke, has for years encouraged anti-white terrorists in Africa and anti-Franco plotters in Spain, and often saved their necks through his International Rescue Committee (now silent in the case of Tshombe.)

Somewhere between Spain and Majorca the British pilot was forced to change course and fly to Algiers. A swaggering Belgian named Marcel-Emile Hubursin, in Tshombe's service, is credited with holding a gun to the pilot's head. But who covered Tshombe and his personal staff in the cabin? His bodyguard, Hans, a 25-year-old German who had served in the First Paratroop Regiment of the Foreign Legion, was with him. Jeannine Belville, the pretty blonde secretary who had followed Tshombe from Katanga was there. So was Greco, an international adventurer who had once worked for N'Krumah.

The two Spanish officers escorting Tshombe are not suspect, but what were they doing through all this? Eventually who was paid, and how much, for his or her part in the drama in the cabin between Spain and Algiers will be known. For the present -- silence. Not a word from the great powers, much less the secretary-general of the UN. Silence from Algeria's Boumediene. Silence from Angier Biddle Duke, our ambassador to Spain, and his International Rescue Committee.

TIME of August 4 began preparing America for a public execution by reminding its readers that Tshombe "is widely believed to have been responsible for the death of Patrice Lumumba in 1961." Widely believed by whom? The story of Mobutu's shipping a dying Lumumba to Katanga in a plane that was permitted to land because the pilot claimed he was out of gas is well known. Lumumba and his two companions, beaten to the verge of death by the Baluba guards Mobutu had given them, then died on Tshombe's hands, and the pilot would not take off the following morning with three corpses. (See H. du B. Reports, April 1964.)

IN MOBUTU'S CAPITAL ALL WAS JUBILATION a few days before the kidnapping. On June 26, from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. spear-waving, knife-wielding war-dancers, regular soldiers, store employees, garment workers -- in sum, the riffraff of an at once childish and savage population, marched past Mobutu's reviewing stand in Kinshasa (Leopoldville.) A frenzy of enthusiasm was being raised in preparation for anything that might happen when the hi-jacking of Mobutu's sole contender for power took place. Two paraders carried a monster banner showing Mobutu shaking hands with Lumumba. Thus the time table was established. Four days later Tshombe was kidnapped. Mobutu announced that he had Tshombe abducted because of advance information that Tshombe was planning an uprising with the code name "Kerilis," and that Bob Denard had been in Madrid to receive instructions for an attack on the airport at Kisangani (Stanleyville).

ON JULY 5 THE 'MERCENARIES' REVOLTED. The attack caught Stanleyville by surprise. Commandant Brousemiche, a former officer in the Belgian army, said, "I was with my friends, the Laurent family, near the market place when the Congolese army started shooting at us. Madame Laurent was killed immediately. I escaped and hid under the rafters. When I came out, Mr. Laurent's body was near his wife's, his head split open by a bullet fired at close range."

A Pakistan merchant with a shattered arm and an Indian with blood pouring from his head went to the oldest doctor in Stanleyville. He told them, "They have stolen all my instruments again."

While Schramm and Denard were attacking Stanleyville, another group raided the garrison, arms depot and motor pool in Bukavu, capital of Kivu province, then withdrew toward the north. Their pullout permitted Mobutu to shout victory and throw a hundred paratroopers into the empty town, which till then had suffered no casualties. Berserk paratroopers killed four Europeans and sacked the Belgian consulate.

After Denard's departure for Rhodesia, Schramm loaded the 120 Europeans and some 500 Katangans into 27 trucks, and on July 13 headed southward for Punia, to regroup. What followed was the usual story. Congolese troops crept back into Stanleyville and, finding the place empty, vented their rage on anyone they could find. Indiscriminate killings sent more people flying to Schramm for protection. The American press described them as "hostages." Meanwhile, the three American C-130 Hercules transport planes were rushing in arms and troops to the Congolese, who were by then busy eating their prisoners. Why did we do it? EDITORIAL RESEARCH REPORTS, compiled in Washington, opened a review of U. S. government activities by stating, "With an investment of more than half a billion dollars in the government of General Joseph D. Mobutu in the Congo, the United States has a right to be concerned with what is happening there."

On July 19 Schramm offered to negotiate. The American press said he was losing and could not hope to win. TIME of July 21 again sneered at the mercenaries; LIFE of that same date cried victory for Mobutu. By August 3 the lid should have been blown sky-high. Mobutu's forces had been badly beaten in a four hour battle in the bush, northwest of Bukavu; soldiers were throwing away their arms. As the disorganized horde streamed back into Bukavu, some thousand Europeans became panic-stricken. Schramm's arrival was their only hope.

"Kill or capture all the mercenaries!" ordered Mobutu, while press reports continued to carry stories of the three U. S. Airforce transport planes shuttling light artillery and Congolese soldiers into the fight to try to stop Schramm before he could rescue the doomed Europeans.

UPI on August 8 reported that Schramm's column had been cut in two outside Bukavu by Congolese soldiers airlifted to the battle by U. S. Airforce transports. Twenty-four hours later UPI brought word that the white mercenaries were fighting desperately to break out of a trap set up when American C-130 transport planes secretly flew medium range artillery in to the Congolese.

Despite American aid to the Congolese, whose victory would face America with the necessity of airlifting a rescue mission for the foreigners or watching them go the way of the Italian aviators whom Mobutu's cannibal soldiers killed and partially ate in 1962, Schramm took Bukavu and gave Mobutu ten days to reorganize his government.

By that time another thousand Katangans had flocked to Schramm for protection, and ten of his so-called mercenaries had been killed. Before settling down in Bukavu, he sent a commando group to rescue the nuns whom Mobutu's Congolese were about to kill, before crossing the bridge into Rwanda. If enough of them seek refuge there, Rwanda will reap a huge

harvest of arms, but face serious trouble from her "guests."

SCHRAMM, WITH HIS HQ IN THE ROYAL RESIDENCE HOTEL, IN BUKAVU, was regarded by local whites as a savior. "When 4,000 Katangan gendarmes revolted last year, the white mercenaries put them down for Mobutu," said Schramm. "Between five and six hundred of the men we disarmed were murdered by Mobutu. I couldn't go through that again."

In Kinshasa, Mobutu's capital (formerly Leopoldville), rampaging mobs attacked the American, French and Belgian embassies. Two Americans were beaten up. Unfortunately CIA man Devlin came out unscathed. And Edmund Gullion, one of the architects of our debacle in Vietnam and ambassador to the Congo when \$100 million in U. S. Bonds was put up to help finance Tshombe's destruction in 1962, was safely back in America in a professor's chair. Each June a crop of students, their diplomas contingent on their subscribing to the highly questionable views of Professor Gullion on Asia and Africa, will fan out into the world as journalists, state department employees, CIA recruits and Peace Corps revolutionaries.

As of this writing, the 47-year-old Tshombe, who wanted to make the Congo viable, is sitting on a straw mattress in one of Boumedienne's humid prisons in Algiers. One of the few reports allowed out about him is that he is suffering from heart trouble and stomach pains. (Tshombe always feared that he would be poisoned in Algeria. When a voluntary visitor there, he ate only canned food opened in his presence.) Somewhere in another of Boumedienne's dungeons, and forgotten, is Ben Bella, over whose delivery to the French in Algiers both America and the Algerians were indignant a bare eleven years ago.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN secretaries in file-packed offices meticulously itemized the salient points of the chain of events:

The fierce partisanship of CIA's man in Leopoldville for Mobutu.

The line between Leopoldville and American "cover" offices in Liechtenstein.

Bodenan, the French hoodlum appears in Liechtenstein.

Bodenan flies to Madrid.

Bodenan dangles a piece of over-valued property before Tshombe, to get him on a plane.

Tshombe is abducted to Algeria and what looks like certain death.

Tshombe's foreigners stage a revolt to try to save him from the American-backed president who is out to execute him.

The case begins to build up against America.

At that point three C-130 American Hercules cargo planes carry artillery and Congolese troops to Mobutu's forces (who admittedly had just eaten several Europeans) in a desperate move to save Mobutu from being pushed into a corner where he would have to disgorge Tshombe to save himself.

The three transport planes clinched the case, they and the fact that Washington had so little confidence in the rabble we were bolstering that American paratroopers were also sent along to protect the crews against being eaten.

The Belgian newspaper, LA CITE, reported that CIA had organized the plot to spirit Tshombe into Algeria, against the advice of the State Department.

The Sunday Express (London) of July 23 called it "An act of total barbarism," adding "America has the moral responsibility of seeing that Tshombe not be assassinated. America is directly implicated in the Congo. It is well known that the government there is America's puppet. They transport troops here and there in American planes. Without America's support Mobutu could not last a day. Can they really permit him to extend his activities across the world, to exterminate his political rivals?"

* * * * *

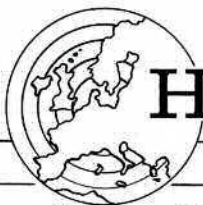
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Subscription rate: \$10 per year. Extra copies of this newsletter, 20¢ each to regular subscribers, rates on larger quantities given on request.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, Price \$5) may be ordered from H. du B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107.



Nasser's star is on the wane. The man to watch -- the man likely to start World War III -- is Algeria's Boumedienne. The specialists refer to him as "Africa's Mao."

Egyptian discontent grew as month after month passed with 38,000 soldiers hopelessly bogged down in a costly adventure in Yemen.

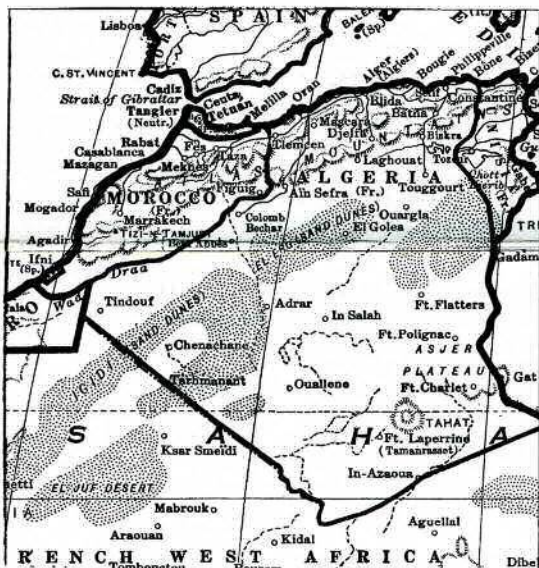
Two men were on the rise in the shadow of Nasser. One, a swarthy, sinister figure named Ali Sabri, was Nasser's principal orator against the West at the Bandoeng Conference of a decade ago. Now 47, he is Nasser's leading negotiator with Peking and Secretary-General of the Arab Socialist Union, the all-powerful party which smashed Nasser's enemies in the Moslem Brotherhood. Sabri's power lies in the labor unions and his Socialist Party which, sometimes above ground and sometimes below, extends along the Mediterranean to its numerous allies in Algiers.

Facing Sabri is 49-year-old Zakaria Mohieddine, Nasser's companion in the plot that overthrew Farouk. Mohieddine's power lies in the left-wing middle class, and the rumor that CIA, and beyond CIA America, will back him in a pinch. Add to this the fact that he controls the secret service and the police, is a master plotter and has spies at every level of Egyptian life.

Watching events and ready to tilt the scales if necessary are the Russians using Alexandria harbor as a naval base. 850 Russian military technicians, 475 of them officers, swarm over Alexandria, and since Podgorny's recent visit some 2000 well-trained Russian teams dilute the Egyptian armed services.

On the economic front chaos reigns. Gone are the profits from tourism, Sinai oil and the canal. Lack of insecticides took 80% of the current cotton crop. Food rationing, salary cutbacks and mass unemployment presage troubles ahead.

Mrs. Gandhi, scheduled to visit Cairo on October 19, could offer no help, and chances are slight that Britain, whose diplomats Nasser has kicked out three times in fifteen years, will do much to strengthen the falling dictator. At the moment, London feels that Nasser is worried over a possible new Israeli offensive, and only wants a British ambassador so he will have a witness when he cries, "Aggression!"



IT WAS IN 1965 THAT THE CHRISTIAN-EDUCATED ALI SABRI WAS NAMED HEAD OF THE ARAB SOCIALIST UNION. He reorganized it, built it up, strengthened its cells. In Ismailia he set up an Institute of Socialist Studies where young Egyptians debated such questions as "What is the difference between a revolution and a coup-d'etat?"

The army and Egyptian middle class were not happy. Tracts began circulating, denouncing Ali Sabri's "nest of communists." Sabri went further and launched a youth movement which Nasser protected.

