

With this number H. du B. REPORTS begins its eleventh year. Counting the ten years in which the Report never failed to appear and the SPECIAL REPORT at the time of President Kennedy's assassination, when H. du B. was in Dallas, this is REPORT No. 102. During this time, as brickbats from both Left and Right attest, we have learned the validity of James Branch Cabell's injunction, "Thou shalt not offend against the notions of thy neighbors."

This month our subject is the recent offensive against the dollar, how we were brought to the brink of insolvency by handouts to "the developing nations" (a euphemism for countries that, since decolonization, have been going backwards,) and our prospects for the future.

Friday, March 15, brought the monetary crisis which caught traveling Americans in a situation which few tourists had ever imagined in their wildest dreams. Some were unable to cash travelers' checks or change dollars at all. Many banks allowed \$20 worth of exchange per customer. Conditions varied. Even without De Gaulle's onslaught on the dollar, one of the most brutal drives to pull down a currency that living economists had ever seen, the March 15 day of reckoning was inevitable. For the real reason confidence in the dollar had slumped was that for over two decades men who had dug into positions of power under Roosevelt and entrenched themselves under succeeding presidents had poured dollars down the rathole of foreign aid as fast as tax collectors and exports could rake dollars in. Most of this wasted money helped only anti-Western revolutionaries such as N'Krumah and Nasser into whose pockets it went. There were cries of warning from individuals, but not the American press.

The New York World Telegram of October 23, 1947, accorded five lines -- as a space-filler -- to Herbert Hoover's statement, "The United States is over-exporting its resources and cannot continue its present rate of foreign gifts and loans without further evil consequences to our stability." When the "evil consequences" had to be faced, De Gaulle was holding a gold reserve of some \$5,250 million, or one-fourth of the West's supply. If America could be forced to raise the price of gold from \$35 per ounce to \$70, De Gaulle would double his money. Granted, a world economic upheaval would follow. The end might be something that neither De Gaulle nor the financial agitator behind him, Monsieur Jacques Rueff, bargained for. At the moment their attitude appeared to be that of the man who jumped from the fourteenth floor, remarked blithely, "Well, I'm all right so far." In reality, behind their call for return to the gold standard, while Johnson's economists move heaven and earth to divorce the dollar from gold, lies an audacious scheme.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD. Years of absurd profligacy -- Foreign Aid, Peace Corps and tier upon tier of parasitic agencies -- drained our coffers. On June 21, 1967, Senator Vance Hartke (Ind. D.) introduced legislation to repeal gold coverage from the dollar. Confidence began to sink. After swearing just as solemnly as America that she would never devalue, Harold Wilson's Labor Government let the pound topple five months after Hartke called for pulling the props out from under the dollar. From the moment the pound fell, De Gaulle's waves of attacks against the dollar never ceased. On February 28, 1968, he received help from an unexpected ally. Senator Javits (R., N.Y.) knifed the dollar from the rear; he called on America to cut the dollar loose from gold and let it float. From that moment panic gripped both speculators and the provident, who saw their life savings threatened by a financial domino-collapse.

The scramble to acquire gold started. Paris and Zurich markets went wild. A rumor was spread that South Africa, irate over the way Britain and America had treated her, was about to divert her gold from the London market, by far the most important in the world, and deal through Paris. It is generally agreed that Paris started the rumor. As a result, gold prices soared. On Monday, March 4, demand reached the 30-ton level. No one was in a mood to accept America's promise that the dollar would be maintained. Figures meant nothing. All the stampeding speculators could see was that the ship appeared to be sinking and it was every man for himself.

When the wave subsided, 30% of the world's known gold holdings were estimated to be in private hands, much of it bought at panic prices. Germans descended on Switzerland like a flock of locusts, grabbing silver coins in the rush to acquire a solid metal. Switzerland reacted quickly with legal measures to plug the drain. Gold mine stocks took an upsurge. Dutchmen, who, like Americans, had been forbidden by law to buy gold, suddenly found the Grenwissel-Kantoor, which provides exchange facilities for travelers, setting up markets in railway stations to sell gold bars.

A British conservative exclaimed, "Thank God we have reached the end of the Keynesian era in which people thought they could create wealth by printing money!" His enthusiasm was premature. The solution, as blithely arrived at as FDR's tossing a coin to see whether gold should be fixed at \$35 an ounce, could at best be only temporary.

A TWO-LEVEL GOLD SYSTEM was sold to the public as a cure. It was actually a compromise, permitting a free gold market for the little man, alongside a fixed market for the seven nations whose central banks belong to the international gold pool. (Britain, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and the United States.) America provides 59% of the reserve supply on which members of the group can draw. It is a gentlemen's agreement. Central banks belonging to the pool agree not to buy from the free market. This prevents private speculators from unloading, except to other speculators.

The catch is: France pulled out of the pool last June and so is at liberty to play the field. Paris can deal with non-members such as Moscow and Peking, or anyone else with gold to sell. The current free market fluctuates between \$37 and \$40 an ounce. America's reason for binding members of the pool not to buy from private individuals was to

hammer the market down and burn the fingers of those who bought in during De Gaulle's raid on the dollar.

It is doubtful that pool members, particularly currently unsettled Belgium, would refuse to buy gold at \$35 an ounce if it were offered by a Belgian national. Secondly, should the free market fall below \$35 an ounce, central banks would quite likely grab it up for their own reserves. Another clause of the agreement stipulates that member banks which buy gold from the U. S. Treasury at the legal rate cannot sell it on the free market. Each month central banks of nations belonging to the pool must report their gold holdings to the International Monetary Fund (IMF.) South Africa, in addition to her holdings, must report how much gold she has produced.

A strange banking procedure is followed by this IMF, which is a sort of supra-national central bank for UN. Depositing nations may draw out the gold they have put in, plus twice that amount in their own currencies. On top of the unsound credit rules of the IMF we now have the risks of the two parallel markets for gold.

We are sailing uncharted waters in this two-level system. Many of the safe-guards are theoretical. It is assumed that South Africa will voluntarily refrain from dumping gold on the free market for fear of lowering the price. How far we can count on that if we continue to knife the South Africans is open to question. Central banks of Europe believe that members of the pool will continue to buy newly produced gold at \$35 an ounce whenever it is offered.

We are told that inability to produce gold profitably at \$35 an ounce in many American mines, and prohibiting mines from selling to anybody but the government, has cut down our production. So why did America discourage home production still further by announcing in mid-March that our government will not pay \$35 an ounce to domestic producers?

The law enacted under Roosevelt denies Americans the right to own or sell processed gold. Therefore Americans should, legally, be able to own gold in its natural state, gold dust or nuggets, and sell it for anything they can get. They have been prevented from doing so by government intimidation. Europeans argue that acceptance of the two-level system for gold should remove any reason for denying American citizens the right to own gold if they care to.

If central banks belonging to the pool abide by their agreement and refuse to buy back gold that speculators acquired during the frenzy, will this not bring about a massive reduction in world liquidity? It is reliably assumed that private holdings in France alone amount to more than the \$5 billion dollars worth of yellow metal held by the French government, and thus more than America has in reserve.

Sound economists were mystified by the apparent serenity with which Washington poured gold on the market to meet the run on the dollar, but did nothing otherwise to convince the world that we were solvent. This, an anti-Gaullist French economist concluded, was because Johnson -- like Roosevelt sacrificing the Pacific fleet in Pearl Harbor, to bring the country into war -- was using the crisis to stampede Americans into acceptance of his 10% surtax and removal of gold coverage.

The above are a few of the facts Europe's more sensible monetary thinkers contemplated when the ten days of madness were over. Confidence in the dollar was not helped by Bobby Kennedy's decision to run for the presidency and the hysterical "revolution" atmosphere given to his campaign by adolescents too young to vote but old enough to provide unrestrained scenes of enthusiasm on TV. The age and conduct of his supporters was proof of our instability, to Europeans who had their fill of students playing politics.

Of all the students linking forces in communist-organized demonstrations against America across Europe, the most brutal, the most vicious are the West Germans. Many of them are so-called refugees whose flights westward were hailed as ballots against communism by freedom-seekers voting with their feet. Today they form the hard core in mob action against American policies. The West Germans who were flown to England by chartered plane to take part in the attack on the American embassy on March 17 were put up by students and lecturers of the London School of Economics, JFK's old school. By coinciding this performance with the drive against the dollar, they involved the London School of Economics in a questionable economic as well as political attack.

Shortly before the March 17 affair in which movie star Vanessa Redgrave wore a white Vietnamese mourning band around her empty head (but not in mourning for the hundreds of civilians murdered by the Vietcong), a disturbing report reached Europe. General Westmoreland had told the Italian ambassador to South Vietnam that "Johnson wants to win the election, not the war." A few days later papers announced that General Westmoreland was being "promoted" home. On March 24 a report out of Saigon told Europeans that London School of Economics graduate and former Labor Attache in Britain, Mr. Samuel David Berger, had been appointed Deputy Ambassador, under Ambassador Bunker, in Saigon. It was another straw in the wind. The crisis of confidence in our dollar cannot be separated from the growing doubts about our will to win in Vietnam.

To understand why the very thought of Bobby Kennedy in the White House has an adverse effect on European confidence in America, because of his avowed intention of leaving communism the field in Asia, consider the attitude of the country on whose good will our economic health may eventually depend.

THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. Bobby's hostility to this country has never been concealed. And South Africa's feelings toward the man who made an agitation trip to Johannesburg to clinch the colored votes at home are completely reciprocal.



REPUBLIC OF
SOUTH AFRICA

American officials, politicians and commentators, momentarily safe from Congo-type massacres themselves, have worked unceasingly to undermine the Union of South Africa. On March 9, 1960, Walter Reuther wrote to Secretary of State Herter, insisting in the name of America's unionized workers that the government cease buying strategic materials from the Union of South Africa to be stockpiled for American defense. Reuther was willing to sabotage America's defense program in his vendetta against South Africa. Copies of the letter to Herter were circulated in Africa by the thousands, through the Accra Trade Union Congress, to build up Reuther's popularity.

Now that the dollar and the pound are in trouble, De Gaulle, as part of his plan to become the arbiter between East and West, has been negotiating for months, trying to get South Africa to take her gold from the London market and give Paris and Zurich a monopoly. Paris would become the world market for gold. Russia would go along. The Union of South Africa is No. 1 gold producer of the world. The USSR is second. Certainly South Africa has no reason to love America or Britain. The temptation for Finance Minister Dr. Nicholas Diederichs to play De Gaulle against us must be great. To date, South Africa has been exceedingly correct.

THE CARDS SOUTH AFRICA HOLDS. The closing of Suez and diversion of ships around the Cape increased her importance overnight. Then came De Gaulle's plea to take the gold market away from her tormenters and give Paris the price-fixing and selling monopoly held by London.

Most informed observers feel that the South Africans are not going to take their supply away from the British Rothschilds and turn it over to their French cousins, whose business manager, Prime Minister Pompidou, is on loan to De Gaulle. They feel this though both branches are friends of the South African diamond king, Harry Oppenheimer, and though Oppenheimer recently became involved in Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, through which most communist transactions in France are handled.

About 20% of Johannesburg's gold production will no doubt be thrown on the free market -- enough to keep it from drying up -- but not enough to depress the price. London, from her end, will quote prices twice daily from now on, and in dollars. There remains a possibility that De Gaulle, with the aid of Russia and her satellites, might try to set up a gold standard bloc which would agree to refuse America's de-monitized banknotes.

Russia will continue to sell gold -- at less than it costs to produce, even with semi-slave labor -- on the Paris and Zurich markets. Such sales are for political reasons as well as economic, as is Russia's incitement, within UN and without, against South Africa. Should Bobby reach the White House, the American offensive against Johannesburg would surely be stepped up, along with massive give-aways to such countries as India, who now owes the IMF \$508 million, is granting naval bases to Russia on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, in the Indian Ocean, and spending money to make an A-bomb while the American taxpayer supports one-sixth of India's teeming millions.