On June 8, after Israel's lightning victory, Sabri and Nasser wanted to forestall an angry revolt by giving arms to Sabri's Youth Militia. The army said no. The following day, on Friday, June 9, 1967, events came to a head. At 6:30 in the evening, under pressure from his Defense Minister, Chams Badrane, General Mortagui of the Army and Sidki Mahmoud, his Airforce Chief of Staff, Nasser went on the air and with a heavy voice announced his resignation.

This the Russians could not accept without a fight. It meant the collapse of ten years of work. Khrushchev, aided by Ike and John Foster Dulles, gave Russia her great opportunity at the time of the Suez crisis, in October 1956. Now Russian cruisers and submarines anchor in the Red Sea. From Damascus to Cairo Russian agents are entrenched in local politics, slowly turning Egypt and Syria into Soviet satellites. Brejnev and Kosygin could not see Russia's dream of mastery of the Mediterranean go up in smoke.

Tipped off in advance that the resignation speech was in the works, Sabri and the Russians spread political agents from the Arab Socialist Union -- 40,000 strong in Cairo alone -- through the workingmen's quarters, stirring up a mass demonstration for Nasser. In vain the airforce pilots swooped low, trying to disperse the crowd. It was no use. Russia won and the officers lost.

THEN THE PURGE STARTED. Marshal Zakharov, Moscow's Vice Minister of Defense and Chief of Staff of the Russian Army, came up with an intelligence report denouncing the Egyptian Airforce Chief of Staff, General Sidki Mahmoud, as an agent of British Intelligence. Nasser was eager to believe anything of Sidki since the humiliating resignation of June 9. Next, the Egyptian secret services were charged with being anti-Russian. The officer body -- save those trained in

Moscow -- was held responsible for the defeat....Russian-trained officers were marked for promotion.

A STAGGERING EVENT FACILITATED THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE. One week before General Moshe Dayan launched his drive to the canal, Lieutenant Colonel Naguib Mohammed Al Mohad got in a jeep and set out for a reconnaissance patrol along the Sinai frontier. With him were Major Abdel Nessi Said Ahmed Alechi, Captain Naguib Mohammed Alem Addine and two Egyptian soldiers. 130 feet inside the Israeli lines they were called upon to surrender, and smart war correspondents thereafter sneered at their stupidity. The truth was, Mohad had been a top Israeli spy since 1956 and the officers with him were on his team. The bungled reconnaissance trip was their way of crossing the lines. What Mohad and his friends took to the Israelis was a complete outline of Cairo's troop dispositions, including the precious information that at 8:30 each morning, in spite of the state of alert, Egyptian pilots still took fifteen minutes off for breakfast.

Moscow assured Nasser that it was Mohad's treachery which permitted the Israelis to wipe out his airforce at a single stroke. The gulf between Nasser and the army increased. Mohad, whose real identity is known only to General Yariv, the head of Israeli Army Intelligence, is now living in a secret apartment in Tel Aviv. The sleeping cell he commanded within the Egyptian army made Nasser suspicious of everyone. The damage to Egyptian prestige was enormous.

Though Russian materiel flows in to replace that destroyed by the Israeli blitz, Nasser has had his fingers burned. Now his seeming reluctance to fight provides the opportunity Algeria's Colonel Haouri Boumedienne has long been waiting. Israel's refusal to give up the territory she occupied gave Boumedienne his battle cry: Israel is expansionist. Arabs must launch the jihad now, or be dispossessed piecemeal.

BOUMEDIENNE'S REASONING IS REALISTIC. The Moslem who takes the lead against Israel will automatically become the fuhrer of the Arab world. Only Morocco, on Boumedienne's western flank, presents real resistance. Morocco has to be brought into line, so a hate campaign is being stepped up to inflame the Moroccan masses with charges that their king is protecting the Jews. This, after the wealthy Jews in Morocco were stripped of their properties, is to some extent true. The king is expected to withdraw his protection from the Jews that remain as a measure to save himself.

Across the political table Boumedienne is winning. His principal spokesman, wily Bouteflika, pays for such aid as China can give Algeria by pleading the cause of Peking. Tshombe's incarceration in an Algerian prison -- an act of piracy which neither U Thant nor UN as a body has deigned to condemn -- has strengthened the Algerian colonel's hand in Black Africa.

Oil, natural gas and foreign aid are his principal resources for the moment. His eyes are on America's oil holdings in the Arab world. European analysts see Boumedienne not as a lion but as a fox. His patience is infinite, and his talent for treachery and ruse is developed to the nth degree.

By grace of the support which America gave the Algerian FLN, Russia is now in position to become the second greatest naval power in the Mediterranean and a major war is not out of question. North Africa, which gave France the depth from which the comeback for reconquest of Europe was launched, is now a continual communist land mass, turning Europe's flank, enveloping Europe in the giant Soviet bear-hug that extends from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and now the Atlantic. How Algeria came to be added to this scimitar-curve of hostile nations is part of a story of twenty-two years of treachery or stupidity in high places which the American public should be told.

FROM PROTEGE TO ENEMY IN 13 YEARS. It is difficult to say who did most to foment the bloody massacre of Frenchmen on November 1, 1954, which started the Algerian war -- Russian agents or American labor's revolution-sower, Mr. Irving Brown. The seeds were planted when American troops occupied North Africa in World War II. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Esmet Rhodes was head of the North Africa section of our wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS) at that time. By June 1955 Rhodes was proclaiming in an official bulletin of the AFL-CIO that "the free nations should intervene in North Africa," on the side of the Algerians.

"French colonial despotism is a menace to the cause of the Western Alliance in North Africa, just as it was in Indo-China," wrote Rhodes. The reasoning was specious. Only a man bent on destroying the Western Alliance would ever have approved of the meddling of which we were guilty in both areas -- unless he were an utter fool.

Obviously Rhodes was not speaking for himself alone, because the policy he advocated was adopted. From that moment America was still France's ally in Europe, against a hypothetical Russian drive that was unlikely to come, since Russia preferred conquest by subversion. In North Africa America was France's enemy, supporting the men who now seem most likely to trigger the West's destruction. The NATO alliance was doomed.

Michael Clark, New York Times' correspondent, was recalled from Algeria for trying to tell his readers the truth about the revolutionaries America was supporting. Later, in his book, "Algeria in Turmoil," Clark told how our labor unions' arsonist, Irving Brown, lulled the fears of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, at a dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria in 1957. The electrical workers had grave doubts about the attitude of an independent Algeria toward Israel. After all, the Algerians were Arabs.

Brown pooh-poohed the fears of the electricians by telling them that he had directed Algerian energies away from the destructive path of Arab nationalism and into democratic channels. In plain English: The Algerians and their knowing or unknowing pro-communist accomplices conned a gullible America into thinking that, in return for aid in forcing surrender in France, Free Algeria would plead Israel's case with the Arab world.

In June 1957 the Algerian revolt was on the verge of collapsing when Reuther and Meany got up at a labor conference in Tunis to provide the encouragement necessary to make the men in the field continue fighting while their leaders lived it up in safety. A week later Senator John F. Kennedy spoke for America and his Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Kennedy told the Algerians to hold firm, not to give up; he was sure that in the end they would have their independence.

While Brown was misleading his electricians, New York Times correspondent Joseph Kraft and Abdelkader Chanderli, the Algerian terrorist representative in UN, were cooking up a guided tour for Kraft "with the troops in the field." There

is reason to believe that this holiday with the Algerian FLN which got Kraft the 1959 award of the Overseas Press Club, of New York, was not in Algeria at all but in Tunisia, with Kraft not knowing the difference.

Instructions taken from the body of a dead Algerian near the Tunisian border told how the visiting journalist should be treated, emphasizing the pro-Israel bias of his important paper and the necessity of constant reassurances that the heroic Algerians had no interest in the Arab war against Israel. All Algeria wanted was an "independent, democratic state." Translations of the Algerian instruction sheet were widely distributed, but never saw print in any American paper, news magazine or agency dispatch.

The ease with which the most astute businessmen on earth were taken in by a group of uneducated terrorists should perplex future historians and psychologists alike. Men who would not have bought a goat from the wily Algerians without witnesses, guarantees and a signed statement from a veterinary delivered a nation into their hands -- and the capacity for igniting a war.

CUBA ENTERS THE PICTURE. If there was any doubt that our press, State Department, CIA and labor leaders were knowingly backing communist implanation in North Africa, it should have been dispelled by the famous March 1960 Algerian "mission to Cuba." In early March American Ambassador Bonsal left Havana for Washington on a trip that had all the earmarks of a timely planned absence. The moment he left Havana, FLN representative to UN, Abdelkader Chanderli, flew in. There was no secret about it. EL MOUDJAHID, the official paper of the Algerian rebels, splashed details of the new FLN-Cuba accord over its front page of March 31, 1961, accompanied by a photo of Castro and Chanderli.

A leftist editor named Quincy Howe reprinted EL MOUDJAHID'S propoganda stories in his ATLAS Magazine, and, though it means "The Fighter," described his source as "moderate EL MOUDJAHID."

Within UN an American leftist named Jay Lovestone, who is supposed to have left the American Communist Party in the '30s over a dispute as to whether Lenin or Trotsky was Marx's true heir, represented the AFL-CIO. Lovestone scurried through the long halls of the glass building on New York's East River, regimenting African votes behind the Algerians. On December 1, 1960, he wrote the representative of communist Mali's leader, Modibo Keita, promising AFL-CIO support for Africa's revolutionaries and calling for a massive African request that "UN direct a plebiscite in Algeria which," said Mr. Lovestone, "could only hasten Algerian independence and serve the cause of world peace."

THE NEW LEADER, American labor's political journal, praised to the skies the Algerian rebels, to finance whom unionized workers were being shaken down. From the New York Times in the east to the Los Angeles Times in the west, one message was driven home: A French surrender would clear the way to an idyllic world.... "The Algerians at Bone did not die in vain," a Los Angeles Times columnist, named Polyzoides, told his readers.

A great octopus known as the INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) met in Brussels from March 3 to 17, 1961. This is the union-of-unions through which America's AFL-CIO, the gang that has the money, meddles in the internal politics of some 117 countries, and, by pulling the strings in those countries, dabbles in diplomacy.

The press releases that came out of the Brussels session never reached the American public in general, but they brought hope to Africans from Algeria to Ghana in their march toward savagery and an Algerian "victory." AFL-CIO had agreed to turn over \$3,250,000 of American labor dues at once to finance the ICFTU's (Read: AFL-CIO's) "international activity" for the second trimester of 1961. Another \$220,000 was thrown in to clear up the previous trimester's backlog, and an additional 3¢ per month "contribution" (as though it were voluntary) would be extorted from each AFL-CIO member for the next six to nine months, "with the understanding that the total would not exceed 18 cents per person." Multiply 18 by the 14 to 16 million workers AFL-CIO claimed to be presenting, and the Algerians got a lot of pennies.

While this was going on French booklets showing Algerian atrocities were barred from the American mails. Harlem's "Black Eagle" -- Hubert Julian -- was crossing the Atlantic with million dollar checks for Algerian arms purchases. An American calling himself Ahmed Kamal (his real name, Cimarron Hathaway) was raising contributions from the now-despoiled oil magnates who feared to be on Arab books as having refused, and Mennen "Soapy" Williams was encouraging the throat-cutters for our State Department. "Soapy," as Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, went to the 4th International Labor Conference, in Forest Park, Pennsylvania, on May 29, 1961. There he got up on the platform and said:

"America's attachment to liberty is clear and unambiguous. Hitherto the Africans have asked if America is going to follow her revolutionary traditions or if, instead, we are going to let ourselves be guided exclusively by our alliances with the colonialist countries...." He assured his audience that we would be against our allies, and added,

"Our own labor unions have furnished support, both moral and material, to the young labor unions of Africa, either directly or through their intermediary, THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS." (Translated from the 6-page booklet in French distributed in Africa by the U. S. Information Service.)

Thus our NATO allies were informed that, should conflict arise between them and violent Africans, America's weight would be thrown against her allies. A short time later Jay Lovestone left his post in UN to become head of the Foreign Affairs Section of the AFL-CIO. Irving Brown became AFL-CIO's ambassador to the ICFTU and ICFTU's delegate to UN. Possibilities for future trouble-making were unlimited.

THE PRO-ALGERIA MACHINE IN AMERICA WAS ALL-POWERFUL. From the pages of TIME Magazine, Edward Behr glorified the Algerians and smeared their enemies. Joe Kraft championed the FLN cause in the New York Times and Saturday Evening Post. Marguerite Higgins painted them as heroes in syndicated columns and the N. Y. Herald Tribune. Anita Ehrman and her friends turned the Hearst press into a propoganda organ. TV and radio commentators repeated the Moscow line on Algerian rebels with the monotony of a commercial.