BEHIND THE GOLD BATTLES ARE POLITICAL SKIRMISHES. They have not yet reached the American public. De Gaulle's gaffe in crying "Long Live Free Quebec" we know. Little is said of France's encouragement of the Walloons in Belgium in their language war with the Flemish, whose language is similar to Dutch, or surreptitious agitation among the French-speaking secessionists in Switzerland's troublesome Jura. This is part of De Gaulle's dream of a bloc of French-speaking areas of which Paris would be the guiding force.

In Africa, the Blacks in the center and south, whipped up by Arabs in the north, are being regimented against the orderly areas developed and ruled by whites. Bobby Kennedy carried his campaign for riots and revolt into South Africa itself. Walter Reuther has conducted his incitement through labor unions organized by American delegates and now manipulated from Prague.

Washington and London encourage the negro population of the Union of South Africa to revolt while refusing to sell arms to the Vorster government. As the Vorster government contemplates the encroachments of Russia's fleet off the Cape and in the Indian Ocean, the 11-member UN Council on South West Africa proposes stripping South Africa of UN membership rights. De Gaulle steps up and offers to supply naval units, rockets, and the most sophisticated weapons in the French arsenal, if South Africa wants them, but he, in return, would like to have the "distributorship" for South Africa's gold. Washington and London reply with more talk about a paper gold, an idea which our internationalists have batted around before and which was partially responsible for destroying confidence in paper money.

This is the surface situation in America's election year. To put it more simply, Johannesburg needs arms because the African bloc in UN, with U. S. and Red bloc encouragement, is calling for a Katanga-type expedition to place Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa itself under black rule. The technicians of African terrorism are the Algerians, who hope to lead a regimented black Africa against Israel, come the Holy War. Algerian Interior Minister Medegheri has set up training camps for guerillas with a headquarters at Ouargla. Other teams are providing Algerian training for the Vietcong.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES. In addition to the fact that the massacres in the Congo were a forerunner of what could happen in South Africa, the majority of the white settlers in the Congo were Flemish and therefore ethnically related to the Afrikanders. The Afrikanders count on the militant Flemish population of Belgium to influence public opinion in their favor if UN elects to unleash another African war in the name of peace. Thus the linguistic conflict splitting Belgium becomes no longer a national problem but an intercontinental one.

South African security plans would normally have stopped north of Zambia, had not America's increasing involvement in Vietnam caused a change in Washington's plans which created new problems for Johannesburg.

Red Chinese infiltration has made deep inroads along Africa's East Coast and is moving westward toward Mali and Mauritania. In the Congo, Washington is committed to the Kinshasha government, for which we destroyed the Tshombe regime in Katanga.

ENTER THE JAPANESE. Suddenly Washington decided that America cannot do everything, everywhere, and began bringing the Japanese into Katanga. Important concessions were turned over to busy little men from Tokyo. Johannesburg considers that it will only be a matter of time before Japan goes Red. The Japanese whom we are deliberately introducing into Africa will eventually line up with the Chinese. South African fears are well-founded.

To make matters worse, General Conway, commander of the American group that provided "advisors" and the use of three U. S. Airforce transports when Congolese forces were crushing Schramme's mercenaries last summer, recently held talks with the Mobutu government in Kinshasha. Johannesburg was informed that what he proposed was military co-operation between the Congo and the United States. Aside from the fact that the government we would be bound to by such an

accord is as great a liability as Ho chi Minh, our 1945 protege in Indo-China, there is another consideration: The nation immediately threatened by such an alliance is South Africa, on whose good will the gold market that can make or break us depends. All of the candidates whom pollsters give a chance of winning in November are men whom the South Africans feel would try to solve the gold problem by helping UN turn the country over to the Blacks, rather than work out a good relationship with the Afrikanders.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE WHITE HOUSE. Mr. Nixon says he will end the war in Vietnam quickly. With an enemy that refuses to negotiate there are only two ways of ending a war: by winning it, or by turning tail and letting confidence in our paper treaties go the way of confidence in our paper money. The decision would depend on the conservatism and patriotism of Mr. Nixon, who must remember his 1953 visit to Paris.

The French were about where we are now in Vietnam. Communist-led demonstrations in France convinced the Vietminh that all they had to do was be patient. At that point Vice President Nixon told Monsieur Jean Letourneau, a minister in the French government, "Our views coincide with yours in many fields, but I must tell you now that if we talk to anyone in Indo-China it will be Ho chi Minh." Let us hope that he wishes he could swallow those words.

Senator Eugene McCarthy is also trying to ride the Vietnam war into the White House. There is probably no subject Senator McCarthy knows less about than Vietnam. It is equally doubtful that any politician in Washington knows less about Vietnam than Senator McCarthy, unless it is Senator Kennedy. The choosing of America's next president will undoubtedly be a by-product of the Vietnam war, for which the now-protesting American Left was originally responsible.

What information South Africa may have amassed on the team a Kennedy victory would bring into power, we have no way of knowing. However, John Corry, in his book "The Manchester Affair" (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 223 pages, \$4.95), provides a glimpse of the "shadow cabinet" Bobby is said to have picked.

THE MEN MARKED TO FORM BOBBY'S GOVERNMENT: John Seigenthaler, the old assistant from Justice Department days who got himself knocked out cold while protecting Freedom Riders during the drive to export race riots into Alabama, is slated to be special advisor to the President. Ed Guthman, a former Seattle Times reporter who was also a Justice Department pal during the period when the FBI was sent to rout newsmen who attended Roger Blough's press conference out of bed in the dead of night, would be White House press secretary, according to Corry.

Dick Goodwin, whom Corry describes as so unprepossessing that when correspondents saw him alongside Bobby for the first time they concluded he must be an Italian reporter with a hangover, is slated to be Secretary of State.

Pierre Salinger, Corry assures us, would also return to the White House. Ted Sorenson, JFK's speechwriter who published a plan in the Saturday Review of October, 1967, for winning in Vietnam by "halting bombing and withdrawing," Corry tells us, will try to take over Bobby's Senate seat. Sorenson's pronouncements on Vietnam, delivered with the certainty of ignorance, are supported by equally knowledgeable authorities such as ADA, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Richard Goodwin.

Schlesinger would be "resident intellectual" in the White House, if John Kenneth Galbraith did not get there first, says Corry. Galbraith out-does other no-winism supporters by saying that the war in Vietnam is not only one that we cannot win but one that we should not wish to win. It is probably the first time a mass-circulation publication (TIME of Feb. 16, 1968) ever accorded news space for a professor to tell a nation while its boys were dying that they should not wish to win, much less put his picture on the cover.

Burke Marshall is described by Corry as a man who talks and looks like a grocery clerk from Peoria, but who for three years, as an Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, was the scourge of southern sheriffs, southern school boards and southern registrars. He would be Attorney General.

In the event of a Kennedy victory the future of the dollar, the Union of South Africa and dignity in government could hardly be considered on firm ground.

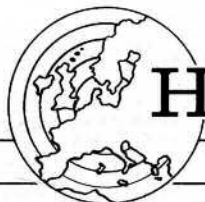
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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from H. du B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107.

THE GREAT SPY STORY

In the eye of the storm: France. Beginning of the international hurricane: a book, TOPAZ, by Leon Uris, story of a top-level agent of KGB (Russian Intelligence) in the shadow of De Gaulle, in the Elysée Palace itself, as exposed by a Russian defector with a prodigious memory. The defector is called Dolnytsin, which is not his real name, and known by the code name "Martel." Source of Leon Uris' information: Monsieur Philippe Lucien Thyraud de Vosjoli, who for twelve years represented France's SERVICE DE DOCUMENTATION EXTERIEURE ET DE CONTRE-ESPIONNAGE (SEDECE), "Uzdek," in conversation, from his office at 2129 Wyoming Avenue, Washington, D. C., till on October 18, 1963, he handed over his keys to a successor and declined to return to France.

As books go, TOPAZ is not good, but it came when spy stories were in vogue, and anything attacking De Gaulle would be popular. In the inner workings of western intelligence it is acceptable, for there Uris had dictation from an expert, de Vosjoli. When he gets into fictional dialogue the note of verity is lost. His cultured European caresses the shoulders of a well-born Cuban lady and says, "I am queer for your back." Frank Sinatra language, maybe; a European diplomat's, never.

LOOK Magazine serialized parts of the book and sales of TOPAZ soared. The result: Uris made a clean-up, with movie royalties yet to come.

Editors who rush to defend anyone accused of treason in America assailed France for failing to follow the leads supplied by Dolnytsin. None of this, however, changed Dean Rusk's attitude, or theirs, toward Otto Otepka, whom Rusk discharged in 1963 for refusing clearance to security risks. Martin and Mitchell, the National Security Agency spies who escaped to Russia, and scores of others whom an unfiltrated government would never have hired, were conveniently forgotten.

On Page 212 Uris puts a statement in the mouth of the Russian colonel which he surely never made: The assertion that a Russian Bureau of Misinformation had worked to poison Franco-American relations and destroy NATO by making Frenchmen believe that America helped the Algerian terrorists in their war against France. This was something the Russians did not have to invent. Its inclusion was a precautionary measure to whitewash, before the explosion occurs, the men who did just that.

A blow-up is due in the Mediterranean. The Algerians, as soon as they got independence, threw off their masks, as any seventeen-year-old student not brainwashed by professors like Sandford Griffiths, who preached the Algerian line in City College of New York, should have known. Now CIA and others, with Mr. Uris' help, are using France's spy suspect as a red herring. Certainly, Russian agents have penetrated every government and service in the West. The New York Times and Senator Fulbright would have denounced any American who tried to keep them out. As a result, the "Free Algeria" we backed has become a vast Russian missile and naval base, turning Europe's flank from the south. Russian naval force in the Mediterranean has doubled since January.

The blow-up of NATO was a result of our crusade against colonialism in Indo-China and Algeria, where we cleared the way for communists "in the cause of world peace," and estranged the country in which NATO was based. Granted, Russia's Office of Misinformation exists. But when America was France's theoretical ally in Europe and enemy in Algeria, our U. S. Information Service was doing a better job at relations-poisoning than any Russian possibly could. It must be hard for Monsieur de Vosjoli to remain silent when this subject is brought up. And if he talks he'll be handed over to De Gaulle.

THINK OF WHAT THE FILES HE PORED OVER FOR YEARS COULD DISCLOSE: Algerian students selected by a communist union and wafted to America at CIA, State Department and AFL-CIO expense, to seep poison into American universities. Denver-born Cimarron Hathaway taking the name of Ahmed Kamal in 1938 and seventeen years later handing his first contribution of \$75,000 to Ferhat Abbas, the Algerian, in a Geneva hotel. His is a story of intrigue that out-did James Bond -- only it was against the West.

Picture Ahmed Kamal, the American, in Cologne with Ahmed Bioud, of the old Nazi office of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, arranging arms purchases and propaganda payments via a secret office in Tripoli. De Vosjoli knew the details of these transactions, which in turn linked up with a French desertion network run by a German communist named Winfried Muller, alias Si Mustapha. CIA used NEWSWEEK of November 16, 1959, to get "Si Mustapha" favorable publicity, as a "rebel leader" running an underground railway to smuggle Foreign Legion deserters across the Tunisian and Moroccan borders -- in sum, what the same bunch of Reds are doing to the American army today. (NEWSWEEK admitted privately that CIA had misled them, but its readers were never put straight.)

Imagine de Vosjoli's frustration in March, 1960, when our Ambassador Bonsal absented himself from Havana while the Algerian representative to UN, Abdelkader Chanderli, flew in and negotiated a treaty with Castro. The Algerian revolutionary organ, EL MOUDJAHID (The Fighter, which ATLAS Magazine described to Americans as "moderate"!) reported it on March 31, 1960, and showed Castro and Chanderli together. Not an American paper gave it a line.

Back in France a self-styled art student from Los Angeles named Gloria de Herrera was caught in a Red network aiding the Algerians, but her embassy mysteriously managed to spirit her out of the country. On Rue de la Glacière a young

Red from Lafayette, Indiana, planted there by CIA as a U. S. National Student Association representative, was up to his neck in the Red student movement now sweeping the world.

Skip the bulging files on OSS agent who set Ho Chi Minh up in business. Pass over the sordid reports on 1945 OSS operator, McKay, who went on into CIA and was expelled from Indo-China in 1952, charged with responsibility for a bomb explosion in a theatre. Forget about McKay's return to Vietnam with his old friend, Lane, under commercial "fronts" located at 50 Broad Street, in New York, to agitate against the "colonialists," when America should have been strengthening South Vietnam against Hanoi. De Vosjoli's papers on this sort of business were endless.

Agents of our allies who were seriously anti-communist started compiling directories of American agents and embassy officials they could trust. One day a friend of de Vosjoli asked an American if he knew anyone in our London embassy who was reliable. The American replied, "The only name I know there is so-and-so, but he ought to be alright. His sister is a conservative columnist and his grandfather was an American President." Half an hour later the Frenchman called back: "That name you gave me is a Red. If he isn't a member, he might as well be." This is the reverse side of the TOPAZ coin. It is no defense of De Gaulle. He would probably have acted as he has. Only, he would have had to do so without any justification to hold before the French people. Could it be that when de Vosjoli told Leon Uris about Martel he never mentioned the flood of praise that poured from L'HUMANITE, the French communist daily, in June 1957, when Senator J. F. Kennedy called on the leaders of the communist "Liberation Front" in Algeria to persevere and not yield an inch?

MR. DE VOSJOLI'S STORY: THE LONDON SUNDAY TIMES -- Leftist and part of the Lord Thompson chain -- printed a report copyrighted by de Vosjoli, on April 21. LIFE Magazine of April 29 ran both the SUNDAY TIMES article of April 21 and the follow-up story which the SUNDAY TIMES printed on April 28. This second story TIME, INC. and TIMES NEWSPAPERS LIMITED (Lord Thompson's chain) had copyrighted together. But the version given the British public differed from the one LIFE considered it prudent to put before Americans.

STORY NO. 1 SHOWED MR. DE VOSJOLI'S QUALIFICATIONS. First, the 1944 mission to Chungking. When he is no longer dependent on America for asylum, it should make a good book. Nothing is said of the nature of that mission, but having been in the Far East when Leftists in our government were implementing Roosevelt's secret agreement with Stalin at Teheran to run the French out of Indo-China (The Teheran Papers, by Charles Bohlen, or "How the Far East Was Lost," by Kubecek) was enough to make him persona non grata with the same crowd in Washington seven years later. After showing that Mr. de Vosjoli was sent to Chungking, article no 1 plunges into the revelations of "Martel."

THE DISCLOSURES OF THE RUSSIAN DEFECTOR WERE GRAVE -- so grave that "a special courier had arrived in Paris bearing a personal letter from President Kennedy to President de Gaulle," LIFE told its readers. The Sunday Times of April 28 went further. The warnings to de Gaulle were so secret and so delicate that they could not be sent through diplomatic channels; consequently "the letter was taken by hand by one of Kennedy's most trusted aides" and "the courier had been carefully chosen." Had LIFE run this, someone would have asked "Who was that 'most trusted' aide? William Bundy (Acheson's son-in-law), or his brother McGeorge, both of whom, like Acheson, stuck by Alger Hiss when Hiss was exposed as a Russian spy?" Could it have been Walt Rostow, who himself was denied security clearance and only got his job through Kennedy's defying our security chiefs?

De Gaulle sent General de Rougemont to Washington to make a preliminary investigation, and we are told that de Rougemont came out of his interview with the defector shaken by what he had heard. When General de Rougemont returned with his report he was not received by De Gaulle himself but handed his findings over to "De Gaulle's trusted assistant, Monsieur Etienne Burin des Roziers, secretary-general of the Elysée Palace and as such the aide who manages De Gaulle's staff and organizes the presidential business." With des Roziers the known path of the confidential de Rougemont report stops, so what about this Burin des Roziers?

ETIENNE BURIN DES ROZIERES, born in Paris in 1913. Attaché in the French embassy in London when De Gaulle arrived in 1940. In 1944 he was back in France as assistant chief of communist-dominated Resistance forces in the Franche-Comté. In '45 he became chief of missions in De Gaulle's inner circle. From there he moved upward. He became advisor to the socialist regional-one-worlder René Mayer (cousin of the Rothschilds through his mother) in 1957. Outbreak of the Algerian revolt prevented his taking his post as chief of cabinet to Resident Minister General Catroux in 1956, so he went to Milan as consul. From there to Poland as ambassador. In 1962, in the period of repression and intrigue which marked the end of the Algerian war he became the man at the center of the web in the presidential palace. Through him all messages passed. There he remained until early 1968, when TOPAZ and the de Vosjoli revelations threatened France with a scandal. Suddenly des Roziers was sent off to Italy as ambassador. Des Roziers' brother-in-law is a Pole named Cyril Makinsky, better known as "the Delegate Makinsky" in his post as head of FRANCE-USA.

THE DELEGATE MAKINSKY. FRANCE-USA is not a Franco-American friendship organization; it is a labor "front," long subsidized by the American embassy in Paris and linking American labor unions with FORCE OUVRIERE, the French union which labor delegates Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone, with the aid of Marshall Plan funds, built up as a Labor political pressure force after World War II.

THE WANDERER of February 24, 1966, was led into describing FRANCE-USA as an organization formed to fight communism and its secretary-general as "Prince Makinsky, a conservative." LES DOCUMENTS POLITIQUES, DIPLOMATIQUES ET FINANCIERES (16 Blvd. Montmartre, Paris 9) of March 1967 lists Cyril Makinsky as born in St. Petersburg of Polish parents, but adds that no noble family named Makinsky appears in any register of Polish nobility. Also, a FRANCE-USA account of January 1966, tells how an American tour guided by The Delegate Makinsky was entertained in the apartment of Senator Fulbright's secretary. There is a reason for bringing up these details on the labor union brother-in-law of the man to whom General de Rougemont turned over the report which should have been delivered directly to De Gaulle, and that brother-in-law's tie-up with the Left-wing labor nest set up as a liaison center and pamphleteering house for Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown.

The London Sunday Times report of April 28 told English readers that OSS had been disbanded in 1946, but the "research and analysis branch of U. S. State Department Intelligence" (in which the late Scott McLeod found over 35 security

risks, the Sunday Times neglected to add) was in Paris, and "much of the more hectic work was actually done by an American Federation of Labor boss named Jay Lovestone." The story added that "Lovestone's organization was deeply involved in French politics. A scream would have gone up had LIFE printed this paragraph in America!

JAY LOVESTONE, LONG THE TOP COMMUNIST IN AMERICA. The man who under Roosevelt is said to have had agents in "virtually every government office having to do with foreign affairs." (U.S.A., April 5, 1954, Box 134, Lenox Hill Station, New York 21). The man who, working under seven aliases, had fought for Marxism and against the American system. To think that he and Arthur Goldberg and Irving Brown were handling American intelligence in helpless Europe. Kim Philby must have roared with laughter.

As intelligence men they had a free hand and unlimited power and money with which to advance a labor octopus opposed to everything the communists hate also. Brown, the man whose AFL-CIO biography sheet says has worked for socialism all his life, was, with Jay Lovestone, made the protector of America's free enterprise way of life. Algerian victory and French defeat became their number one project in the 50's, while Brown assured worried members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, at their Waldorf-Astoria dinner, that Free Algeria would never harm Israel, because he had directed "North African Nationalism into democratic channels." All the unions set up in Africa by the men handling "our more hectic intelligence operations in France" moved into the enemy camp as soon as they had squeezed Lovestone and Brown for all they could get. But back in Paris FRANCE-USA and the Delegate Makinsky remained, linking Lovestone's and Brown's American unions and the French union they were throwing into street demonstrations, alongside communists, against the war in Algeria. This is Labor-socialism's way of meddling in another country's affairs. It is understandable that in 1951 SEDECE should want to send a man to Washington and that CIA should cry to high heaven. An assistant to de Vosjoli was sent to New York, a man named de Bona who had Corsican cousins in French posts around the world.

When SEDECE's new chief Monsieur Boursicot, announced intentions of establishing French intelligence in Washington, in 1951, "the CIA fought bitterly," said the Sunday Times, and "They only gave in when Boursicot, at a climactic luncheon in one of the great restaurants of Paris, told them that either a Frenchman went to Washington or every CIA man would be expelled from France."

An American intelligence officer is quoted in the same story as saying, "We avoided French intelligence like the plague." Why shouldn't they? His own service, offshoot of the Red-infiltrated OSS and Lovestone-type operators, was so rotten from within that only by sticking together could they save their skins.

WASHINGTON IN THE FIFTIES. Under Roosevelt a smoothly-running Red machine acquired a foothold and its men rose steadily upward thereafter. No succeeding government attempted to weed them out. The late Congressman Francis E. Walter stated on Sept. 7, 1960, that more than a thousand known communists were working in our State Department. Every loyal official who brought the subject up went the way of Joe McCarthy or Otto Otepka.

De Vosjoli sat in Washington and in the papers before him had a bird's-eye view of the snake-pit. Senator McCarthy, aided by Whittaker Chambers, was trying to expose a Foreign Service officer named O. Edmund Clubb. The evidence was so overwhelming that Conrad Snow's Loyalty Security Board ruled against Clubb in June 1951. Dean Acheson (who refused to turn his back on Alger Hiss) over-ruled the board and permitted Clubb to resign with pension. A cousin of de Vosjoli's New York associate, de Bona, had been a political agent in the French Concession in Shanghai and handled the investigation of a French Communist who was a close associate of Clubb's. Daily the two Frenchmen watched the progression upward of men who were in their files as dangerous.

Not until Aug. 15, 1967, did Americans hear from the lips of National Student Association president, W. Eugene Groves, an admission that a man named Langley in CIA had protected communist students when Senator McCarthy wanted to investigate them; that Langley had helped them get draft deferments and shielded them, even from the Internal Revenue Service. The stories that would come out if a housecleaning were permitted are legion.

During the Algerian war de Vosjoli watched Jay Lovestone, as AFL-CIO representative to UN, mobilize anti-western votes behind the FLN. Imagine his face as he read, under file number 38977/A, the Dec. 1, 1960, letter Jay Lovestone wrote to the representative of Mali's communist leader, Mobida Keita, requesting his aid in raising a solid vote in UN in support of the Algerians because (the classic communist argument) "it will accelerate Algerian independence and also serve the cause of world peace." Algeria, which now may well set off World War III! The aide's letter to his chief, showing how they could use Lovestone and the AFL-CIO, was also in the file.

Eventually Lovestone became a member of the Strategy Committee of the AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL and head of the Foreign Affairs Section of AFL-CIO, while his fellow ground-preparer for Red advances in Africa, Irving Brown, became AFL-CIO ambassador to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU-117 unions) in Brussels and ICFTU ambassador to UN. Working parallel with Lovestone and Brown was Lieut. Col. Robert Esmet Rhodes, formerly head of the North Africa Section of OSS, striving to bring about a European defeat in Algeria!

On the propaganda front, Joe Kraft, of the New York Times, Dave Schoenbrun of CBS and Edward Behr of TIME (Behr wrote "The Algerian Problem," Norton \$4.50) poured out pro-Algerian drivel. Mr. Jacques Soustelle, giving details and names, stated in the April 6, 1961, issue of VOICI POURQUOI that Jay Lovestone, with the assistance of a woman friend at 125 E. 57th St., New York, was providing white, Left-wing women companions for African delegates to UN as a means of regimenting their votes, while the woman's son-in-law, a French Red, served as liaison between communist delegates and the Algerians. All this Leon Uris side-steps as myths created by a Russian "Misinformation Bureau," to harm Franco-American relations.

Just as LIFE omitted telling Americans about Lovestone's intelligence role in France, Lord Thompson's paper thought it safe to mention Mr. Lovestone in England, but not to go into his record. (Lord Thompson owns the largest newspaper chain in the U. S. -- 56 papers in all -- his latest acquisition being the Fulbright family paper in Fayetteville, Arkansas. When he quietly started building up this chain he took on Prince Radziwill, Kennedy's brother-in-law, as his public relations man. Since then he has stuck to the leftist line.)

The Sunday Times in its April 28 report went on to express CIA surprise that the French politician "most gravely suspected by the CIA, on the basis of Martel's description, was, along with his colleagues, associated with the settlement of the Algerian war." There was nothing strange about that. The terms on which the Algerian war was terminated were what the communists wanted. It was also the settlement desired by CIA, J. F. Kennedy, Dean Rusk, et al.