A high point was CBS' documentary of January 26, 1962, which showed bad Europeans murdering good Moslems, while "fascist officers" waited in the wings, ready to destroy France if the good Moslems should triumph. Today CBS authority David Schoenbrunn is telling Americans that Ho chi Minh, his guest of other years, would have been our friend, had we kept on supporting him. In 1962 Schoenbrunn was flying between Paris and Washington, selling America the Algerian cause. CIA, National Student Association, professors, labor unions, USIS and State Department formed a coalition to whitewash Algeria's Reds.

In our Moroccan embassy a British-born liberal named William Porter, who had been furthering Arab movements from inside American consulates and embassies ever since he got his naturalization papers, was working like a beaver to advance the "Free Algeria" to which he was to become ambassador when a thousand Algerians a day, who wanted no part of Mr. Porter's friends, were fleeing the country. (Mr. Porter's last post costly to America was Saigon.)

Looking back on the folly of those days, a former Israeli officer reflected, in July, 1967, "In Israel, six years ago, all you heard was what a help Algeria would be after independence."

By April 24, 1967, some 10,000 Algerian students were rampaging through the streets of Algiers, smashing windows in the U. S. Cultural Center and burning President Johnson in effigy to cries of "American killers! Johnson killer!"

Georges Badel wrote in Paris weekly CARREFOUR of August 2, 1967, "The Americans are paying today for the errors they committed in blindly supporting the subversion Moscow fomented and armed around the world." Joe Kraft, however, was still praising De Gaulle in his syndicated column (September 15, 1967) for his "political courage in forcing a settlement (i.e. abandonment of Algeria), despite the worst kind of jingoistic pressure from his military advisors and political supporters."

Algeria at that moment was calling for reopening the war against Israel. Russians were installing missile sites in the mountains behind the coast and preparing to move into the great naval base of Mers-el-Kebir which the Evian Treaty (signed against the advice of the generals Kraft despises) agreed to let France use till 1977. Truckloads of Algerian arms rolled across Libya, Egyptbound. Britain and America were requested to evacuate the costly bases they had built in Libya as soon as possible.

It is hard to unsell a public that has been purposely duped by experts. Back in New York Americans continued to file past a ticket window and pay money for a chance to sit enthralled through a pro-Algerian propaganda film called "THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS."

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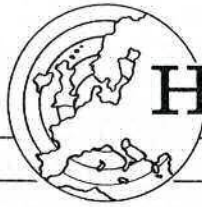
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THE POUND STERLING

The word pound, obviously, refers to a unit of weight. Sterling is derived from the old French, "esterlin," sometimes written "estrelin," which in turn came from the Anglo-Saxon term "easterling." This was the name given to traders from the Hanseatic ports and the Low Countries, "the men of the East."

In 1964, for purely electoral advantages, Mr. Harold Wilson, Britain's present Prime Minister, circulated exaggerated reports on his country's trade deficit and started the undermining which eventually destroyed confidence in Britain's money. Wilson's demagoguery carried his party into power, but the pound never recovered.

There was nothing original about this typical socialist-labor financial treason for political gain. Four years earlier an equally unprincipled American politician had used a rigged poll, tending to show that European confidence in America was slumping, as an argument for his own election. Certainly it was slumping, but only because of policies which Kennedy and his ilk had imposed. And crying from the housetops that confidence in America was on the skids was as mortal a blow to European confidence in American leadership as Wilson's ranting over the pound's weakness was to confidence in his country's banknotes.

In October, 1964, when Wilson and his team rode their anti-pound campaign into power, something had to be done to delay the accounting which putting politics before nation had made inevitable. The mentality of Chamberlain's "Peace in our time" rode again.

The alternative to removal of the cancer was a \$1000 million loan from the International Monetary Fund, which serves as a sort of supranational bank for UN. (See H. du B. Reports for January 1966). The last \$250 million of the International Monetary Fund's 1964 grant of borrowed time was due to be paid on December 2, 1962. As November approached, Mr. Wilson and his ministers continued to dismiss devaluation as a dirty word. Endlessly they denied the possibility that Britain might consider reneging on her debts, which is what devaluation entails.

The Daily Telegraph (London Nov. 20, 1967) estimated that Wilson and his ministers had denied at least twenty times in their thirty-seven months in power that the pound would ever be devaluated.

THE LESSON AMERICANS MIGHT LEARN FROM THE WILSON EXPERIENCE IS: Britain has never had a Labor Government for more than four years without suffering a devaluation of the pound. The three peace-time devaluations of this century have followed on two, four and three years of Labor Party rule. The only Labor Government which did not bring devaluation as an inevitable by-product was the first Ramsey MacDonald government, and then only because the government fell less than a year after assuming power. In 1929 MacDonald came back on a promise to set right what he called "years of Tory (Conservative) mismanagement."

In early 1931 confidence in the pound sterling began to plummet. By mid-July the situation was dangerous. A Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer named Philip Snowden held the pound's fate in his hands. Instead of balancing the books, Labor elected to form what was called a "National Government" and spread the blame. The bank rate was raised twice within a week to a final resting place of 4-1/2% and the Bank of England attempted to stem the tide by going into the foreign exchange market. It was no use. The pound was slashed by a quarter. This by men who had been elected on the promise that they would solve problems and get things done.

BY 1949 BRITAIN WAS BACK IN THE SAME SPOT WITH ANOTHER LABOR CHANCELLOR. This time it was Sir Stafford Cripps, the man who in 1932 defended Ho chi Minh against a French demand for his extradition from Hong Kong. Because of Cripps' extreme Leftist leanings, he was the emissary Britain sent to Russia to try to enlist Stalin on the side of the allies in 1939. Even in this he failed, and the von Ribbentrop pact between Moscow and Berlin was signed.

At war's end Lord Keynes, among other false prophets, eagerly assured Britain and the world that British exports would rise quickly, that full convertibility of the pound would be attained in two and a half years. That this was impossible should have been apparent, for the Labor government had bought the votes which brought it into power by making suicidal promises to labor. From the first it was the party of devaluation.

In mid-July, 1949, it was clear that British machine tools and other export items were 30-40% higher than those of the United States. Cripps, who had become both Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of Economic Affairs, ducked the issue by taking off for Switzerland for a six-week rest, rather than tell British workmen they had priced their country out of the world market.

This left Harold Wilson, his President of the Board of Trade, in charge. As Wilson's biographer put it, "He signed the chits to sell the gold reserve." It has an ominous ring to Americans who are being told today that the dollar

needs no gold backing. By the time Cripps returned the wheels of devaluation were in motion.

On the afternoon of Sunday, September 18, Cripps summoned Churchill, then leader of the opposition, to inform him of the decision. Churchill's reaction was a resounding attack on Cripps and the socialists. That evening at 9 P.M. Cripps stood before the microphone, with Harold Wilson stoically puffing a pipe beside him, to tell a stunned and shocked Britain that, after swearing nine times that he would never devalue, he was cutting the currency in which their life savings and pensions were stored by 30.5%.

It was 18 years after Britain's first peacetime devaluation. By 1964 the British electorate had forgotten. And the Labor-Socialists had never learned.

IN 1961 HAROLD WILSON DECLARED that further devaluation would be regarded all over the world as an acknowledgement of defeat. Yet every Labor move tended to hasten such a defeat. How ardently the Kennedy Administration desired a Labor government in Britain and the rise of Willi Brandt in Germany, Britain's conservatives never understood. Even Quentin Hogg came out against Goldwater in 1964, and in so doing helped his own party's enemies.

When Wilson based his 1964 campaign on attacks against management and capitalism he ignored the fact that international high finance today rides the socialist wave. An 800 million pound deficit greeted Wilson when his party took over in 1964. Wilson blamed it on the Conservatives and proceeded to advertise his dilemma to the world.

On the evening of November 24, 1964, less than a month after Johnson's victory in America, the pound hovered on the brink of the abyss. International bankers came in to save it, and Wilson knew from that moment on that international finance would not work against a labor government. In May, 1965, he called on the International Monetary Fund again, rather than face the fact that socialist claptrap is incompatible with a healthy economy. He remained a left-wing politician rather than an economist.

THE REASONS OF THE LATEST CRISIS, ONLY TO NAME A FEW, SHOULD HAVE BEEN OBVIOUS. Labor's animosity toward private profit prevented it from winning the support of industrialists, on whom much of national prosperity depends. Instead, as in America, the trend was to raise taxes, which in turn killed initiative. Redistribution of wealth rather than expansion remained the party's aim. Higher pensions were used to buy political support, at the cost of higher growth. The blocking of wage hikes was rejected. Everywhere socialism clashed with economics. With every election Labor continued to lose seats, and Wilson's remedy was to proliferate offices and overload the government payroll.

One of Labor's stupidest moves was Wilson's levelling of sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa, for purely political reasons, to court a vindictive Left which will never be satisfied, though its demands ruin the country. Exports to Rhodesia dropped by 31 million pounds. It was a luxury the pound could not afford.

Refusal to sell defensive armament to South Africa caused Britain to lose 20 million pounds in 1966. Nasser's closure of Suez cost Britain an immediate 20 million pounds. Then came the seven-week dockers' strike at London and Liverpool at the moment when currency from exports was most sorely needed. Britain's trade deficit for October fell to a record 107 million pounds. 100 million pounds of that deficit was due to the loss of foreign sales because of the dockers' strike alone. The dockers, had they wished, might have provided the pound with a chance for survival.

Britain's pound sterling was an international reserve currency because other countries used it to settle their obligations. Some 15,000 million pounds were in circulation around the world. The range of the fluctuations with which the Bank of England had to contend was tremendous. Since British workers, by their exorbitant demands and wildcat strikes, and government, by its crushing tax system, were pricing Britain out of competitive trade, some other means had to be found to make foreign exchange available.

British bank advertisements began appearing in foreign papers. LOMBARD BANKING, Ltd., was an example. 6% interest. The depositor would have "peace of mind;" interest, if desired, would be automatically credited and compounded. No British income tax would be deducted and the depositor's own country would know nothing about the account.

How many trusting foreigners converted their money into pounds in such accounts to beat tax systems at home and were swindled by devaluation, there is no way of knowing.

Labor attempts to stave off the debacle were feeble and insufficient. On Friday, November 17, over 300 million pounds worth of the Bank of England's gold and dollar reserves were passed over the counter to buy pounds that no one else would accept, but there efforts to restore confidence stopped. Speculators had received advance notice and cost Britain an estimated billion pounds in their rush to sell the pound short.

The cycle was complete. Another eighteen years had passed since Cripps, acting as a world banker, had decimated his depositors' accounts in 1949. From \$2.80 the pound fell to its new low of \$2.40 and bank rates in Britain rose to an all-time high of 8%. The corporation tax jumped from its already initiative-killing 40% to a still more murderous 42-1/2%. Striking dock workers still refused to negotiate a settlement.

Britain is very, very sick. Her British Majesty might well say, "Lord, God of Hosts, be with us once more. We forgot, we forgot!"

FOURTEEN MONEYS SOON FOLLOWED BRITAIN IN DEVALUATION: Cyprus, Spain, Denmark, Israel, Ireland, Jamaica, former British Guiana, Bermuda and the Bahamas, Malawi, Mauritius, Malta, Malaysia, New Zealand and Hong Kong. Actually they were sucked down in the vortex created by Britain's foundering, a foundering ideally described by the excellent R. J. Rushdoony newsletter of June 19, 1967 (22816 Oxnard St., Woodland Hills, Calif., 91364).

"Devaluation," writes Reverend Rushdoony, "is a product of controls and socialism.... The vast increase in money supply with paper money does not change the fact that the basic money is gold.... The printing press treasury wants

to say that its money is still 'as good as gold,' but people begin to show their fears and prefer gold. To devalue is to confess that the paper money is failing, and this treasuries hesitate to do.... Devaluation is simply one of the consequences of moral devaluation."

WITH THE POUND'S FALL THE DOLLAR WAS NEXT IN THE LINE OF FIRE. Like Wilson (even after the decision to slash the pound had been taken), Johnson announced that America would never devalue. A self-satisfied De Gaulle observed, "I have never seen a devaluation anywhere that up to the last minute was not denied just as categorically."

Europeans on the continent rushed to hedge by buying the precious metal, which Britons and Americans are forbidden by law to own. (Foreign officials controlling the gold markets are requested to report to the American and British governments if their nationals attempt to buy gold.)

Like Wilson, Johnson played politics and defied economics. Instead of halting our gold hemorrhage by cutting foreign aid, parasitic agencies and bribes to voters who make poverty a vocation, Johnson hiked bank rates and called for higher taxes, while in Paris De Gaulle marshalled his forces for an attack on the dollar.