REGARDING "MARTEL": On Jan. 12, 1961, Colonel Michal Goleniewski, of Polish Intelligence, arrived in New York. We were told that British spies Vassal, Blake and Lonsdale; Colonel Wennerstrom, the Swede; Clements, Felfe and Fuhrmann, in Germany; and Sergeant Jack Dunlap, the American National Security man who committed suicide after making a confession, were caught because of information provided by Goleniewski. He is said to have given us some 200 names that were never investigated, after which, in 1965 CIA cut off his financial support as a "consultant" and withdrew his permit to carry a gun for protection.

Dolnytsin (or Martel) reached America in late 1961, and LIFE tells us that through him Vassal, Wennerstrom, Felfe, Clements, Philby and Dunlap were caught. So who did expose them? Or are we to believe that Dolnytsin and Goleniewski are one?

While CIA was giving de Vosjoli cold looks because only one French suspect had been arrested (Georges Paques, who had been a top Russian spy in French ministries and NATO since the end of World War II), any American who called for investigation of Washington security risks was branded a "fright peddler" by Senator Kuchel and accused of having a divisive effect on America.

WHO WAS THE RUSSIAN AGENT DENOUNCED BY DOLNYTSIN AS CLOSE TO DE GAULLE? Paul Dehème in his "Courrier" of April 17, wrote: "The name of the incriminated high functionary on everyone's lips is Jacques Foccart. That during the war and the liberation Foccart worked closely with Russian Intelligence is a secret from no one. That he has maintained close relations with said services is possible, even probable. Perhaps this can qualify him as a spy. I do not think so.

"A spy is a man who betrays his country or his master, whose secrets he delivers to a foreign power. The General is not a man whom one betrays, for he himself has always had a taste for 'parallel' activities and utilized authorized intermediaries when his personal policies have been too singular, if not too different, from his official policies to be conducted openly." (Parallel, in this sense, can also be translated as "double.")

What Dehème is saying is that Foccart can hardly be called a spy for having done what De Gaulle ordered him to do, and he seems to be stating obliquely that De Gaulle was playing Moscow's game from the start. He continues, "Christian Fouchet was not a spy when, as French ambassador to Denmark from 1958 to 1962, when the General's dedication to the Atlantic Alliance was not yet in doubt, he served as a letter drop for discreet exchanges between the Kremlin and the Elysée. Malraux was not a spy when, under pretext of cultural exchanges, he went to Peking to explain De Gaulle's intentions and bring back Mao Tse-tung's observations....Neither was Foccart a spy when he told his Russian friends, who are also De Gaulle's friends, what the latter wanted them to know without going through official diplomatic channels...."

"I do not believe that the detailed revelations which the American press promises us will tell us anything about the General that we do not know. There is no spy in the Elysée. There is a man who is responsible, who utilizes his own selected intermediaries as long as his intentions are likely to shock public opinion but who accepts responsibility for such activities when things are far enough advanced that the risk of scandal has disappeared. Naturally, the job of selected intermediary has its risks, for the man handling it may be disowned at any minute and thereafter be regarded as a traitor, if some slip exposes his activity before the job is finished. But this is an affair for the conscience of the inspirer and his particular conception of 'reasons of state'."

While the conjecture is going on, a possibility always exists that the real KGB man in De Gaulle's shadow is the last man anyone suspects. If he exists, one way to curtail his usefulness is to start investigating the security risks our own government has been shielding.

ENTER BOBBY. Nothing as big as the great spy scandal could break into the news without Bobby Kennedy finding some way to turn it to campaign advantage. LOOK Magazine, which for years smeared anyone attempting to weed security risks out of government, jumped in and described the Russian defector with the photographic memory as "a man of questionable competence....arrogant, opinionated and unpredictable," who at one point refused to disclose any more unless he could meet President Kennedy. Bobby saw him and in three hours persuaded him to co-operate.

So, according to Bobby, whatever Martel gave us we owe to him. A new election-year role for the man who ran an American general out of Heidelberg for being anti-communist and then tried to railroad him into a nuthouse.

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RÉPUBLIQUE
FRANÇAISE

Not since the evening of April 22, 1961, when De Gaulle rushed a personal aide to Geneva in a locked railroad compartment with six heavy suitcases of banknotes for financing a government-in-exile, in case he had to fight the generals and patriots he had betrayed over Algeria, had things looked so bad.

On May 18, 1968, Michel Rocard, Secretary-General of Mendes-France's extreme Left United Socialist Party (PSO) which, when necessary, is the Right wing of the Communists, declared, "No one can say if France is on the brink of a pre-revolutionary situation or not. In eight days we can pass to socialism or return to calm." Eight days later calm had not returned, but fear of the abyss of which the term "socialism" is the brink had turned the nation against the rioting, clenched fist-raising students, agitating professors, Red-dominated workers and underworld hoodlums who had turned sections of Paris into a shambles. As the country hovered on the verge of civil war, while mobs bellowed the

Internationale and hoisted red flags and the black flags of anarchy on public buildings, the glimpse of what lay ahead was more than middle-class Frenchmen could stand.

It could happen in America tomorrow. So let's take a look at the national crisis which Danny Cohn-Bendit, the German disciple of Herbert Marcuse, touched off with his some-200 undisciplined brats on Nanterre campus, a few miles from Paris.

TECHNIQUE OF A COUP D'ETAT. Americans should read Curzio Malaparte's book, "Technique d'Un Coup d'Etat," for an understanding of what Frenchmen were up against. Events in Paris followed the letter Malaparte's analysis of Bauer's 1920 use of paralyzing strikes and threat of disorder to seize power for the socialists in Berlin, only to have a communist step in when the fight was won.

"Insurrection is an art," said Marx. "But," added Malaparte, "it is an art for seizing power, not defending it." He added, "The communist danger against which governments must defend themselves is not the strategy of Lenin, it is the tactic of Trotsky." In sum: Not the communist drive which men recognize for what it is, but socialism (which Whittaker Chambers described as "communism with its claws retracted") posing as anti-communism and clearing the terrain for the evil it professes to fight.

For years labor unions have served as Leftist assault forces. Today the Left has a better battering ram: it is the students. As long as universities have professors like Herbert Marcuse, nations will have students like "Red Danny" Cohn-Bendit. To get such professors into schools and colleges it was necessary to brand as fascist anyone who tried to keep them out. That is what happened.

Student violence, when it came, was unreasonable, void of restraint and obviously under mature direction. The people who were to blame were the ones who had thrown the universities open to communist professors in the first place. They got out from under by announcing that Peking had started it all, that Peking did not want talks between Washington and Hanoi.

What followed was unbelievable. The term "conservative" was applied to Waldeck Rochet's old-line communists. It was said that they feared the Maoist-anarchist students. They were pictured as rallying to defend France against a threat from the extreme Left. In reality, the students were their bulldozers, clearing the way for a demand that the government step down while the labor unions were to deliver at a crucial moment.

There was only one new aspect of the use of students as shields for a revolutionary wave. In July 1961 when Bourguiba tried to seize the French naval base of Bizerta, he herded women and children ahead of his troops. (H. DU B. REPORTS, August, 1961) Then he cried "Brutality! Atrocities!" when the base's defenders tried to halt the attack. Students were used in Paris for their destruction-potential, without a supporting line of soldiers. Then a call was raised for student-labor solidarity.

It is true that in France's over-crowded universities the students had grounds for complaints but there was no reason why good students should show solidarity with the small group inciting the violence. The crisis would never have reached such a stage had teachers not fanned the flames. Teacher agitation and years of inflammatory pamphlets from the International Students' Union, in Prague, had provided perfect conditions for revolution.

Another factor was that sociology and psychology have become the "in" subjects for would-be intellectuals who scorn science, finance and business. They are attracted by high-sounding words like "the humanities." But there are only so many jobs for sociologists and psychologists in a country the size of France and the pay is low. No one seemed to remember that the communists and labor leaders stirring the students up with grim pictures of futures without jobs were the same ones who deprived this generation of the jobs they might have had in Algeria. In sum, as far as sociologists and psychologists are concerned, Algeria-less France is already past saturation point, and Red Danny's rock-throwing mobs were being used by men like Rocard, who thought they could bring in a Marxist government in a week.

PIERRE COT AT ORLY AIRPORT. A few hours after Rocard made his announcement, De Gaulle flew into strike-bound Orly Airport, the nerve-center of France's air links with the world, from a prestige visit to Roumania. Imagine his fury as airport employees stood insolently by with their arms folded while government officials, there to greet De Gaulle, had to wheel a ramp to the door of his plane so he could get off. It was a crowning humiliation for the man who had crushed

the Left's enemies, to find himself helpless, and with no counter force, in the Left's hands. Watching the performance was Orly director Pierre Cot, who is also Director-General of Air France.

If American airport managers who lionized Mr. Cot at their convention in Boston last September had been well-informed, they would have known that Frenchmen consider their honored guest responsible for Spanish communists having so many planes in 1936 and France so few in 1939. Cot was Air Minister in the pro-Communist Popular Front government that stripped France of defense against Hitler's Luftwaffe. When the Germans over-ran France, the Resistance was not for him. He fled to Washington and became, according to Henry Coston's DICTIONARY OF FRENCH POLITICS, Roosevelt's most trusted advisor on French affairs.

In 1944 he made a triumphal return but was forced out of the Radical Socialist Party because of his flagrant communist views. Thereafter he played Red politics and published a communist monthly called HORIZONS, which, translated into 13 languages, carried on a ceaseless campaign of vituperation against America and NATO. One of HORIZON'S authorities on American motives was Thomas Buchanan, author of "Who Killed Kennedy?"

Americans who shook hands with Mr. Cot in Boston last summer, please note: Aside from being there as manager of Orly Airport and Director-General of Air France, your guest was also Director of the Communist WORLD COUNCIL FOR PEACE, which was begging Hanoi to treat downed American pilots as war criminals.

It is doubtful that De Gaulle will remove him.

THE POKER PLAYERS LOOKED OVER THEIR HANDS. France was at a standstill. Mailbags piled up on railway platforms. Workers occupied their plants and foreign banks began to refuse to accept francs. Garbage cluttered the streets, and Frenchmen, if they had enough foreign currency to leave for Switzerland or Italy, could not get there for want of gas. Labor unions, immature students, communists, socialists, criminals holding up drivers for the gas in their tanks (saying they needed it for "demonstrations") and an Algerian fifth column ruled the streets. Ed Behr, who as TIME'S correspondent wrote a propaganda book called "The Algerian Problem" in 1962, was on the spot, reporting events for NEWSWEEK.

De Gaulle looked over his potential cards. The only sizeable force he was sure of was his COMPAGNIES REPUBLICAINES DE SECURITE (CRS), the 76 companies of 215 men each which he had formed as a Praetorian Guard when he was forcing his generals to accept defeat in Algeria. They could stand by him to save their own skins. So would the some 6,000 strong-arm bullies Jacques Foccart, officially in charge of Algerian affairs, had recruited from the underworld for his SERVICE D'ACTION CIVIQUE (SAC), a euphemism for kidnapping, intimidation and assassination.

The Paris police, 22,000-strong, could not be depended upon, because during the period when communist labor unions were being presented as pillars of stability they had unionized the police. Now the "National Federation of Police Unions," completely dominated by the Red Confederation of General Workers (CGT) warned that it "must not be pushed too far against the workers."

Only the army remained. The professional units might hold firm. Conscripts and lower echelon officers likely to be used in small groups for riot control were less sure. Over 7,000 loyal officers had been purged at the end of the war in Algeria. Other officers were in prisons, many of them, like the purged officer framework, denounced by Red conscript committees which a communist named Daniel Guerin had set up in the army to report on officers suspected of having "fascist thoughts."

The old scars have not healed. Announcements by Schin Beth, the Israeli Intelligence Service, that instructors for El Fatah, the Arab terrorist corps, had been recruited from the million Algerians in France, proved that the purged officers were right. The appearance of Algerian criminals in street actions when Red Danny's students proclaimed that "shop-looting is an exemplary revolutionary act in a bourgeois society" increased the stature of General Salan in his prison and diminished that of De Gaulle.