DE GAULLE'S POSITION. A fourth of the West's gold is stocked in France. Of France's \$6000 million reserves, 90% (at 175 francs per ounce) is in gold bullion, so France has little to lose by either a Wilson or a Johnson default. A De Gaulle demand for gold reimbursement of American bank notes in French vaults could constitute a fatal run on the dollar. And in the ultimate reckoning there is no ground for hope that the governments that follow him will be more considerate. Monsieur Guy Mollet, Secretary General of the French Socialist Party, made a somber prediction, though his own party is co-operating with the communists in what Mr. Mitterand calls a Federation of the Left. Says Mollet, "There is no doubt about it. The government that will follow De Gaulle will be a supranational one, based on the Common Market. After a brief preparation period the French Communists will launch a drive against the Common Market Six." It will be part of a European Communist drive to take over Western Europe by seizing the supranational government which De Gaulle's successors will package.

The present chain of events may be said to have started when America, at the end of World War II, used her leadership to hasten the destruction of the world on which our allies based their political and economic existence.

That Washington feared the results of a drop in the pound was evident when America offered an eleventh hour loan of \$500 million if other nations of the Big Ten would do likewise. The Big Ten is composed of Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden and the U. S. -- with Switzerland sitting in as an observer and linking the Ten with the Basel Bank for International Settlement, a group which includes the Big Ten plus Switzerland and Austria. (See H. du B. Reports, January, 1966.)

De Gaulle pretended to oppose Britain's devaluation, going so far as to tacitly threaten that France would devalue also if Wilson were to lower the pound. But he refused to help halt the collapse unless Wilson would agree to permit his saviors to come in and examine the books; in sum, to operate Britain much as a group of receivers would run a bankrupt firm. Wilson dared not accept, for internal political reasons. MINUTE, the Paris weekly of November 23, 1967, reported that De Gaulle had made Britain an alternative proposition: support for the pound if Britain would share her atomic secrets with France. This Wilson could not accept without burning his bridges in Washington.

The contrast between France's attitude of September 1964 (See H. du B. Reports, October 1964) and now is interesting. Johnson was fighting Goldwater for the presidency. Neither De Gaulle nor Russia wanted to see Goldwater win. So, in the ten days between September 7 and September 17, 1964, the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas grabbed up but did not demand gold for \$70,000,000 thrown on the European market. The bank's weekly statement said, "It was a move to aid the dollar."

Soviet gold sales and purchases in France were handled through Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas and conservative European analysts saw this tying up of \$70,000,000 in a transaction that bore no interest, save a political one, as a Moscow loan, with Paris approval, to insure Johnson against a run on the dollar till the election was cinched.

Today De Gaulle has chosen the moment of the pound's collapse and the dollar's exposed position to announce that as far back as last June France withdrew from the seven-nation secret pool (America, Belgium, France, Italy, Holland, Germany and Switzerland) which until then had co-operated in protecting member currencies against fluctuations caused by speculation.

Secretary of the Treasury Fowler's reply to all this, in Washington, was a knife in the back of world confidence in the dollar. Said he, "The possibility of abandoning gold backing for the dollar is under consideration."

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD was nothing if not paradoxical. While still condemning America as the fortress of capitalist imperialism, even while America's liberal economists talk of throwing out gold backing altogether, Communist Hungary announced in mid-November that, for the first time in twenty years, Hungarian gold coins will make their appearance in January 1968. This is interpreted as part of a bid by the communist bloc to seize the initiative in world trade and replace the pound and the dollar as media of international exchange.

Russian economists announced that Russia expects to become the chief producer of monetary gold before 1988. The state-owned Moscow Narodny Bank, which handles most of Russia's gold transactions abroad, reported in mid-October, 1967, that "even though there is no rise in gold prices to make the exploitation of Russia's present mines profitable, the new fields discovered in the Soviet Union will boost Russia to the head of the gold-producing nations, including South Africa, in the next twenty years."

Russian economists reason that America's refusal to raise gold prices above the present \$35 per ounce is due to reluctance to see Russia and South Africa reap a windfall. That being the case, Russia has decided to defy America

and step up gold production, even on a \$35-per-ounce market.

Despite convict (i.e. slave) labor, some Russian gold is estimated to cost \$100 per ounce to produce. The decision to push ahead is indication of a long-range financial policy. Bluntly, Moscow knows that unbacked currency can never compete with currency backed by gold as a medium of international payments. Since gold-mining in the non-Socialist countries is done on a commercial basis and must permit a profit at the American price, Russia is betting that total non-Socialist gold production will fall to one-sixth of its present \$1,440,000 million per year in the next twenty years and that South Africa's production will drop as low as \$150,000,00 per year by 1974. The ruble will then lead the field.

FINANCIAL RETREAT IS REFLECTED IN THE WORLD POLITICAL PICTURE. While western power recedes in pace with western currencies, Russian naval forces are getting ready for a great leap forward in the Mediterranean. Mers-el-Kebir, North Africa's greatest deep water base, known to the Romans as "Port Divine," will soon, with its ten miles of French-constructed underground bomb-proof galleries and miles of deepwater docks, become the home port of Russia's Mediterranean fleet.... This cannot fail to have further political and economic repercussions in Western Europe.

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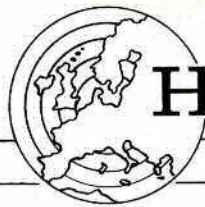
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AMERICA - BEFORE THE RIGGED RED COURT OF NO APPEAL



"Russia will pick up the check and make good any financial deficit," said an official of the Russian-directed WORLD COUNCIL ON PEACE (W.C.P.), when the big "Vietnam Conference" met in Stockholm from July 6 to 9, 1967, to prepare in minute detail the typical Russian travesty on justice which was to charge America with genocide, in Denmark four months later.

Behind the mock trial in Roskilde, a little town at the end of a fjord some 20 miles west of Copenhagen, lies a story of conspiracy and cynicism. Its judges were too busy whitewashing murderers in Cuba, Bolivia, Moscow, Hanoi and Peking to think of the women and children wiped out by Vietcong flame-throwers in Dak Son.

Groups, interlocking movements and scurrying individuals provided with unlimited funds surged from nowhere and everywhere to build up a case against America. Stokely Carmichael, asked by journalists in Paris where he got his money, replied, "A good fairy looks after me."

At the peak of the mock trial movement, providing respectability with his British title -- enjoying respect because of his age and prestige and because of what he was over half a century ago -- sat a sort of political Judas goat named Lord Russell.

WHO IS LORD RUSSELL? A 95-year-old philosopher. Aside from his British title, sneered at by leftists except as a provider of pre-eminence for society's turncoats, Lord Russell is a member of the Left's own nobility. "Nobel Peace Prize Winner" also prefaces his name. Using him and providing a sounding board for words put in his mouth and papers he is induced to sign is Russia's international machine for softening up the West.

In 1937 he wrote "Great Britain should disarm, and if Hitler and his soldiers land in our country we should welcome them as tourists and treat them as friends." When Hitler invaded Russia Lord Russell breathed fire and told the countries he had urged to disarm that they should go to war. "If I were young enough to fight, I would," he declared.

When the war got too hot for him, he went to America where it was safe. In 1948 he was for a preventive war against Russia. "Either we go to war with Russia before she has the atomic bomb," he preached, "or we will be forced to bow and submit to her power." In 1950 he proclaimed that the West must use the atomic bomb before Russia.

In 1951 he took up the cause of German rearmament, but by 1955 he had decided "The most dangerous leader today is Adenauer." On May 26, 1958, the NEW LEADER, political organ of America's AFL-CIO, allotted him space in which to plead for one-worldism and proclaim that to regard communism as an evil is to risk the end of human life. Therefore, he concluded, opposition to communism is fanatical, defeatist and pusillanimous. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 inspired Russell to heap praise on Khrushchev as a peacemaker and condemn Kennedy as a war-monger. Actually both were enacting a farce.

RALPH SCHOENMAN. Behind Russell is an American who, without Russell as a front and the Red propaganda mill to push him, would be a nonentity. At 32 Schoenman is the driving force, chief organizer and principal spokesman for Lord Russell's Foundation and "Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal." Undoubtedly, he is responsible for many of the senile philosopher's present views. Schoenman went to Britain in 1958 as a Princeton philosophy and political science graduate, ostensibly for a two years' course in the London School of Economics. On arrival he threw himself into left-wing activities and in 1960 helped Russell organize his Committee of 100.

In October, 1960, Schoenman started working for a Ph. D., but gave it up in April, 1961, to become Russell's secretary. Thereafter, from behind the venerable facade and in Russell's name, he pulled strings in the whole network of British organizations working against the West and particularly against America.

A year after joining Russell, Schoenman over-reached himself. He led a sit-down demonstration and was sentenced to two months in jail. Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, wanted to deport him but under strong pressure from Britain's organized Left did not push the matter. The Ministry of Labor, with Home Office approval, issued Schoenman a work permit and from then on all was clear sailing.

However, the close call with Butler served as a warning, and Schoenman's friends urged him to strengthen his position before risking another run-in with the law. The perfect solution was to do as Willi Brandt did when, as a German Red, he fled to Norway -- marry a girl of the country.

In July, 1960, shortly after teaming up with Russell, Schoenman attended the wedding of one of Russell's disciples in the "Committee of 100" and the ban-the-bomb drive. There he met the bride's sister, Susan, and on April 1, 1963, eloped with her to Scotland, over the protests of her parents.

Gradually Schoenman took the burden of their divers activities off the aged lord's shoulders, which made Russell a figurehead and gave Schoenman a free hand, but left him little time for shaving and bathing.

PLANS FOR A TRIBUNAL IN PARIS. In mid-1966 the Russell-Schoenman team announced through a compliant press that they were going to set up a tribunal in Paris to try President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Secretary McNamara and Henry Cabot Lodge, as war criminals. The idea was ridiculous, since all four were men the communists would have chosen for their respective jobs, unless we assume that their stage of usefulness was past.

Johnson had been the man they wanted in 1964. Dean Rusk and McNamara had given no-winism the dignity of a national policy. Cabot Lodge, a social snob who courts the Left for political power, had supported communist votes in UN for years. He it was who called right-to-work a sanctimonious ambush and knifed our allies with his campaign against colonialism in areas every one of which is now pro-Russia or pro-Peking and anti-America.

It makes one wonder if the trial wasn't a move to make the defendants look good in America before November, 1968.

THE "JUDGES" OF THE TRIBUNAL would include former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, French pseudo-intellectual Jean Paul Sartre and his inseparable companion, Simone de Beauvoir, who told a Japanese interviewer, "When the French Army was defeated at Dien Bien Phu, we (French Reds) rejoiced as though it were our own victory." (When Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir condemn America and urge GI's to desert, let us not forget that our liberal press was all for them six years ago, when they were calling for desertion and insubordination in the French Army.)

Peter Weiss, the German-Swedish author, historian Isaac Deutsch, and Roosevelt Memorial Foundation Award winner, Jose de Castro, were also on the proposed anti-American bench.

The U. S. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) announced that Stokely Carmichael would endorse the trial and participate. Lord Russell, in a letter probably composed by Schoenman (whose American parents are quoted as saying that they are proud of him) called on Johnson to appear and defend himself. Then Russell wrote to the Daily Telegraph (London, Sept. 30, 1966) to announce that the National Liberation Front (N.L.F.) of Vietnam enjoyed the support of virtually all the peasants in the south; otherwise "the unparalleled military power of the industrial United States would have achieved its end of exterminating the brave Vietnamese who struggle to liberate their country from American domination and occupation."

A more likely explanation for the war's continuation is the no-win policy of the men Lord Russell proposed to try. In America Bobby Kennedy was offering to give his blood to the Vietcong, the Quakers were getting ready to send them gift packages, and the administration refused to let American pilots bomb important targets, lest it cause suffering among the enemy, an enemy that executed prisoners and wiped out villages without a qualm.

The question on everyone's mind was: Will De Gaulle permit the trial to be held in Paris? At that point a French minister is reported to have asked the general what he would do if Johnson were to let Georges Bidault and Jacques Soustelle set up a tribunal in America. Permission for holding the trial in Paris was refused, but the Red camp was undiscouraged.

From the beginning American traitors have provided the most effective ammunition for the anti-American drive. S.N.C.C. and its associate groups enjoy the patronage of the American Church, at 65 Quai d'Orsay in Paris, whose pastor helped bring Martin Luther King to France. Alfred Kastler, the Nobel Prize physicist, heads a team of pro-Red lawyers and politicians ready to help American deserters overcome immigration difficulties. The Quakers, in their HQ on Rue de Vaugirard, work for American defeat with missionary fervor. Simone Signoret and Yves Montand marched at the head of 30,000 Reds calling for "peace in Vietnam." Around the world a synchronized drive got underway to assure Hanoi that world pressure would force Johnson to throw in the sponge before November 1968.