WHAT HAPPENED BEHIND THE SCENES. We are told that Prime Minister Pompidou accused De Gaulle of doing nothing while the situation deteriorated and that a stormy session ensued. Actually, the old fox knew what he was doing. He did nothing. He let garbage pile up in the streets, food rot in electricity-less refrigerators and Frenchmen fume over no mail deliveries while the nation lost a hundred million dollars a week. When he figured that the public was irritated enough, he prepared to move.

It is heady stuff, this business of bringing down a government. Flushed with victory, the communists, socialists and labor unions threw off their masks and dropped any pretense that the strikes were to satisfy the demands of workers. They admitted it was political. The government had to turn power over to them. As the Red coalition ran out of money, the only group to receive financial aid was FORCE OUVRIERE, the socialist union America's labor agitators, Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown, had set up. FORCE OUVRIERE received \$10,000 from the INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) in Brussels, itself hard-pressed and getting its money from the AFL-CIO. And FORCE OUVRIERE is the socialist labor union duped Americans poured money into - "to fight communism!"

Steve Allen, in his book "Letter to a Conservative" exultantly quotes Suzanne Labin, the French socialist, as saying, "My French Socialist Party is mainly engaged in social reforms." The conservative at whom Steve was sneering must have smiled as the French Socialist Party tugged at the props beneath the government which, if it fell, would be replaced by an out-and-out communist regime.

FRANCOIS MITTERAND, LEADER OF THE FEDERATION OF THE LEFT, called for a take-over of the presidency by the extreme Left socialist leader, Pierre Mendes-France, while he himself would form a government to sit until elections were held. Playing a classic, behind-the-scenes role, the communists approved. "It is the time-tried tactic of communists," Winston Churchill observed in 1937, "to help into power weak, left-of-center governments and from their falling hands seize complete control."

The communists donned sheep's clothing and put over the line that they are not a revolutionary party but nice liberals, as much inspired by Pope John as by Karl Marx.

What about this man Mitterand, whom a Leftist coalition is backing against De Gaulle? Americans should have asked that question last November, when Robert Kennedy and Nelson Rockefeller were getting favorable publicity by being seen with him, and McGeorge Bundy was engaging him in long talks. Students and editors from New York to California went on a Mitterand "kick," gushing over the man they were told ran second to De Gaulle in 1965 because the extreme Left pictured him as pro-American. What drivell! He ran second because Frenchmen who wanted a reputable replacement for De Gaulle knew him for what he was, and the government-controlled TV and radio had built up a dark horse named Lecanuet, to take votes away from Tixier-Vignancourt.

On December 5, 1967, the Foreign Policy Association assembled what a fawning press called "200 of the most important financial and political figures in America" to hear Mr. Mitterand. Though every American news agency knew of it, not a word was printed about the fake machine-gun attack Mitterand set up against himself on deserted Rue Guynemer, on the night of October 16, 1959. Next day he exhibited his riddled car and claimed that the Army Secret Organization (OAS), which the communists were using as a bogey in their drive to purge patriotic officers from the army, was out to kill him. What more need be said about Mr. Mitterand, the leader of the Federation of the Left?

That this coalition exists should surprise no intelligent student of political science. For years we have been told that the best bulwark against communism is "the non-communist Left." London's conservative Sunday Telegraph of May 26, 1968, wrote, "The CIA realized that the liberals, particularly in Europe and the USA, were the best and most effective anti-communists; hence the money behind several unimpeachably democratic organizations." (Emphasis ours.)

Nonsense. The strategy of Lenin was being used to put over the tactic of Trotsky. There is no non-communist Left. There are socialists and communists who dispute for leadership at times, but they unite under a Mitterand when it is time to close in for the kill. In France last month the students provided the occasion.

HOW THE STUDENT ASSAULT FORCE WORKED. Hard-core hoodlums from the underworld were in evidence as the nightly sorties from the Sorbonne gained violence, but there was a more sophisticated direction as well. Seasoned guerillas formed the backbone of the fight. A private army equipped with helmets, clubs and shields; their faces masked with bandit-type scarves against tear gas, took positions as shock troops, while catapults showered ball bearings into the area police would have to cross to attack. Each carefully organized section has a walkie-talkie system maintaining contact with the command headquarters in the Sorbonne. Encouraging communiques -- even the anti-American speech made by Shirley Graham, widow of the colored communist leader, W. E. B. Du Bois, at Mao Tse-tung's meeting in Peking on March 8, were reproduced to cheer students with the promise that the next armed struggle would be in America.

Small cars, disguised as ambulances -- red cross and all -- flitted in and out, following police movements and reporting directly to headquarters. It was clear that battle plans had been prepared long in advance. The young anarchists knew the principles of street-fighting as though they had been doing it for years. Seven-foot barricades sprang up, reinforced by felled trees. An endless stream of cars brought in paving stones and material looted from building sites. Passers-by watched idly as a commando group overturned a giant building crane across Boulevard Montparnasse. While the men piled stones girls in mini-skirts emptied bags of cement and hosed them with water to concretize the barricades. Where were the parents of these youngsters, one could not help but wonder. Nothing was overlooked. In the halls of the university tough-looking students wearing armbands denoting their functions shouted orders to hordes of underlings, dashing off in all directions, in preparation for the night ahead. In the Amphitheatre Richelieu, in the main building, behind doors guarded by long-haired, bearded youngsters looking like so many Che Guevaras, briefings were being held.

In the teachers' staff room three doctors, in response to a call from some faceless "general," appeared and set up a hospital. Tables covered with sheets formed makeshift beds. Oxygen tanks cluttered the floor of the library. A young doctor who refused to divulge his name but who admitted he was a military medical officer "with certain political leanings," hobbled around in charge. His feet had been injured by a hail of stones while he was treating wounded fighters at the barricades of May 13. Thirty doctors and forty-two qualified nurses arrived in a matter of hours to take care of casualties in the next battle. Whether they were military or civilian, party members ready for a bloody M-Day, or starry-eyed humanitarians, there is no way of knowing.

An operating room was quickly installed. At the entrance of the "hospital" an unhygienic-looking student was posted to take down the names and addresses of wounded men and girls as they were brought in. His assistant was ordered to empty the pockets of all the wounded and put their belongings in a numbered cloth bag, which would be filed. "They must not be caught with any weapons on their person," the military doctor explained. A number corresponding to the number on the bag was pinned to the patient's chest. The boy taking down names and addresses was told that if police or riot squads broke in he was to disappear and appear at a secret rendezvous the following day. "The list of names must under no circumstances fall into the hands of the police," said the doctor. Four hundred students were treated in the first six days of the rioting, and 57 underwent surgery, according to the "hospital" record. The newspaper PARISIEN LIBRE sent \$300, collected from unionized printers, and a car arrived from Lille with medical supplies, cigarettes and gifts from Lille drugstores.

ON THE PROPAGANDA FRONT ALSO the results of preparatory infiltration appeared. Printers on Paris papers changed stories to suit themselves. Journalists and newscasters on the State-controlled TV and radio began making speeches about the dignity of their profession and demanding freedom from censorship -- the right to show police brutality at the barricades. British and American reporters hailed it as noble revolt against government censorship. Actually, there was nothing praiseworthy about it. Microphone and big-circulation reporters found nothing wrong with the government's slanted news when exorbitant sums were being paid to an out-and-out communist named Baron Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie (referred to only as "The French writer" in the Los Angeles Times of Sept. 7, 1967,) to saturate the airwaves with Hanoi propaganda against America. Dishonest documentaries glorified the Vietcong while they were massacring helpless prisoners in Hue, and heaped abuse on the Americans, without the TV and radio journalists finding their dignity impaired in the slightest. Only when the government tried to black out its own struggle with the Reds did its microphone propagandists become indignant and start talking about the "dignity of their profession."

Mr. Paul Deheme, on May 13, before he too was silenced by the strike, wrote, "The regime has capitulated and we must bear in mind that it has capitulated, not before the legitimate discontent of students but before the demands of a revolutionary movement.....No one can deny that the regime itself is responsible. But its objectives were surpassed. It wanted French youth to be Leftist. It encouraged their flirtation with the communist party. But the flirtation went further -- all the way to Maoism, whose agents were lying in wait. The government foresaw without disapproval the start of the agitation, which it flattered itself into thinking it could put down without any trouble, and that this would bring back the electorate that was beginning to turn against Gaullism."

CHAOS REIGNED WITH NOT A POLICEMAN IN SIGHT IN AREAS RULED BY THE MOB, as De Gaulle sounded out politicians, industrialists and old friends of the Resistance inside the unions. When he was assured that they would stick by him, he saw a high-ranking Russian diplomat, presumably the ambassador. Russia's representative promised that Moscow would hold back the French Communist Party. Then De Gaulle called in Jacques Foccart. Foccart put his Civic Action Service (SAC) bullies to work on the students' parents and anyone else obstructing a settlement. With the home front secured, De Gaulle had his doctor give him two injections to bolster him for a hard day ahead and boarded a helicopter for an airport where the presidential Caravelle was waiting. His destination: Baden-Baden, French military HQ in Germany. There eleven generals, among them Massu whom he had "framed" in 1960, to get him out of Algeria while Massu's friends were being undermined, were asked for loyalty oaths.

The rest you know -- the appeal to France to rally behind the President in the face of a communist threat to seize power. Forgotten was the matter of who had made the communists strong, since their low point of December 1958. In their new role as "enemies of liberty" the Reds, who were "pillars of stability" when General Salan was being chased, saw the rug pulled out from under them.

THE REVOLUTION COLLAPSED. A student leader ruefully put it, "We were able to get headlines as long as we could put the fear of God into business men. Next time we will know what to do." The 30 doctors and 40-some nurses who had been hopefully waiting to perform operations in the Sorbonne prepared to leave. As a crowning insult, an arrogant student coolly asked a doctor to sign a document swearing he would never reveal the names of the students he had met or the details of their revolutionary movement. The doctor was all righteous indignation. "My wife and I and all our surgeons and colleagues here have worked ourselves to death for this movement," he said. "Now they ask me, Dr. Yann, (the name is probably false) to sign this stupid paper. Who the hell do they think I am!" He should have known that suspicion is the predominant emotion in Leftist revolutions, and gratitude is non-existent.

Despite the command apparatus and presence of experienced advisors with sophisticated material, the London Times of May 30 assured its readers that the student revolt bore every sign of "mutual inspiration but no international conspiracy."

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF PARIS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FACED AVERELL HARRIMAN AND CYRUS VANCE across a green-topped table. Harriman's wife, Marie, signed a telegram in the spring of 1955 congratulating President Diem on crushing the three anti-communist forces that would have saved thousands of American lives and prevented the carnage in Cholon today (the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects and the Binh Xuyen private army.) Marie was a member of the lobby through which Angier Biddle Duke, Joseph Buttinger, the Austrian Socialist, and a huckster named Harold Oram kept support behind the American-imposed President Diem who, as General Tran van Don recently testified, "filled his prisons with people who disagreed with him, many of whom were staunch anti-communists."

Hanoi's negotiator, Mr. Xuan Thuy, opened the case against America by quoting Fulbright, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King. Bobby's statement that "our war in Vietnam troubles America's conscience" was presented as irrefutable proof of America's guilt. In reality, the Paris talks are a forum for anti-American propaganda while Hanoi improves her military position. How do you negotiate with men who refuse to admit that a single northern soldier is in South Vietnam? PARIS MATCH of May 18 showed Herbert Marcuse in a huddle with the Hanoi mission, a Hanoi delegate's arm affectionately around Marcuse's shoulder. The London Sunday Times of May 26 carried Mary McCarthy's tale of "shame" as she stood in the Hanoi War Crimes Museum as a guest of "comrades" of the Peace Committee. Her testimony was worth millions to Hanoi, coming at that time. Mary was full of gratitude that she was an invited guest and never had to change a single dollar.

On June 1, Senator McCarthy, speaking in Los Angeles, aided Hanoi by accusing Washington of stalling. His speech was faithfully reproduced abroad. On June 3 Mayor Lindsay of New York praised American students for forcing President Johnson to halt the bombing of North Vietnam and go to the conference table. Paris papers of June 5 carried General Vo nguyen Giap's statement that defeat forced the U. S. to the negotiating table. Giap's debt to American students and men like Mayor Lindsay is inestimable.