De Gaulle's attitude is also said to be dictated by the conviction that Johnson will abandon the fight and that then America will be hated in the north and hated and distrusted in the south, which will permit France to step in and settle the scores left by our 1945-46 O.S.S. backers of Ho chi Minh and their successors, the anti-French "Iron-Mike" O'Daniel and a certain Colonel Lansdale. De Gaulle, however, was not ready to appear ridiculous by making Paris the seat of a farce of a trial. Lord Russell and his "judges" were told to go elsewhere. Their first choice was Stockholm.

STOCKHOLM WAS IDEAL FOR THE ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA SHOW. Here sits the committee which bestows the Nobel Peace Prize, the new status symbol of the Left, on deserving advocates of socialist causes, and subsidizes them with tax-free grants. "Nobel Peace Prize" has nothing to do with peace save in the sense that the word is used to brand as war-monger anyone who opposes yielding to any Russian demand. "Nobel Peace Prize Winner" is the Left's new non-hereditary title which, bestowed on Russia's man, entitles him to free propaganda space in the world press.

To anyone but a confirmed leftist, the false note of Stockholm's pacifism -- as false as Hammarskjold's compassion for humanity -- is apparent. Here synthetic leaders are created by men who represent nobody but themselves. UN wars against Katanga, Rhodesia or South Africa are approved, but N.A.T.O. nation soldiers are encouraged to desert, and then sheltered, if their governments oppose what Russia wants. It is strictly a one-way street. This is where Lord Russell and his unbathed American prepared to set up camp.

Stockholm is the capital of a country so riddled with subversion that Swedish Reds were permitted to openly photograph everyone who entered the country's counter-espionage HQ when the case against Russian spy, Colonel Sig Wennerstrom, was being prepared. Security men saw their anonymity destroyed; files bearing license numbers of cars they used; details on their associates, relatives and movements compiled and sent to Russia. Telephone numbers of photographers ready to photograph government agents and informers on receipt of a tipoff were openly circulated.

HERE A "VIETNAM CONFERENCE" WAS CALLED, from July 6 to 9, 1967, and a careful study of how this meeting was run provides an example of how anti-American demonstrations are manipulated. First there must be a "front." The principal nerve

center for anti-American "peace" movements is the WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE (W.C.P.), the Vienna-based secretariat of which is called the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PEACE (I.I.P.) Both are psychological warfare arms of the Soviet Union.

If a counter movement were set up to expose them, the Washington Post, New York Times, AP, UPI and TIME Magazine would race each other to denounce it as "fascist."

THE WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE publishes a magazine, U. S. subscription price \$7.50, sent to "GAZETTA," 5 Mollwaldplatz, Vienna 4, Austria. In it such words as War Resisters, International Women's Strike for Peace, Pugwash Conference and Peace abound. Country by country, doings of the "Congress of the World Peace Movement," with emphasis on Algeria and Cuba (both of which clamor for war), are faithfully recorded. Perusal of this publication would permit an assiduous patriot to compile a directory of most of the Trojan horse organizations operating behind the "Peace" facade throughout the West.

It was in April, 1949, in the Salle Pleyel in Paris, that the NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PEACE MOVEMENT was formed by Red nuclear physicist Frederic Joliot-Curie, Mrs. Eugene Cotton and Stalin Peace Prize winner Yves Farge. Two years later Stalin gave Joliot-Curie a Peace Prize also. Hero of the October 1964 Bulletin of the World Council of Peace is Martin Luther King. Heaviest donor of that month to the organization's World Peace Fund (Account No. 65-12413-7, Stockholm Enskilda Bank, Stockholm 16) was Herbert T. Rosenfeld, U.S.A. -- \$500.

Back to Stockholm and July 6, 1967. The classic fronts were there, but the World Congress of Peace (W.C.P.) and the I.I.P. did the commanding. Walter Diehl, German member of the I.I.P.'s permanent staff in Vienna, quietly took over the conference's Press office. From then on he decided which documents should be issued and who would get them. A Czech I.I.P. stalwart from the Vienna office named Bohumil Svoboda was assigned to work the Afro-Asian delegations. But he took his orders from Stepan Molodtsov, who was introduced as a W.C.P. official but was also a member of the 16-man official Soviet delegation.

With the sureness of long practice, the W.C.P. and I.I.P. assumed control. Every play had been planned. All the fuzzy thinkers and do-gooders asked was to be led. So W.C.P. acting president Isabelle Blume (Belgian and a Lenin Peace Prize holder) and her Indian secretary-general, Romesh Chandra, proceeded to lead them. First the two "Peace" organizations loaded the conference with W.C.P. officials, then an ad hoc committee meeting was called on the side, and before the sheep knew what had happened the steering committee and all eight of the conference's commissions were sewed up by the W.C.P. and I.I.P. Delegates from such organizations as AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, PAX CHRISTI, and THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC PEACE ORGANIZATION were spectators, nothing more.

The purpose of the Stockholm Conference of July 1967 was to make final plans for a "Peace in Vietnam Day" around the world on October 21, and the "war crimes trial" against America that was to follow. The date for the world "Peace in Vietnam Day" was picked to coincide with a March on Washington by American Reds. Office space was rented and a "continuing committee" of the Stockholm Conference was left in place to serve as a permanent message center and direction post.

Out of Vienna on September 28 went a flood of I.I.P. circulars addressed to all "National Peace Committees." Send any information about the October 21 demonstrations to the I.I.P. in Vienna and the Committee of the Conference in Stockholm, was the peremptory command. Four days later the I.I.P. office dispatched another directive: All National Peace Committees are to affiliate themselves with the Stockholm Conference Committee at once. Around the world the flood of pamphlets and instructions co-ordinating anti-American pressure over Vietnam gained volume.

IN LONDON A BODY CALLING ITSELF "VIETNAM INTERNATIONAL" (V.I.) went into action. Behind it sick Britain's INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION FOR DISARMAMENT AND PEACE, headed by an Estonian, naturalized Canadian, named "Gerry" Hunnius, began mobilizing anti-American, pro-Vietcong demonstrations as further proof that the world was against America.

Sweden, still embarrassed by the Wennerstrom affair, begged Lord Russell and his rigged court to go elsewhere, and rather than ruin a good thing the W.C.P. prepared to move to Copenhagen. Simultaneously, in another gesture of solidarity, American and British Reds were mobilizing British parliamentarians, leaders in society, education and finance in a petition and contribution drive to encourage and finance American deserters. No government counter-measure or protest appeared. From the number and quality of those who signed, and contributed, an American lobby for Spain's takeover of Gibraltar now, to ensure its remaining in non-communist hands, would not be out of order.

THE TRIAL WAS APPROACHING BUT SCHOENMAN TOOK OFF FOR BOLIVIA, to try to help French Red, Regis Debray, on trial for guerrilla activities with Che Guevara. European reports of November 14 stated that when he was caught Debray was about to leave on a mission for Guevara to contact a friend in Europe who was raising funds, medicines and arms. Schoenman was named as that friend. Bolivia expelled him to Miami where American officials picked up his passport, after which a New York lawyer named Boudin pleaded that his client (Schoenman) was a family man wanting only to get back to his wife in England. Said wife at that moment was getting a divorce on grounds of cruelty, refusal to bathe and "sexual aberrations."

Schoenman, passportless and stripped of the argument that might have got him into Britain, set out to try to find a loophole into Denmark in time for the "trial." Stockholm, Helsinki and Amsterdam turned him back. Desperately attorney Boudin brought suit against the State Department for "interfering with his client's civil liberty," but it was no use. The big trial started without Schoenman.

DENMARK, NOVEMBER 20, 1967. No Copenhagen hall was available, but a Roskilde restaurant owned by the Social Democrat Party agreed to take them, so Roskilde was chosen. But Roskilde's leading hotels would not have them; this meant that buses and Danish sympathizers had to drive judges, witnesses and observers daily between Copenhagen and the tribunal.

Jean Paul Sartre took Schoenman's place in the banquet hall before a panel of 22 judges representing 13 countries. MINUTE, the Paris weekly, described Mr. Sartre as a man who, "after resisting in Paris' big theatres to the applause

of German officers, transformed himself into an exterminator of collaborators after the liberation."

Beside Sartre sat Wladimir Dedijer, the hairy, hard-faced Yugoslav who was there to record testimony against America for communist textbooks and summon witnesses by banging the table with a red plastic gavel.

Projectors, simultaneous translation booths and spectators occupied the balcony. Below were judges, journalists, secretaries, bouncers and the long line of witnesses, which included several Vietnamese, three of them women. Stars of the show were the Americans -- white and negro defectors -- with Stokely Carmichael at the top.

First task of the court, as the Paris left-wing weekly NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR put it, was to show that according to Americans themselves "the American Army is now completely Nazified." The organ most frequently quoted was the NEW YORK TIMES, praised for its "courageous photos showing Vietnamese being tortured."

"The photos that appear in the New York Times, showing Vietnamese torturing other Vietnamese," said Sartre, "never show the American instructor behind the torturer. There is always an American instructor. The system has been explained to us by one of the American witnesses who tortured and taught others to torture." To the joy of the entire Moscow-managed machine, the witness hung his head and murmured tragically, "I myself am a war criminal."

A colored soldier swore that his officer had ordered him to shoot a woman. An American film showed soldiers killing their wounded prisoners. Another American colored soldier strung out his moment of glory by telling how he saw a captured Vietnamese thrown out of a helicopter.

"For an imperialistic power, genocide is the only strategic reply possible," Sartre expounded. "For the Americans there are only two choices: destroy everything or get out.....They do not want to prove only that guerrilla warfare does not pay; they want to prove that socialism does not pay." Why does not America escalate the war? Sartre provided the answer: "They can't -- for economic, strategic and military reasons."

In the end Sartre told the court what John Kennedy told the Algerians in 1957: "Do not give up. The enemy is losing. In the end you will win."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, when the farce was finished, took off for Paris, still wearing blue jeans, accompanied by a colored girl and two colored boys. The French consulate in Stockholm had refused a visa for his expired passport. At 7 P.M. on December 5, he landed at Orly and was told that he could not enter France. "Notify the Vietnam Committee that I cannot be at their meeting at the Mutualité," he told the police as they led him into an office for the night.

By dawn the Red machine was in motion. The Algerian embassy began phoning ministries. The Ministry of the Interior said "Wait," while Minister Fouchet telephoned the Foreign Office. Foreign Minister Couve de Murville said "Wait," while he phoned Bernard Tricot, secretary of the Elysée Palace. Tricot hurried to an aide-de-camp who said, "Wait, the General is sleeping."

Outside, the "Vietnam Committee" had appealed to French Red, Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, who regularly attacks America and lauds the Vietcong on French TV. D'Astier phoned Monsieur Gorse, the Ministry of the Interior's African specialist. Gorse rushed to the Council of Ministers sitting in the Elysée Palace. De Gaulle, informed that Carmichael was being held at Orly, replied, "Eh, bien. Let him stay. Give him whatever he needs."

Thus the undesirable of December 5 became a desirable on December 6, possessed of a renewable, 3-month visa and permitted to proclaim beneath a monster picture of Che Guevara, "We do not want peace in Vietnam; what we want is the defeat of the United States."

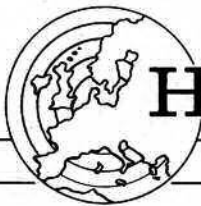
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Subscription rate: \$10 per year. Extra copies of this newsletter, 20 cents each to regular subscribers, rates on larger quantities given on request.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from H. du B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107

VIETNAM COUNT-DOWN

Bobby and Teddy Kennedy continued to twist every aspect of the Vietnam war to their own political ends as Hanoi's suicide groups moved southward and took up positions. Teddy had just returned from Vietnam and made headlines with his declaration that we cannot win militarily because of our failure to win "that other war" for the hearts and minds of the people. No one rose to snort, "Talk sense, Teddy. Only success wins the hearts and minds of Asians in the midst of war; not handouts."

Success means winism, and this the Kennedys, for all their aggressivity elsewhere, have never demanded.

For all that many of the moves were below the surface, there was no lack of warnings that something big was afoot as January unfolded. On January 3, Mr. Nguyen van Tien, the permanent representative of the Vietcong in Paris, where both the Vietcong and Hanoi have offices, suddenly departed for Moscow. For two weeks Tien had been locked in secret meetings with pro-Red Vietnamese and international organizations. There had been long talks with French officials and the treasonable "Paris American Committee to Stop War," which the American Friends Service Committee operates at 114 Rue de Vaugirard. From his Moscow talks Tien was to fly on to Hanoi.