As this report, delayed by three weeks of "revolution" in France, was ready to go in the mail, news of Senator Robert Kennedy's tragic death reached a stunned Europe. To many Europeans it was a shocking indictment of America. To others it was not wholly unexpected. As a European political analyst of our acquaintance put it, "By his speech in a Jewish synagogue in Oregon, demanding that America go to war if necessary to defend Israel, the Senator made America a battlefield in the Arab-Israel conflict. There was no reason for him to take up the sword. In his concentration on pro-Israel votes he forgot that one Arab would be enough to make him the first casualty in the new front he was needlessly creating."

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Dear Reader:



It is time to write you a letter again, in this election year of 1968. While demagogic politicians justify their campaign for defeat in Vietnam by saying that if we go out to win it will involve us in a war with China, let us start by taking a look at the nation which is likely to touch off World War III. It is Algeria.

HERE IS THE SITUATION. Red China is writhing in a civil war that has disrupted every phase of Chinese life save nuclear projects and the missile race in which scientists, cordoned off from Red Guard interference, work to perfect the delivery system which in five to seven years will be able to deliver warheads on America.

"Nations that await attack," said Napoleon, "are already half conquered." Nations that await attack in our nuclear age are as good as defeated. China today is harmless -- when she is ready she will hit us. Algeria is ready to start a conflict tomorrow.

Nasser's prestige and health are in a perilous position as this is written. Six years ago this report divulged the serious condition of the Egyptian leader's health. His affliction is diabetes. Since Israel's lightning victory over Egypt in June 1967, Algerian belligerence has increased. Nothing has been said of the Algerian threat in the American press, mainly because had our press, government, CIA, labor unions and the American Left, not supported Algeria's Reds, that country would be a prosperous French province today. De Gaulle would not be ruling France, NATO would be intact and Russia would not be about to challenge us in the Mediterranean.

One of the arguments given the American public when Joe Kraft in the New York Times, Edward Behr in TIME Magazine, David Schoenbrun through the TV screens of CBS, and a host of others were serving as gratuitous propagandists for the Algerians, was that if America did not back the Algerians the Russians would. In other words, what you do is not wrong if you have a competitor in doing wrong.

The leader of Algeria is Colonel Boumedienne. At his side and assuring him that our leaders dared not offend the Left by going out for victory in Vietnam are the young "experts" whom State Department, the AFL-CIO and CIA wafted to American universities in 1959, '60 and '61. Yet Boumedienne is in trouble, serious trouble, at home. The rise of crimes committed by Algerians in France, indignation over property seizures in Algeria, and De Gaulle's money troubles since May, 1968, led the French government to put into force a 1964 legislation which limits Algerian immigration into France to 1000 Algerian workmen a month.

Unemployment is on the rise in Algeria. Nationalizations of foreign companies have invariably, after the assets were skimmed off, led to more shut-downs. Remittances from workmen in France kept large sectors of the population in food. Now an uprising of the unemployed can come at any minute and touch off a full-scale revolution.

Colonel Zbiri, leader of the subversive movement against Boumedienne, has left the country. But he is at work, constantly traveling to raise funds and supporters. Two teams of killers are in place, stalking Boumedienne day and night. A demonstration by unemployed workers -- or women and children of the unemployed -- may provide the opportunity they are awaiting. One delaying tactic which Boumedienne might employ is repudiation of the last remaining oil agreements with France before the end of 1968. It would provide a breathing spell. If the assassins do not get him first, Boumedienne's last card will be a call to the Arab world to follow him in a jihad (holy war) against Israel.

In June a unit of the Jordanian army was incited into attempting a coup against King Hussein. It failed. Had it not failed, Boumedienne's advisors believe Moshe Dayan would have invaded Jordan on the pretext of saving Hussein but in reality to destroy the terrorist bases which Algerian instructors are manning. This would have put responsibility for the coming war on Israel. Russian missile bases in Algeria and the great naval base of Mers-el-Kebir are constantly on the alert for a surprise attack by Moshe Dayan. American forces watch Boumedienne for a desperate throw of the dice to save his tottering regime.

Between Russian advisors and Arab officers tension is increasing. The former preach patience -- for just a little while longer. The latter are headstrong. The latest crisis was over earth-to-earth missiles. They were installed on the agreement that they would remain under Russian control. Suspicious over the number of Jewish communists in the West, ultra-nationalist Egyptian officers want the Russians to go home and leave Arab hands on the triggers. Recent hi-jacking of an Israeli plane and holding of its occupants is nothing compared to what is yet to come.

Chinese and Albanian agents incite the war camps in Egypt and Algeria with promises of aid. Havana and Hanoi agents point to the millions of Israel sympathizers in America and urge an Arab strike while America is involved in Vietnam. Forgotten in America is the fact that the American Leftists, pressing for a pull-out in Vietnam, are also responsible for Algeria.

DE GAULLE'S CUTTING OFF OF THE FLOW OF FRANCS TO ALGERIA was partly necessitated by Japan's dumping of millions of francs on the world market in a rush to get rid of the banknotes that looked solid when the pound and the dollar were in trouble. Japan stocked francs as a medium of exchange in her trade dealings with Peking. All things being relative,

the pound looks good since French students and anarchists went berserk in May, and Japan's unloading of francs indirectly advanced the date of Boumedienne's confrontation with destiny.

That Algeria is a trouble spot, the responsibility for which the international Left must be prepared to disclaim, was admitted behind closed doors in a deserted lodge some 65 miles north of Montreal in late April. For that story let us turn our eyes to labor-misgoverned England.



BRITAIN. When our British cousins had their financial crisis last fall, wags saw Labor Prime Minister Harold Wilson as a cocky but naive little chap, stripped to the skin in a poker game with a low-type card sharp from Texas and a crafty bistro habitué named De Gaulle. It was not exactly fair because neither the Texan nor the Frenchman was as bright as the British cartoonist inferred. If Mr. Wilson had run out of chips it was not because of the dexterity of his partners but because striking dock-workers and British leftists who opposed trade with Rhodesia and South Africa had cut his source of funds, while welfare state boys raided the stack in front of him from over his shoulder. But this was with Mr. Wilson's permission, so a newspaper magnate named Cecil King, head of INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CORPORATION (internationalists again!) called on the Prime Minister to get out.

All very noble and patriotic, but Mr. King had used his great chain, off the presses of which roll over 8 million newspapers and magazines a day, to urge the same reading public to support Prime Minister Wilson when he went in. And Mr. Wilson had not changed. The Prime Minister whom Mr. King wanted to oust was the same man he told his readers to support when anyone but a London School of Economics product would have known what was ahead.

Directors of the publishing corporation were not courageous enough to call a meeting and sack their turncoat chief to his face, so they drew up a dismissal notice for a hapless secretary to deliver, and Board-of-Directors chief King went down without a ripple. Granted, he deserved what he got, but it should have been for his initial lack of judgment. What he got the ax for was his waking up. For some reason, as yet inexplicable, that closely-knit group of international liberals known as the Bilderbergers also appeared to take a right-turn from established policy at about the same time.

THE BILDERBERGERS' 17th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. Let's go back a bit. An erudite member of Parliament named Enoch Powell shocked British liberals and expressed the fears of thousands of middle-of-the-roads and conservatives by making a speech in which he predicted dire consequences if Britain continued to permit Indians and Pakistanis, currently being run out of Kenya, to pour into England in unlimited numbers. Many felt that Britain's capacity to absorb former Indians, Pakistanis, Africans and Jamaicans had already passed saturation point. The former colonial subjects who opted for British passports when their countries clamored for independence, they pointed out, had made no counter-campaign for Britain at the time. Instead, they wanted the best of both worlds. By their silence they courted the good will of those demanding independence and by remaining British they hoped to escape the consequences.

Thereafter it was as Britishers that they remained in newly-independent countries where their families had lived and always inter-married for generations. If things went wrong they could always go to England. When the ax fell, India would not accept them and Britons became frightened by the invasion. At that point Mr. Powell, the scholar of Greek and Latin, made his speech which voiced what half of England was thinking and brought charges of "racist" and "fascist" from the Labor-Socialist Left, whose candidates the black and brown influx would assuredly support. The fears of Mr. Powell's supporters were not assuaged when, a couple of months later, a landlord disappeared mysteriously and part of a human limb was found in a late type pressure cooker on the stove of one of his "British Commonwealth" tenants.

While the storm over Mr. Powell's speech was still raging, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands called his Bilderberg Group (See H. du B. REPORTS, April 1966) together for their 17th secret meeting, in a hunting lodge at Mont-Tremblant, north of Montreal. About a hundred men, accorded "world leader" status by their own mutually-selected closed group, converged on Montreal's Dorval Airport, their expenses paid by the enveloping organization whose sources of funds have never been divulged.

Through a slip-up, Montreal journalists learned that ex-French Premier Pierre Mendes-France and former President of the Bank of France, Monsieur Baumgartner, were coming in. Both men remained tight-lipped as they hurried to a Canadian government limousine that was to whisk them north. There the matter might have rested with no one knowing why so many powerful people were arriving in Canada or who was arriving, had not a colored group learned that Enoch Powell was among them, and decided to stage a demonstration. Forcing their way past the guards at the gate of the lodge, they were about to break into the hall where Prince Bernhard and his daughter, Princess Beatrice were presiding, when reinforcements arrived to block their way.

THE BIG QUESTION: Why was Enoch Powell invited to this meeting of international Leftist financiers, politicians and labor leaders? Never before had a Bilderberg session been opened to a man of the Right. Powell's speech in Commons was counter to everything the anti-colonialist, anti-conservative Bilderbergers had ever espoused. So was he brought there to permit the international henchmen of the Honorable Kenneth Younger (of the Royal Institute of International Affairs) to probe their victim before moving in for the kill? Or were Prince Bernhard's internationalists preparing to play a new card? And had leftists in the closed world of the Bilderberg "Secret lodge" itself alerted Montreal negroes, in order to frustrate members preparing to ride a new wave that would lead to repudiation of violence and anti-Westernism? Why was Mr. Franco Noguera, the Foreign Minister of Portugal, the country which Bilderberg big-wigs have consistently knifed in Angola and Mozambique, invited along with Enoch Powell, unless a turnabout, or treachery, was in the works? These questions went unanswered, though some suggested that Powell and Noguera were there as part of a drive to dress up Canada's Premier Trudeau.

Radio Canada announced, after news of the meeting had leaked, that the names of those attending would be published. However, they never were. It is known that Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the French politician who broke with Gaullism, was there. So was Prince Bernhard's Foreign Minister, Joseph Luns, who, in the supranational government of the Common

Market as well as in Holland's government, has served Bilderberg interests and the aims of Belgium's socialist leader, Paul Henri Spaak rather than patriotic ideals.

Former Canadian Premier Lester Pearson was present, as well as Mr. Bryce, the representative of incoming Premier Trudeau, and the Governor of the Bank of Canada. Organizer of the Mont-Tremblant meeting was Commander B. C. Thillag, who is commonly accepted as the successor of Bilderberg founder Joseph Rettinger. In addition to Henry Ford, Jr., and Robert McNamara, former U. S. Defense Secretary, now head of the World Bank and writing a book on total disarmament, American participation included George Ball and David Rockefeller. Whether Bilderberg steering committee chief and COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS leader John J. McCloy was present was not stated in the sketchy reports that have come to light.

It is interesting to note that French tanks and army units had already been moving into position around Paris for two weeks, in preparation for the crisis in May, when De Gaulle's extreme Left Socialist challenger, Pierre Mendes-France, flew to Canada. This Mr. Mendes-France must have known, so the Bilderbergers could not have been unaware that a French crisis was pending.

A brief communique issued by Prince Bernhard stated that discussions touched on "relations between the West and Communist countries and on the internationalization of world affairs." Obviously there was a connection with the Washington-Hanoi negotiations soon to be set up in Paris, and, "internationalization of world affairs," meant that the international group was going to have its say in deciding when our boys will cease dying in a no-winism war. Let us take a closer look at the "relations between the West and Communist countries" part of the agenda on which internationalization of world affairs, Bilderberg fashion, depends.

VIETNAM AND ALGERIA are fields where Bilderberg meddlers enjoyed their greatest free-wheeling. Any talks they have today are aimed at extricating themselves from the morass this free-wheeling led us into in Vietnam. As long as possible a news black-out will be lowered on their suicidal errors, assuming they were errors, in Algeria.

Senator Javits, a 1964 Bilderberger, on arriving in Miami on August 1, told television interviewers that America cannot win in Vietnam. (Read: Senator Javits is determined that we will not win in Vietnam.) His reasoning was that it would touch off World War III. What he was doing was raising the spectre of war with a hopelessly riot-torn Red China, to distract attention from the nation that is really likely to touch off World War III: Algeria, the pirate power which he and his like worked to bring into being. Let us take a Bilderberger's-eye-view of both problems.

What Mr. John J. McCloy, Pierre Mendes-France and every longtime member of the Bilderbergers and their component groups (Royal Institute of International Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, Atlantic Institute, etc.) had to consider in their Canadian hideout was that the American soldiers being denied victory in a winnable war will be back here and voting four years from now. By that time a combined Arab-African assault, led by Algeria, will be confronting Israel. And the same professors, lawyers, politicians, teachers and "peace strike" leaders now demanding that we accept defeat in Vietnam will be clamoring for American intervention in a war that will meet with their approval. Certain facts, along with Gene McCarthy's ignorant and treasonable speeches, should be put before these boys when they come home.

FIRST, let us place the responsibility for victory prevention in Vietnam where it belongs. In April, 1957, "America's showcase for Democracy" -- a leftist propaganda euphemism for the country where American revolution-sowers had enjoyed twelve years of undeterred meddling, was beginning to go sour. A study of that "showcase" for what was really Leftist experimentation brings forth a damning indictment of America. Roosevelt proteges set up the communist leader, Ho chi Minh. The same men and their pressure groups helped French and international Leftists impose a no-winism policy on Paris in 1953-54. As in our present war, enough American materiel and aid was provided to keep the French fighting for nine years, but not enough to deprive Ho and General Giap of the victory for which they sacrificed their army at Dien Bien Phu.

Then an American-selected Premier (claimed by Mike Mansfield as his "godson" (see Harpers' Magazine of January 1956) was installed in Saigon. At the insistence of Senator Mansfield and the American Left which now demands that we dump the whole business, the Vietnamese army leader (General Hinh) was run out for opposing our man. Then American operators, Colonel Lansdale and General O'Daniel, broke up the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religious sects whose armies protected Tay Ninh and the Mekong city of Can Tho for the same reason. That accomplished, they crushed the General (Le van Vien) whose forces protected Saigon, Cholon and the roads that fanned out from the capital. These high-handed measures were taken with Mike Mansfield's encouragement. But on July 29, 1968, Senator Mansfield moved to put a seal on the defeat for which he was greatly responsible by insisting that the Saigon government include "all major religious and ethnic groups," which would include the Vietcong. In other words, Mike Mansfield was for crushing religious and ethnic groups when their existence hurt the enemy and for forcing Saigon to take communist-dominated groups into the government when their inclusion would assure a Red takeover.

With each succeeding interference in Vietnam's internal affairs things got worse instead of better, but, fervent revolutionaries to the end, Washington eager-beavers insisted there was nothing wrong with their brand of "democracy" that more of the same would not cure. A State Department revolutionary named Kenneth Todd Young, with no restraining reins from anybody, called four of his friends together in early 1955 and, with the cooperation of Dr. Wesley Fishel from Michigan State, decided to depose Vietnam's emperor and set up a republic. (Robert Shaplen in his book "The Lost Revolution.")

Thereafter the disintegration accelerated at such a rate that by 1957 our activists were undecided whether to keep on inflating the unwanted man they had made first premier and then, with no other candidate permitted, President; or to let him and his family fall. There was no protest from leftist clergymen, doctors, lawyers, editors, professors or gun-shy students at any stage of this shocking business, although this was the time when they should have raised their voices. Instead, the same crowd that encourages men like David Schoenbrun and Yale's Staughton Lynd to visit the enemy in Hanoi today was ready to lift the passport of any American who warned that we were headed for trouble.

Hoping that a miracle would still save them from exposure, the insiders staved off a cutting of our losses in May 1957

by a repaint job on their "showcase for democracy." A pliant stooge whom CIA had picked up and sent to Harvard was named "legal opposition," to ensure peace in Saigon and forestall any talk about dictators while their man was being paraded in America. Then the junket was launched.

On May 11, 1957, the Vietnamese presidential party was flown from Washington to New York in Ike's official plane and driven to Tarrytown, New York, for a luncheon at which America's future and Asia's were in the balance. The key figures through whom Bilderbergers and the Council on Foreign Relations merge were there: John D. Rockefeller III, David Rockefeller, Dr. Henry T. Heald of Ford Foundation; Joseph E. Johnson, head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and John J. McCloy, head of Chase Manhattan Bank and pivotal planner in both Prince Bernhard's Bilderberg committee and the CFR. With him was Ogden R. Reid, president and editor of the New York Herald Tribune; Rockefeller Foundation's directive-signing president, Mr. Dean Rusk, whom the Rockefellers at a later date were to ease into a position in America similar to that in which the Rothschilds were to place Monsieur Pompidou in France. Mr. Paul J. Sherbert, executive director of the Asia Society, and Howard C. Shepherd, board chairman of the First National City Bank, were present. Prince Bernhard was there in spirit if not in person.

The unbelievable part of this afternoon drama in Tarrytown is that none of the power wielders present knew any more about Vietnam than does Gene McCarthy. Of the religious, racial, political and regional groups that make up Vietnam's national family, whose affairs they were taking in hand without a mandate from anybody, they were completely ignorant. On the word of Kenneth T. Young, Jr., present as Director of the Office of Southeastern Affairs in the State Department, they were about to commit America to support of the man Mr. Young was putting on display as though he were a new model car. And they were doing it in the name of peace, though every month that Mr. Young's man and his family remained in power swelled the ranks of the enemy that was to murder Americans -- and though eight years later the peace solution of the same men would be coalition with the enemy they pretended to be opposing.

Americans will never know the full details of what went on in the Rockefeller dining room that afternoon between the Bilderberg-CFR hard core and the family for whom they had destroyed the religious leaders and generals who had proven themselves capable of keeping whole areas of South Vietnam secure. Suffice to say that when the party broke up a pact was sealed among themselves. Ogden Reid gave his name writers on the Herald Tribune orders to keep America sold on the man with whom John J. McCloy, David Rockefeller, Dean Rusk and Kenneth T. Young had agreed to sink or swim. On the following day, May 12, pages 1, 13, 14 and 15 of the N. Y. Herald Tribune carried propaganda stories worth millions, without, illiciting a peep from the surrender lobby now crying that we have no business interfering in Vietnam.

Skip eleven years and one month and change the scene to Mont Tremblant, Canada.

THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT THAT MET IN TARRYTOWN, N. Y. IN 1957 was American. The invisible government that met in the Canadian lodge in April, 1968, was international. Dean Rusk was busy coercing the Saigon government to accept a coalition with the Vietcong so it could not be said that America had imposed such a coalition. In Paris the new Premier, Michel Debre, was inferring that a time limit of five to six weeks had been set for the American negotiations with Hanoi. Phan quang Dan, the find whom CIA had sent to Harvard, was being pushed into the meaningless but high-sounding post of Minister of State as a prelude to making a speaking tour in America. Dan was to tell Americans that a neutralist, coalition government is a must for Saigon, thereby convincing American voters -- until the bottom falls out of South Vietnam sometime after our coming elections -- that a neutralist, coalition government is what President Thieu's "ministers" want.

As the Washington Post of August 5, 1968, put it, in a report by Peter Braestrup, "Saigon says more time is needed for Peace," peace being a Red take-over from the inside for which America will not be responsible if Saigon itself opts for a coalition government. Phan quang Dan's American speeches raised such a storm at home he had to resign. But the immutable wheels of the sell-out continued to turn. President Thieu was "moving quietly and cautiously to isolate Vice President Nguyen cao Ky, his chief potential rival," wrote Washington Post man Braestrup. "Only when he has in hand the levers of power will Thieu have enough 'clout' to push harder on reform and deal more flexibly with the foe."

What Mr. Braestrup was saying in the language of Post-owner Katherine Graham is, when all the Vietnamese who want to win have been strait-jacketed, President Thieu will have enough 'clout' to hit anyone who opposes negotiated surrender. "Deal more flexibly with the foe" is Washingtonese for "let the enemy in."

As Saigon morale slumped a cartoon appeared in a Vietnamese paper picturing South Vietnam as a pregnant girl asking a cowboy-hatted LBJ, "What do you intend to do?"

That is how things are as of now, dear reader, while two parties write the same platform in different terms.

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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



PRAGUE

"Russia has promised to help the patriots halt this Czech meddling in Czechoslovakian affairs."

(CARREFOUR, Paris)

News Service, to well-paid paper perusers in C.I.A., was misled.

Dean Rusk learned of Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia when a scribbled note was put in his hand as he addressed the Democratic Platform Committee at the national convention in Chicago.

There were no draft-card burners in Russia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria when the tanks rumbled toward Prague. No anti-war demonstrators rocked Moscow, East Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest or Belgrade, the nations of the Warsaw Pact. In Chicago a mob referred to as "poor youngsters" was out to tear down the American flag in Grant Park and show support for Senator Gene McCarthy by hoisting a Vietcong flag in its place. They could not have cared less about what was happening to the Czechs.

A rundown of events leading to the Prague crisis is in order.

AT CARLESBAD, ON APRIL 24, 1967, Rumania was given a dressing down by her Communist neighbors for wanting trade exchanges with West Germany until her living standards got back to their pre-war level. This was taken by American bridge-builders to the East as proof that the iron front of the Red bloc was cracking. Russia then castigated Rumania in a series of speeches and articles but did nothing more, and the picture of harmless Russia was complete. A few less wishful-thinking observers reflected that Rumania's trade defection was doing more good than harm for Moscow in establishing links with Willi Brandt's Socialist team in West Germany.

In a blurred picture of real or artificially inspired disagreements the Carlesbad conference broke up with the announcement that the same Communist delegates would meet again in Hungary on February 26, 1968. Accordingly, ten months later we find them in Budapest. This time there was plenty to discuss. It was America's election year. Britain's Prime Minister had just sent Harold Brown to Bonn and West Berlin in hopes that Willi Brandt would help plug the leaks in British Labor's sinking ship. Wilson himself flew to Moscow before the Budapest Conference convened and then to Washington to promise LBJ all possible British support, which was no support at all since it was predicated on America's not going out for military victory in Vietnam. In Paris preparations were being made for a Hanoi-Washington peace conference which would provide Hanoi with a forum for quoting the confessions of Washington's left-wing politicians. For LBJ it would placate the peaceniks at home. It was not meant to do anything more. Averell Harriman, the leading American negotiator, rented an apartment in Paris for two years.

Russia had had one setback, and it was unimportant on the elastic communist time-table: Turkish recognition of the government of the colonels in Athens brought an end to Turkish-Greek tensions over Cyprus. A crisis between Athens and Ankara was what Russia wanted. The Bulgarian army was to invade Greece at the first sign of hostilities, "to safeguard the communist bloc's frontier." Backed by Moscow, the Bulgarians would push on to Istanbul and secure Russia's sea lane to the Mediterranean.

The Turkish-Greek provisory accord over Cyprus robbed Russia of her pretext. So the hard-liners went to Budapest.

THE BUDAPEST CONFERENCE BROUGHT THE USUAL STORMS IN A TEACUP. Waled Bagdache, Secretary-General of Syria's Communist Party, renewed the recriminations against Bucharest for wanting trade exchanges with Willi Brandt. Though Rumania's Red leader, Ceaucescu, heads one of the most brutal police regimes on earth, Bagdache's attack was held up by American liberals as proof that Willi Brandt's growing friendship with Ceaucescu was a victory for the West.

On the television screen presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey spoke glibly but without fact on the subject of mellowing, friendly Russia and jointly-built bridges of peace which America and the new Russia were erecting. As he was speaking, Russian armor was extending its oppressive weight across Czechoslovakia. Russian secret agents covered Prague like voracious ants scrambling over a decaying carcass.