On January 17, on the eve of President Johnson's State of the Union message, Hanoi's Paris representative, Mai van Bo, announced that if bombing were halted negotiations could begin in a few days. The date of Mai van Bo's statement, knowledge that if Hanoi were to open talks it would be at a date of their choosing -- unless America went out for victory -- should have been disconcerting. The implication of the conditional, in the use of "could," itself implied contingency on the success of some move being prepared by the Vietcong.

Slowly, over a period of weeks, fragments of alarming information had been drifting in to men who had every reason to be vitally interested in Vietnam but were powerless to shape events. Toward the hunting-lodge in Alsace where His Majesty, the Emperor Bao Dai was living flowed alternate confidential reports and pleas to do something before the impending explosion. At 26 Rue Emile Zola, in Chaville, outside Paris, General Nguyen Khanh, who had a brief period in power after the fall of the generals who overthrew Ngo dinh Diem and his brother, perused reports from his followers.

General Le van Vien, in a small apartment at 12 Rue du Four, Saint Maur, another Paris suburb, was probably better informed than the American embassy in Saigon. He and his private army, the Binh Xuyen, had cleared Saigon of communist assassination squads in the years between 1948 and 1954. By grace of them, trucks rolled safely from Saigon to Cape Saint Jacques, the winding river between Saigon and the sea was safe from communist attack, and terrorism was stamped out of Cholon, the Chinese suburb.

In 1955, however, Allen Dulles' man, Colonel Lansdale, decided that the dirty colonialists, not the communists, were the principal threat to South Vietnam, so he and General "Iron Mike" O'Daniel egged Diem into crushing the Cao Dai Sect that protected Tai Ninh from the Reds, the Hoa Hao Sect that assured security in Cantho, on the Mekong Delta, and Le van Vien, whose Binh Xuyen army had ferreted the Reds out of Saigon and the surrounding area.

Though removed from it all and with no desire to go back, General Nguyen van Hinh watched events with anguish, from his command post over all French nuclear earth-to-earth missiles. Hinh was driven from command of the South Vietnamese Army in September, 1954, by Colonel Lansdale. The methods used were typical of the high-handedness which made us so many enemies. First Hinh's troops were informed that if they obeyed their commander American aid would be cut off and they would not get their pay. A few officers remained loyal nevertheless. Lansdale had his old friend, Magsaysay, flatter them with an invitation to the Philippines for a review of troops and crushed Hinh while they were away.

These are only a few of the men who knew something was afoot but were powerless to do anything about it as January marched toward its inexorable climax.

For months in provincial and district capitals the Red underground had been storing food and munitions, particularly in the old imperial citadel of Hué, the traditional seat of Imperial power and consequently of symbolic importance. American pacification teams had no way of exterminating the ants in South Vietnam's framework. Only a native leader with devoted followers, whose eyes and ears were everywhere, could do this. (See H. du B. Reports, April, 1967.)

The aim of the human ants stockpiling supplies over the length and breadth of South Vietnam was a surprise attack while America called off bombings in hopes of peace talks. An uprising that would focus the attention of the entire world on them, and give a temporary American setback the dimensions of total defeat in the eyes of American Leftists who would influence the talks that would follow.

IN AMERICA'S PACIFICATION OFFICE IN SAIGON SAT ROBERT KOMER. Scores of his men were about to be trapped in the field. Komer's qualification for his job was friendship with LBJ, half a world away. The job could have as justifiably been filled by Jack Valenti. Six autographed pictures of the President adorned his office. It is likely that Komer never heard of Le van Vien, the master of pacification. Yet on Komer the lives of thousands of men depended.

THROUGHOUT SOUTH VIETNAM hand-picked demolition and assassination groups continued to fan out, taking up secretly stockpiled positions in eight principal cities of the country, while Vietnamese soldiers burned joss-sticks and celebrated the lunar New Year truce. In forty smaller towns through fourteen of the country's sixteen provinces Red units huddled like cancers, protected by sleeping cells that had been groomed since Lansdale ran out the man who would have detected their presence before the buildup made headway.

Incorporating Le van Vien and his Binh Xuyen followers into the Vietnamese Army, as a separate unit paid by America, would have cost less per year than the planes they would have saved on one field in the last three days of January, to say nothing of hundreds of American lives.

This was the underground part of the war. Above ground was the conventional build-up drawn like a noose around Khe Sanh.

KHE SANH IS A SMALL TOWN IN THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF SOUTH VIETNAM. North of it is the so-called Demilitarized Zone. To the west is Laos, where the communists recently won a major victory. Slowly, while infiltrators saturated the south, two crack Hanoi divisions, possibly three, encircled Khe Sanh with an iron ring of men, 152 mm. artillery and, reportedly, Soviet missiles.

Within striking distance of Khe Sanh Hanoi had 30,000 to 40,000 men at the end of the lunar new year truce which was to usher in the year of the monkey. The objective was to make a monkey of America. Defending Khe Sanh was an outer ring of 750 South Vietnamese rangers. At their backs, protected by barbed wire and mines, were 5,000 American Marines. That the rangers could not retreat was evident. Their job was to take the first assault and die.

Americans began moving reinforcements northward from the delta cities to Khe Sanh.

NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE CORRESPONDENT EVERETT G. MARTIN enters the picture. If there was anything that America did not need on the eve of an uprising, it was an example of the highhandedness the Vietcong was accusing us of and an appeal from an American for more of the same. Fresh in the minds of the Vietnamese were the shenanigans by which Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky was blocked from the presidency. Everett Martin chose this moment to deviate from straight reporting and advise that since South Vietnamese soldiers were no good anyway America should move in and run the country. (It was in the best Newsweek tradition: In 1944 Newsweek correspondent Harold R. Isaacs, expelled from China for knifing Chiang Kai-shek, went to Indo-China to glorify Ho chi Minh.)

Vietnamese Immigration Chief Major Nguyen van Nho quite rightly refused to renew Martin's residence visa, whereupon rose loud shrieks about infringement of freedom of the press and another instance of what has provided Hanoi with its greatest propaganda points: American pressure to make Immigration Chief Nho reverse his decision.

So moved events on the southern front, as the Reds prepared a monster offensive under Robert Komer's nose.

IN NORTH KOREA STRANGE THINGS WERE HAPPENING. 56-year-old North Korean Chief of State Kim Il-sung had been itching for trouble for over a year. More than 600 North Korean violations of the armistice agreement were reported in 1967. Korea had been the world's first experiment in UN's new concept of war which holds that all conflicts must be concluded through negotiations, leaving neither side victorious. By this theory wars are halted, not settled, and the "peace" that results is a truce forced on the side that is able to win, lasting until a more favorable opportunity presents itself to the side that is out of breath.

For Kim Il-sung that time was January 1968. In early 1967 Australian communist, Wilfred Burchett, commented to Kim on the rapidity with which Pyongyang had been rebuilt after the fighting between 1950 and 1953. Kim replied, "If you want to come back and see it, do it soon, because Pyongyang is going to be destroyed again." From 1966 on, Kim had been planning a diversionary action that would coincide with a Hanoi offensive in Vietnam. In December 1967, at the 250th meeting of the Armistice Commission, in the blue UN barracks on the dividing line between North and South Korea, a Thai general fell asleep, a British brigadier-general doodled on a piece of paper. Two South Korean generals groaned with indignation as America's Admiral John V. Smith recited a list of provocations to insolent North Koreans who could not have cared less. Peking's representatives shook with laughter when the Americans exhibited Russian arms that had been seized in the course of 1967's 800 and some clashes with Red infiltrators.

No mention was made of the fact that since 1966 Kim's military budget had been hiked from 3% to 30% of the national revenue. Militia units had been recruited in every school, factory and co-operative. Posters appeared, proclaiming, "Workers, be ready at any moment to take up arms!"

AS M-DAY APPROACHED, KIM PUT HIS GOVERNMENT ON A WAR FOOTING. The ax began to fall on civilians and lukewarm officers. Seven generals moved into key political positions. The Party secretary and Vice Premier were purged. Out went both the chief and deputy chief of Kim's South Korea Bureau.

THE CALENDAR FOR THE NORTHERN PRONG OFFENSIVE WAS CAREFULLY PREPARED. Infiltrators were to attack the presidential mansion in Seoul and the homes of top officials on the night of January 21.

On January 19 six American officers, 75 sailors and two civilian specialists had boarded the electronic listening boat PUEBLO (935 tons) in Sasebo, Japan. The Pueblo, commanded by Commander Lloyd Bucher, was between the 130th and 132nd meridian, at the 38th parallel, when a coded message arrived as terrorism erupted in Seoul. According to a confidential European source, this message went:

One: North Korean commando has infiltrated Seoul and was stopped only at door of Presidential Palace. Volume of messages between commando and home base indicates a large offensive pending. Establish radio-communications listening plan for that sector.

Two: Intercept messages concerning missiles delivered by Russia to North Korea. They are capable of striking American units at sea. Transmit messages to Washington for decoding.

Three: Routine Mission orders: Pick up by hydrophone any indications of nuclear submarines leaving Soviet bases at Vladivostok."

On Tuesday, January 23, the Pueblo was headed due west. At 10 that night, Washington time, Bucher radioed his base at Sasebo that North Korean patrol boat had threatened to open fire if they did not give themselves up.

An hour later, Bucher radioed that three more North Korean vessels had appeared and he was being surrounded. By 12:10 it was all over. The rest you know. The America of Don't-give-up-the-ship tradition had been superseded by a navy with explicit orders from the top: Do what the enemy says. Don't shoot.

THE REACTION: Americans were indignant. Johnson's first reaction was to do as Truman did when North Korea invaded the South on June 25, 1950: He turned to Moscow. It was absurd: Moscow's concern for peace is only as a formula for western surrenders.

HOW A TOP POLITICAL ANALYST (ANTI-GAULLIST) IN PARIS SAW THE AFFAIR. "Johnson immediately sent the nuclear flat-top ENTERPRISE and three destroyers to the limit of North Korea's territorial waters," he wrote. "The commander of the ENTERPRISE demanded the Pueblo's release. This would lead one to believe that Washington has decided on energetic measures if the North Koreans refuse. Certainly America cannot accept this affront. But it is also certain that the seizure of the Pueblo was part of a larger over-all design."

"Behind the North Koreans are the Russians. They know that the war in Vietnam is reaching its end. Of course, a battle is raging around Khe Sanh, and the Americans are in a serious enough situation; nevertheless, Hanoi is almost out of breath. Before the end of hostilities in Vietnam, Russia needs a war to replace it. Another abscess to occupy the Americans."

"What Russia is preparing in Pyongyang is a new Vietnam. The Pueblo seizure was a sounding operation to test America's resolution. If Johnson lets three weeks go by without doing anything, it will mean that nothing is going to be done. The call-up of reserves and the dispatching of the ENTERPRISE, it will become clear, were moves to placate American opinion at home rather than intimidate Pyongyang."

This statement was made on January 25.

THE SOUTH KOREANS HAD NO ILLUSIONS. Seoul regards reopening of the conflict with the North as inevitable. In private, Korean officers admit that by rotating Korean units in Vietnam for 12-month periods, if the war lasts long enough every Korean officer will eventually have combat experience. North Korea's present strength is estimated at 300,000 men under arms and 600 tanks; South Korea's at 550,000 men and 800 tanks. Russia is reported to have provided North Korea with the same type missiles she has given Nasser. America's apparent preference for sterile conversation, to give resignation time to set in with the public at home, increased South Korea's resentment with every passing day.

NOW LET US RETURN TO SOUTH VIETNAM. On January 30 Washington time, America dropped one of her major bargaining points: Insistence that in return for a halt in bombings Hanoi should reduce dispatching of troops and materiel to the South. Mike Mansfield hailed our softening as a move to make negotiations "more palatable" to the enemy. The enemy had no intentions of negotiating except as victors.

In the small hours of the morning of January 30, Vietnam time, throughout fourteen of South Vietnam's sixteen provinces Hanoi infiltrators struck. London Daily Telegraph correspondent, Frank Robertson, reported black-uniformed communists pushing children ahead of them as human shields as they attacked Vietnamese Army headquarters in Saigon. In the north-west suburbs of Saigon, Robertson witnessed the same procedure. Unperturbed, the Quaker medicine ship, PHOENIX, unloaded supplies for the enemy in Haiphong. There was no protest from "peace" organizations over the atrocities of David Dellinger's friends.

Everywhere, simultaneously, the terrorists struck, murdering women, children and unarmed civilians. American military police were seized with their weapons in Gia Dinh, Saigon's northwest suburb and slaughtered. Red commandos surged into the U. S. Embassy, attacked the presidential palace and set fire to the radio station. The American naval base at Vinh Long was over-run.

Through the night of Thursday, February 1, terrorists hid in the children's hospital in Cholon, for the strike at dawn. A week after it started, police posts in Saigon were still under attack; the Vietcong flag still flew over the citadel in the Imperial city of Hué and three provincial capitals were in the hands of the enemy.

An American aide named Ron Fleming, cut off in the Chi Lang section of Saigon, defended his home against sniper fire with a rifle, and complained that Vietnamese police were unable to protect him. Too bad about that, Mr. Fleming. Your colleague, General Lansdale, thirteen years ago talked the Dulles brothers into running out the only police chief capable of making Saigon safe. Mr. Phan khac Suu, when he became Chief of State, tried to bring Le van Vien back, but Lansdale's friends put pressure on Prime Minister Pham huy Quat and blocked it. Le van Vien's three requests to the Americans to be permitted back were never answered.

While South Vietnam was aflame, the long-awaited battle at Khe Sanh hung fire. Whether Khe Sanh was being threatened to draw American troops from the civilian-packed cities or the towns being besieged were attacked to draw our forces from Khe Sanh was anybody's guess.

One certainty Senator Fulbright and Jeanette Rankin and their ilk cannot deny: Though the people of South Vietnam fear the Vietcong more than they do the anti-communists, when the sneak attack came the civilians did not rise. Where their sympathies lie is no longer in doubt.

ON THE SUPREME COURT FRONT, IN WASHINGTON, THE ENEMY HAD BETTER LUCK. For an understanding of its importance it is necessary that we backtrack to the eve of World War II. Frank Knox was then Secretary of the Navy and Adlai Stevenson was his assistant. American Reds were fighting for the right of Communist radio operators on American ships at sea. American officers were against having ship to shore communications, and vice versa, pass through communist occupied radio rooms.

In the Congressional Record of March 2, 1954, on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments," is the testimony of Rear Admiral Adolphus Staton. The admiral swore under oath that he and Admiral Hooper were faced with the problem of radio operators who were potential security risks when America entered the war. As evidence of the importance of having loyal men in the radio rooms of ships at sea, he cited the case of 700 Spanish naval officers butchered by disloyal crews when the Spanish admiralty radioed news of the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936 and Communist radio operators passed the word to Red cells below decks instead of to the commander on the bridge.

A ship's radio operator had boasted that Stalin had a man on every American ship and could learn the location of any American vessel at sea by dispatching a secret signal, but Admiral Staton was blocked when he tried to weed communist suspects out of American radio rooms. A stranger named Adlai Stevenson phoned him, introduced himself as special assistant to the Secretary of Navy, and protested, "You do not have anything against these men."

Admiral Staton replied (p. 1316 of the record) that an emergency existed and that questionable radio operators should not be at the keys of ships in naval convoys. The answer of the future Democrat candidate for the presidency to that sensible statement was, "Well, Admiral, I don't think we ought to be too hard on the commies."

Since then the defection of Martin and Mitchell from the code room of our most sensitive security office, the National Security Agency, and a long list of convicted spies attest to the extent to which sensitive posts have been infiltrated.

Six days before the North Koreans seized our electronic listening ship at sea, American Reds won what they had been fighting for for years. Justice Douglas, speaking for the Supreme Court, wiped out the Magnuson Act of 1950, which aimed at keeping subversives from the U. S. Merchant Marine. Said Justice Douglas, "The words it (the Magnuson Act) used -- 'to safeguard.....from sabotage or other subversive acts', referred to actions, not ideas or beliefs."

In other words, though the past records of men in whose hands merchant marine officers are forced to place their lives indicate that on a given signal in the event of an upheaval at home, their ideas and beliefs would lead them to act against their officers rather than obey orders, nothing can be done to bar such men from sensitive posts in ships at sea until the crime which there is every reason to believe they would commit has been perpetrated.

Such is the home front while in Korea and Vietnam, above ground and underground, America fights for survival.

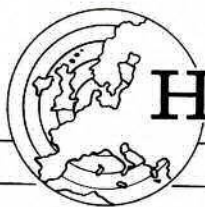
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Subscription rate: \$10 per year. Extra copies of this newsletter, 20 cents each to regular subscribers, rates on larger quantities given on request.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from H. du B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107.



THROUGH NO-WINISM THE ONE-WORLDEERS PLAY FOR VICTORY



U Thant, top man in the Trojan horse on New York's East River, traveled far last month, collecting testimonials with name value for a package called "No-Winism," which the world bloc, dedicated to winism for itself, is out to sell America. Historians may term it "U Thantism." Its real name is self-imposed defeat. The rules permit a western nation capable of defeating a communist one to put up a show of fighting while UN negotiates a settlement that will leave the adversary in position to go the rest of the way by subversion, or re-open the war at a more favorable time. Politicians who want UN approval become salesmen for no-winism. The first step is to declare that America cannot win. Thereafter it is up to them to see that no general proves them wrong. In sum: they have a vested interest in America's defeat.

One of the arguments for running from the field is the spectre of "another Dien Bien Phu" if we stand and fight, and a third world war if we try to win. The reasoning is unsound. A greater war will follow if we do not win. And America's position at Khe Sanh has nothing in common with Dien Bien Phu, the 1954 victory which our present enemies did not win but which the French Left handed them on a platter, somewhat aided by an American senator named L. B. Johnson, who blocked the one-hour air strike which the Pentagon wanted to make and which would have saved Dien Bien Phu, broken General Giap and saved thousands of American lives.

A truer comparison with our war in Vietnam would be Korea in 1950 and 1951.

GENERAL MacARTHUR, FIGHTING UNDER A UN FLAG, WANTED VICTORY. Truman had entered the White House through the death of a President, and, like Johnson today, was elected at the end of his partial term by a Left-oriented Democrat machine. UN and the international Left, not America's long-term interests, thereafter dictated Truman's decisions. China and Russia armed the enemy while their satellites talked peace and told American mothers there would be a global war if we did not restrain the warmonger, MacArthur. Only Churchill observed that, "Russia does not want war; she wants the fruits of war without the fighting."

On December 1, 1950, Truman held a press conference that was to mark a turning point in history. For the first time a nation capable of victory was about to make no-winism a national policy and in so doing leave the world with a festering, unfinished war.

CLEMENT ATTLEE WAS BRITAIN'S PRIME MINISTER. All the evils of the Wilson government were there, even to devaluation. Attlee called a special meeting of the House to announce that a crisis threatened world peace and he was going to America to help solve it. He feared that America, if pushed into a corner, would use the atomic bomb. So he intended to extract Truman's promise that no "irreversible decision" would be taken. He would guarantee Britain's support if Truman would agree to open peace negotiations at the earliest possible moment.

Across Europe went the Leftist call for solidarity. De Gaspari said Italy would stick with Attlee. Adenauer accorded him Germany's "confidence." Robert Schuman, the Luxembourg-born, German-educated one-worldeer, was France's minister of foreign affairs. He empowered Attlee to speak in the name of France. Thus it was as spokesman for Europe that Labor-Socialist Attlee told Truman what he could and could not do when they met behind closed doors from Dec. 4 to Dec. 9.

MacARTHUR WAS FIGHTING FOR THE WEST as these talks were going on. He wanted to cut the Yalu bridges over which North Korean supplies and reinforcements were pouring. Attlee won. On December 9, to the immense relief of North Korea, China and Russia, whose cause Atlee was pleading, Truman announced that no matter what the circumstances (even to prevent a massacre of UN forces) America would never use a nuclear weapon without consulting Europe through Mr. Attlee.

Three months later MacArthur was relieved of command and the last effective American opposition to no-winism crumbled.

CAME MID-FEBRUARY, 1968. Harold Wilson, Britain's next devaluation minister, boarded a plane for Washington on an "Attlee" mission. When it was over, LBJ heaped his visitor with praise as America's best friend. What did he bring us to merit all this? When he went home, he told the House of Commons he had made it clear that Britain's support for American policy in Vietnam rested on the objective of a political settlement. "There will be no militarily imposed settlement of this war," (i.e. victory) he stated. In effect, what Wilson delivered was not a pledge of support but a blackmail threat that Britain will be against us if we aim at anything but another Korea.

There was no official protest as leaders of Britain's 250,000-member Liberal Party launched a fund-raising drive on February 25 for the aid of American draft-dodgers. Said draft-resistance leader Dr. Henry Wortis, "This is the kind of help our people need."

Housewives and teen-age girls paraded in front of the American embassy, calling on America to stop the slaughter. Hanoi's massacre of civilian officials in Hue went uncondemned. The Peace Pledge Union continued to send appeals from its office at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W. C. 1, and Vietnam International stepped up its pro-Hanoi campaign. Mr. George Kiloch, administrator of Sussex University and chairman of a group urging U. S. soldiers to lay down their arms, voiced approval when students, led by an American named Michael Klein, threw red paint on an American official who had

addressed the university.

In London the OBSERVER opened its anti-patriot campaign by announcing on February 25 "the most disastrous result of American defeat could be the election of an extremist Hollywood actor called Reagan to the American Presidency next November."

From Australia, an M.P. named Whitlam called for pressure to make America cease bombing North Vietnam -- as tanks and troops that had moved south during a bombing pause attacked Lang Vei in a war that will roll all the way to Australia if America does not stem the tide.

This was the moment for U Thant to throw everything into convincing the Americans in an election year that western surrender is the road to peace.

THE WILD GOOSE CHASE. It was senseless from the start. On February 8 UN's champion of anti-colonialism was in New Delhi with Indira Gandhi, whose fellow-Indians think so little of independence that everyone capable of doing so was clamoring to keep the door open into Britain. Then he saw North Vietnamese Consul-General Nguyen Hao and Roumanian Foreign Minister Mircea Malitza. On February 11 U Thant left New Delhi for a huddle with Kosygin in Moscow. Hanoi's representative to the Kremlin happened to drop in. Next came talks with Dang Quang Minh, the Vietcong's man in Moscow. Their conclusion: If America will stop bombing, negotiations can start almost immediately.

AT THAT POINT MIKE MANSFIELD DECIDED TO JOIN THE DRIVE. During the 1954 to 1960 years, when all the timbers of Vietnam's framework as a nation were being torn down, Mike approved of the dismantling on grounds that he was fighting communism. When we found ourselves in trouble, Mike, the great senate "authority" on Southeast Asia, decided we should quit fighting and get out.

On February 13 -- two days after Harold Wilson's magnanimous pledge of support providing we promise not to win -- U Thant flew into London to seek a meeting with a 46-year-old North Vietnamese named Van Sao. Officially Van Sao is London correspondent for a Hanoi paper called "Cuu Quoc." In reality he is Hanoi's representative to the countless "peace" organizations pushing Hanoi's cause in Britain.

THE STAGE SETTING WAS COMPLETE. While Van Sao talked to U Thant in the Claridge, Waldeck Rochet, head of the French Communist Party, led an estimated 10,000 Reds, including Simone Signoret and Yves Montand, through Paris in a monster anti-American demonstration. In response to joint appeals from France's communists and socialists, demonstrators were massing outside American consulates in other French cities.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR FRENCH-VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP announced that Dr. Corliss Lamont and numerous American colored associations were cooperating from across the Atlantic. In Vienna Reds pelted the American Cultural Center with eggs and German students paraded in West Berlin. U Thant was shown that the people who count are with him.

The cunning with which Van Sao led him up the garden path was worthy of admiration. The following morning Van Sao waited until U Thant's luggage was weighed in for a flight to New York before getting the Secretary-General on the telephone to say, "You must go to Paris at once. A message from Hanoi is waiting for you there."

Obediently U Thant changed his plans and flew to Paris. Prime Minister Pompidou, at Orly airport to meet Chancellor Kiesinger, had barely time to rush to another gate before U Thant was whisked away by UN interpreter Gibson Parker for Mai van Bo's Hanoi mission office at 2 rue le Verrier, Paris 14. What was the important message dangled before the Secretary General to bring him to Paris? Nothing. Negotiations can start if America will halt bombing. Read: Make America stop bombing while we mass forces, tanks and rockets around Saigon and Khe Sanh.

The farce was incredible. Though U Thant had cancelled his New York flight to go to Paris and ring the bell at the door of a non-accredited North Vietnamese, he summoned Her Britannic Majesty's ambassador to France, Sir Patrick Reilly, to the Crillon Hotel. Later he saw Foreign Minister Couve de Murville and De Gaulle.

Paul de Meritens, under the pen name of Paul Deheme, wrote of the performance, "For U Thant, who has so many times shown his predilection for communist causes, it is urgent that Hanoi negotiate. For Hanoi the first consideration is not to lose face and to force the Americans to accept a so-called national union government in Saigon in which the FNL, otherwise known as the Vietcong, will participate. If Washington accepts this, South Vietnam will soon be communist."

The London DAILY TELEGRAPH told Britain that "the North Vietnamese officials U Thant met along the way had given him just enough to keep him guessing and trying. He held the world's headlines for a week, and raised the hopes for peace of millions who, despite so many disillusionments, rise unflinchingly to the cry of dove. By raising unjustified hopes," commented the TELEGRAPH, "Thant diminished his own dignity and involved himself in communist propaganda gestures which are intended to mislead and confuse."

THE WORLD SEEMED BEATING A PATH TO MAI VAN BO'S DOOR through the first week of Hanoi's rampage of murdering prisoners in the South. For protests? Not a bit of it. At the height of the senseless butchery, even Monsignor Casaroli, who drew up the Vatican's accords with Belgrade, Budapest and Tunis, went to Mai Van Bo's office to discuss how America could be persuaded to stop bombing.

On February 20 North Vietnamese ambassador to Moscow, Nguyen tho Chanh, arrived in Stockholm for a five-day visit with Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson, Prime Minister Tage Erlander, leaders of the Stockholm Peace Committee, the World Congress of Peace, the International Institute of Peace and the growing colony of American deserters. A few days after Chanh's return to Moscow, Sweden's ambassador to Peking flew to Hanoi in the wake of Switzerland's ambassador, Oscar Rossetti.

Put the distant but not unrelated events together. They are but a scratching of the surface. What you have is an idea of the forces in motion to immobilize America while a slaughter is being prepared that will create pressure for withdrawal.

THE NO-WIN CAMP WITHIN AMERICA. Hanoi's only glimmer of hope in Vietnam is the communist-fanned protest movement. Let that light fail and Hanoi will give up. The moment the protest movement in America reached sufficient proportions to constitute a vote, it became the interest of certain politicians to see that Hanoi's beacon does not go out. A literature has been created on "Old Joe" Kennedy teaching his sons that second is not good enough, you have to win. But his applies to Old Joe's sons, not America.

"The war in Vietnam cannot be won," proclaimed Bobby, when it appeared that those for turning tail and running might outnumber even those supporting Johnson's policy of fighting hard enough not to lose. "The war is already lost," parroted Edwin O. Reischauer, whom JFK had appointed ambassador to Japan.

Arthur Goldberg, on a nation-wide TV broadcast on May 7, 1967, reassured the world Left (and Hanoi) that victory in Vietnam is not our goal. Walter Lippmann, John Kenneth Galbraith of AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and a host of others took up the defeat platform. When these men say that America cannot win, in a sense they have inside information, for, to a man, they are members of the establishment that has adopted no-winism as a policy. Thus Hanoi's glimmer of hope is kept alight. America has courageous supporters abroad, but no propaganda mill carries their writings across the Atlantic.

General Vanuxem, hero of the 1951 battle of Vinh Yen, wrote in CARREFOUR (Paris weekly) of February 14, 1968, "The hippy Bobby Kennedy plays the defeat card. It is not enough that the Vietcong send 30,000 peasants to their death and wipe out local governments. For the Vietcong to exploit this strange 'victory,' it was necessary to find an American who would use it for his ends. They did not have to go far. The American, of course, was Bobby Kennedy. He is the hope of the Viets, as they are the hope of Bobby."

No mass circulation editor to date has attempted to explain the process by which America was brought to accept unquestioningly the Orwellian application of "doves" to those who tear into patriots with the ferocity of vultures, and "hawks" to those who would fight for survival. None of the catch-phrases used by those who label themselves doves, while fighting for surrender, and call their enemies hawks who want war, would stand up if the public had been told the truth from 1954 to 1960.

THE ARGUMENTS FOR SURRENDER. Take Bobby's statement that Saigon's present leaders are "unwilling or incapable of being an effective ally against the communists." The moment when Bobby should have lifted his voice was when our willing and effective allies were being imprisoned, killed and exiled with his brother's whole-hearted approval. At a meeting of American Friends of Vietnam, in Washington on June 1, 1956, JFK got up, and with a speech he had paid someone else to write, extolled the government he had helped plant in Saigon for "reducing the strength of local communist groups."

No communist groups had been hurt; the groups whose destruction JFK was glossing over were the Binh Xuyen police and the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects which held the communists at bay until American agents Ed Lansdale and "Iron Mike" O'Daniel decided they ought to be wiped out. JFK went into raptures over "the impressiveness of the increased solidarity and stability" realized "with the elimination of rebellious sects and the taking of the first steps towards democracy." The truth was, JFK in 1956 was helping create the anarchy his brother is exploiting.

Unrestrained power was wielded by such CIA men as Kenneth Tabor Ripley when they were turned loose on Vietnam with freedom to decide who was to attain pre-eminence and who was not. What right did Ripley have to pick up a young Vietnamese named Phan quang Dan and send him to Harvard, at American expense, with the laconic explanation, "He is going to be Minister of Public Health."

A preparatory indoctrination in treason was necessary for the proteges being taken up and assigned to ministries even before they were educated. To be acceptable to our revolution-sowers, they had to renounce their Emperor. But what a feeling of power it gave them to be associated with the well-heeled Americans who scattered largesse and offered years of expense-paid living in ivy-league universities! After they betrayed their monarch, why should we expect them to be loyal to anyone else?

ROBERT SHAPLEN'S "LOST REVOLUTION" is a book thinking Americans should read. He was Newsweek's man in Shanghai after World War II, when Newsweek's Harold Isaacs was glorifying Ho chi Minh in Indo-China. Shaplen is of the school that thinks "revolution" is good. He likes the men who tore down the traditional structures in Vietnam and washed their hands of responsibility when their "revolution" went sour. Liking them, he is with them, and with surprising candor is able to tell what they did. To a conservative, his judgment is at fault in approving of these things; as a source of inside information he offers priceless ammunition for those who will realize what he is admitting and use it.

Even anti-monarchist Vietnamese would be furious if they were to read Shaplen's book and (on Page 122 in the soft-cover revised edition) learn how Kenneth Todd Young and his friends decided in a State Department office in late April 1955 that they were going to make South Vietnam a republic. What business was this of Kenneth Young's? What right did a few outside meddlers in Washington have to decide to depose Vietnam's monarchy, push Diem upstairs into the presidency and make a northerner named Phan huy Quat premier? (They did succeed in making Quat premier from February 1964 to June 1965.) On a signal from Young and his friends, other American liberals in Saigon helped whip up a mob to burn the Emperor in effigy, while Herblock cartoons in the Washington Post lampooned him and the press tore him to pieces. At that moment, Shaplen explains, Diem was egged into fighting the Binh Xuyen forces (who until then had kept the communists out of Cholon,) and Young decided that America would not knife the Emperor just yet. As suddenly as it had started, the anti-Bao Dai campaign ceased. Young explained to Allen Dulles and Mike Mansfield that the Binh Xuyen and the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects had to be eliminated first.

Six years later, on May 22, 1961, Newsweek still approved of the crushing of the Binh Xuyen and the sects but, without telling its readers they were anti-communist, added that "the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao held unchallenged sway over vast areas of the countryside." Only men who were ignorant, or who wanted a Western setback, could have approved creating a vacuum in those Red-free areas where our boys are now dying.

For five months Young and his assistants let the Vietnamese have their Emperor. Then they decided to move. His

Majesty was in the south of France while the three anti-Red groups were being mopped up.

A 29-year-old assistant military attache named Joe Meigs, in our Paris embassy, has spent a fortune trying to undermine the Emperor, even to having Kenneth Tabor Ripley compile a list of numbers on the license plates of cars parked outside His Majesty's door. Strange fellow, this Meigs. His lavish Paris parties often ran to 500 guests, while his Dutch stepfather, a former lecturer at Berkeley and Harvard and a close associate of the Prince Bernhard group, hovered in the background. Perhaps it is not surprising that on Meigs' retirement from the service in 1966 he should go to work for the foreign department of Chase Manhattan Bank, with its Council on Foreign Relations, Bilderberg Group and Atlantic Institute ramifications.

CBS' Paris Bureau Chief, David Schoenbrun, played a major role in helping Kenneth Young make Vietnam a republic, as perusal of his hatchet job on the Emperor in COLLIER'S of September 30, 1955, attests. "Diem must not only remove (the Emperor) Bao Dai, but do it in such a way that he no longer has any usefulness as a symbol of Vietnamese unity," Schoenbrun told America, and the Vietnamese who were about to vote in a rigged plebiscite.

Some years later, when it was no longer deniable that he had backed a bunch of Reds in Algeria, Schoenbrun, now a professor at Columbia University, justified his and CBS' actions with the statement that it was the Algerians' country and it should be left to them to decide. One cannot help but wonder: Would Schoenbrun pretend for a moment that the Vietnamese had any say in the matter when Kenneth Young and his friends decided what kind of government they were going to have? At a general studies Dean's Day at Columbia, in early 1968, Schoenbrun told students that he is against the war in Vietnam (where he and his friends opened the flood gates for the Vietcong) but added, "I have served my country for many years, so don't call me a dove." Where does he get that "served my country for many years" stuff, unless he is boasting that it was on CIA orders, with CBS as a front, that he worked to clear the way for the Russians in Algeria and to run the monarchy, as a symbol of unity, out of Vietnam.

After Bao Dai was removed there was a hitch in CIA's plans. Fragmentation resulted. It was the throne that had held the divers sects and provinces together. Phan quang Dan no longer wanted to be Minister of Public Health, he wanted to be Chief of State. With CIA behind him and the agents of two "front" companies at 50 Broad St., in New York, providing him with an umbrella, Diem and Nhu did not dare arrest him -- until Nhu tricked him into convicting himself.

In November 1960 he made the mistake of going on the air in support of a coup d'etat before it was won. Nhu's agents cajoled him along, saying, "Come on, confess that you conspired against the President. If you confess, he will forgive you and then you will be free." Dan fell for it, thereby putting himself in a position where his American backers could not defend him. Nhu's judge sentenced him to ten years in Poulo Condor island prison. As the boat pulled away, Madame Nhu had him photographed with tears streaming down his face, so she could portray him as a weakling. On the same boat was Dr. Phan khac Suu, who had been tortured, then kept in an underground dungeon for ten months with a caged tiger above his head. In November 1963 both men were freed.

BY MID-1967 the PRESIDENT-MAKERS WERE AT WORK AGAIN. The logical candidate to head a winism regime in Saigon was Premier Nguyen cao Ky. There was no protest from the Kennedy brothers as it became clear that someone in Washington was sabotaging Ky. U. S. News & World Report of January 16, 1967, told its readers that Henry Cabot Lodge was trying to talk Ky out of running for the presidency, because "the United States would prefer to see civilians, not military men, running things in South Vietnam."

The Los Angeles Times of March 19 stated that (Ambassador) Bunker would be an advocate of Viet reconciliation. A shiver went up the spines of those who know that no reconciliation is possible. One side or the other has to lose. The following morning a Los Angeles Times editorial expressed fear that "the military might move to thwart the change to civilian rule and seek to keep power for itself, a possibility certainly inimical to American policy goals. And in the background there is the matter of how the South Vietnamese might react to a possible (but for now unforeseen) negotiated settlement of the war."

All the earmarks of a plan to ease a no-winism civilian into the presidency in Saigon and let him negotiate a sell-out in the name of reconciliation were there. Prime Minister Ky upset the plot by announcing that he would run. Since he could not be persuaded to step out, he was pressured into stepping down and running for the vice presidency under General Thieu. But our civilian candidates were there: Phan quang Dan, whom CIA put through Harvard, and Phan huy Quat, who Kenneth Todd Young had decided twelve years earlier was the man to run South Vietnam.

One of the arguments in Washington for abandoning the fight is that Vietnam has no sense of nationhood. It is easier to destroy a sense of nationhood in a young country than it is to restore one where national traditions have been pulled up. How are you going to sell nationhood in South Vietnam, when LBJ's right-hand man, Walt Whitman Rostow, preaches that the day of nation and nationality is dead?

The Kennedys pontificate about winning the hearts and minds of the people. How? By trying to buy them with money and rice? We should have thought of minds and hearts when we ran out the anti-communist leaders they had when we came in.

THE TRUTH IS: There is no middle road by which either side will have to admit defeat in Vietnam. The war cannot be turned off like a faucet. It has to be won. Land reform is not going to bring us a single ally. Our first move must be to put out Hanoi's glimmer of hope.

(NOTE: At a rally sponsored by Mr. Edgar Bundy in Chicago in March 1967, Madame Labin, the French Socialist, was asked from the floor to define the difference between her position and that of H. du B. She replied that H. du B. is for no-winism in Vietnam, and she is for winism. It was inexcusable that anyone who paid to attend such a meeting in search of information should receive such an answer. This Report will make our position clear.)

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