Granted, the Humphrey interview had been taped three weeks in advance. That it was never justified, that American intelligence was caught flat-footed by the carefully planned Russian, East German, Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian invasion of Czechoslovakia, no one should attempt to deny. Yet it cannot be said that the Russians took us in. We had been lulled over the years by JFK and those who followed him.

The sales pitch was simple: The "Cold War," i.e., America's years of tension with Russia, was a Republican bogey, a result of unjustified American mistrust. Under Kennedy and his personal circle America would merit and win Russia's confidence. This would hasten changes in Russia. The "unfreezing" of cold war tensions and a great era of peace would follow. But if Kennedy-type democrats were thrown out, the cold war with its worries, expenses and threats of nuclear destruction in a third World War would return.

A Frenchman caustically observed that Kennedy's "unfreezing" was really the crystallizing of Russia's fruits of aggression. Our liberal clique was wrong from the start. Thus America, from the lowly reader being fed canned reports prepared by the New York Times

The Budapest delegates broke up, on March 1, to meet again in Sofia, Bulgaria, two days later as though nothing had happened. The tone was set by Russia's hard-line maneuverer, Michael Suslov. Suslov was biding his time, doing nothing to embarrass Senators Fulbright and McCarthy and their ilk. "Neither exclusion nor excommunication for Rumania," said he. "Let the little parties come to Moscow."

A full-scale meeting was fixed for November 25, 1968, in Moscow, immediately after the U. S. elections. Little or nothing was said of it in America but the Sofia conference ended with a call by Suslov for a world-wide offensive against imperialism. It was clear to those willing to see it: Russia is on the offensive against the West. An appearance of conflict may be maintained between Russia and Peking, but in Vietnam the missiles supplied by each speak the same language.

After Rumania came the political shake-up which had been brewing in Czechoslovakia since early winter.

NOVOTNY, AN IRON-FISTED PARTY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE SUSLOV SCHOOL, had been in the saddle too long. The Czechs, began to stir, and this was something grave. Unlike the Rumanians, the Czechs are Slavs, members of Russia's great Slavic family; furthermore they have a common border with Germany. Moscow watched apprehensively as Novotny was ousted from the Secretary-Generalship of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and replaced by Alexander Dubcek. Next, Dubcek eased Novotny from the presidency. Dubcek, Moscow-trained and communist to the bone, swore that communist he would remain, that all he wanted was more liberty for Czechoslovakia, but Moscow was not reassured. Men who knew too many secrets began creeping out of the woodwork. The manner in which the politburo, under Russian guidance, had sentenced and executed Novotny's rival, Slansky, was reshaped in the press. Witnesses who had been too frightened to talk for years began telling what they knew of Jan Masaryk's "suicide." There was no telling where this sort of business would lead.

On April 23 Mr. Brejnev launched a verbal attack on the new government in Prague which touched off wild conjectures in Europe. Russia would do nothing, the wishful thinkers argued, because a move against Czechoslovakia would recall Budapest and 1956. It would destroy the image that French, Italian and Belgian Communist Parties have worked for twelve years to create. Others argued that Russia had no intentions of using force, but was creating an air of crisis for the purpose of proving that Russia's detractors were kooks and lunatic fringers, frightened for no reason at all. The moves of the chess game seemed meaningless. Late in the night of May 3 Dubcek arrived unexpectedly in Moscow, accompanied by Mr. Cernik, who had replaced Novotny as head of the government. A long conference followed, and the two Czechs flew home. Suslov, the inevitable sword-rattler, the man charged with ideological affairs within the party, reacted by calling for permanent war against all deviationists.

On May 8 hard-liners representing Russia's four Warsaw Pact partners-- Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary -- arrived in Moscow to study ways and means of bringing Prague back into the strait-jacket. Economic pressure, military threats and internal subversion were discussed.

MOSCOW'S COUNTEROFFENSIVE FOLLOWED. Overnight tracts appeared in Czech factories, supposedly written anonymously by Czech patriots, actually Russian mass-produced. Industrial plants were Novotny's personal fortresses. Here workers were warned that they would lose everything they had gained if they accepted the changes proposed by Mr. Ota Sik, the deputy prime minister and boss of economic reform. The attack was effective. For years the worker has been king in Novotny's Czech society. The worker had his way over the white collar men in the office. Inefficiency resulted. Economic stagnation spread. Yet workmen were encouraged to think of themselves as the wheels on which the country moved. Proposals to introduce a profit system meant to the workers only one thing: to earn more, they would have to work harder.

Every attack on Dubcek and Sik was accompanied by a flood of pamphlets emphasizing the "interests of the Czech working class." Peasants and intellectuals were written off as beyond redemption. Labor leaders, journalists and "investigators" descended on Prague from Moscow. Money poured in. Czech workmen were told that their true friends disapproved of what was going on. Isolation faced them, insecurity and all sorts of dangers if they did not resist the new reforms. It might have been taken word by word from anti-Goldwater columns put out in America in 1964.

The ethnic minorities -- a few thousand Sudeten Germans, Ukrainians in the East, Slovaks envious of the Czechs, small pockets of Hungarians -- were whipped up. Bilak, First Secretary of the Slovakian Communist Party and one of the leaders of the Novotny wing, had a pro-Novotny machine ready to call on Russian comrades for help when Kosygin arrived in mid-May for talks with Dubcek and Cernik.

MARSHAL ANDREI GRETCHKO, DEFENSE MINISTER OF THE USSR, arrived next on the scene, to make arrangements for Warsaw Pact forces maneuvers on Czechoslovakian soil in early summer. The Czechs knew nothing about it, but Russian troops were due to start arriving at the end of May, though the ten-day war games were not scheduled to start until June 20. Dubcek distracted attention from the military menace by proclaiming that the Czechoslovakian Communist Party would meet in Prague on September 9 to install a newly elected Central Committee.

Through July and into August, long after the war games were over, Russian forces remained on Czechoslovakian soil. In early July an ominous meeting was called in Moscow and opened by Grichine, First Secretary of the Moscow Soviet. Some 6000 delegates were present in the Palace of Festivities. Brejnev delivered a boring speech which lasted an hour and compared favorably with the pages of cliches read into a microphone by bald-headed politicians in Chicago in late August.

Kadar, the butcher of Budapest, followed Brejnev to declare, "Our class enemies are attacking the base of our socialist society; we must be ready to defend it by force if necessary." Nevertheless, on August 3, Czech army spokesman General Cepicky told his country that the last Russian had departed. After a day-long conference in the Trade Union Hall in Bratislava, the world was told that Dubcek and his followers had won. In reality, there was no reason for exultation; the Russians had only withdrawn over the border.

Gordon Brook-Shepherd assured readers of the London Sunday Telegraph on August 4 that "the danger of an outright Red Army invasion has never been as acute as it was made to look." At that moment 20,000 students from 142 countries were

on a World Youth Festival jag in Bulgaria, singing folk songs and learning that "there really is no communist threat."

French Reds were professing hurt innocence after their apparent setback at the polls, claiming that they had paid for barricades they did not build. Communists are patriots who want more say for the working man, that is all, they insisted. But everyone was not convinced. Many analysts in Western Europe felt that Russia would do something before September 9 -- that Russia would have to do something before the Czech Central Committee could install its new members and form a legal body in which no Novotny cell would exist to call for and thereby make Russian intervention legal.

It was not pure conjecture on the sceptics' part. In mid-July ISVESTIA had obviously attempted to lull the West by praising Kosygin to the skies for professing a desire for peace and declaring that the Treaty of Nuclear Non-Proliferation was a new landmark in that it was signed "between countries having different social systems." Twenty-four hours later SOVIETSKAYA RUSSIYA, the Central Committee's official organ, made the party's position clear by proclaiming that world revolution is still and forever the supreme goal of Soviet policy. In a word, everything Kosygin said was refuted: "The Russian communist party is and must remain the repository of the world revolutionary process. There must be no question of peace nor of peaceful alternatives. The mother party has always sought to make Russia the base in which world revolutionary forces will grow, in which shock brigades of the international proletariat will be trained."

SOVIETSKAYA RUSSIYA continued, "It is the duty of Russia's working class and of the Soviet people to take the lead in developing, supporting and launching revolutionary movements in all countries." Where is the difference between this theme and Peking's? The inspirer and probable author of this article was Suslov. It was to see Suslov and Chelepine, the former Russian security chief, that Le Duc Tho, Hanoi's leading voice at the Paris table of farcical negotiations, flew to Moscow in July. In the shadows, waiting to see which way matters would swing, Brejnev was waiting, according to the sceptics.

Such was Moscow's political climate while July was going its way and Czechs were wondering when the Red forces would go home. All but unobserved were the movements of Marshal Gretchko, master of the Red war machine, the man who had set up the maneuvers in Czechoslovakia.

ON JULY 9 GRETCHKO SUDDENLY LANDED IN ALGIERS. Western naval commanders asked if Russia was strengthening her rear, notably her naval forces in the Mediterranean, which face America's 6th Fleet, preliminary to a military move elsewhere. Nasser was in Russia at the time. He had put Port Said at Russia's disposal, and Moscow was anxious to reopen the Suez Canal so that Red naval units in the Indian Ocean, based in Indian ports, including Goa, could link up with the Red fleet in the Mediterranean.

While Moscow dickered with Nasser over reopening the canal, Gretchko inspected the installations set up by Russia's some 4000 specialists in Egypt. Other works and technicians were given a minute scrutiny in Syria and Iraq before the Russian Defense Minister descended on Algeria. Here a thousand Russian officers were modernizing Boumedienne's Algerian army while the Algerians trained guerillas for North Vietnam and El Fatah, the terrorist organization operating against Israel. Some two thousand Russian specialists in Algeria were manning missile bases in the Aures mountain ranges. Bone, which Algerians have renamed Anaba, has become a Russian submarine base, and the recent arrival of three additional helicopter carriers made Russian naval forces in the Mediterranean equal to America's in tonnage if not in firepower.

The Algerians celebrated their sixth year of independence on July 4, five days before Marshal Gretchko arrived to make sure the Russian naval forces were ready to threaten Europe, should there be any challenge over a Russian move in Czechoslovakia. If American papers and newscasters said little about this aspect of the Gretchko inspection trip, it was largely because they were responsible for having sold the Algerians to the American public as simple patriots, wanting only independence.

In late July three more mine sweepers arrived to join the Russian fleet, while two destroyers and six troop transports cruised toward Mers-El-Kebir, the modern naval base which Algeria took over from the French. Another 500 Russian specialists were on their way, to teach Algerians how to use reconnaissance vessels in the fishing industry.

500,000 tons of Algerian oil are marked for delivery to Russia in 1969, while Russians direct a program to step up Algeria's steel, brass, platinum and wolfram production. This is the country for which labor ideologists Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone mustered American support, on the argument that Algerian independence would be a move toward world peace. The world kept its eyes on Czechoslovakia as Gretchko scrutinized North Africa and the Middle East. When he was satisfied that no western nation would lift a finger on pain of facing a belligerent Russia in Europe's lake, the Warsaw Pact machine swung into motion.



EVERYTHING RAN SMOOTH AS CLOCKWORK. On August 20 Russian soldiers carrying machine guns walked into Dubcek's office and arrested him soon after midnight, while he was talking on the phone. The phone was snatched out of his hand and ripped from the wall. Soldiers roughed him up on the way to the room where he and his aides were guarded with their hands over their heads for several hours while a plane was being readied to fly them, handcuffed, to a base in the eastern part of the country. Ludwig Svoboda, the president, was flown to Moscow to receive an ultimatum. No yippie complaints against Russian police brutality were heard in America, though Dubcek required medical attention after his release.

Svoboda refused to negotiate anything until Dubcek and his cabinet were present, which probably saved the lot of them from execution. Dubcek and his ministers were rushed to Moscow, and two days later were sent back to Prague, where they are now signing papers under Russian "protection."

IN AMERICA A MILITANT LEFT REMAINED UNDAUNTED. The House Committee on Un-American Activities charged in 1956 that many of the so-called Hungarian freedom fighters spirited into America by liberal organizations while sympathy for the Hungarians was running high were Reds whom the Russians were permitting to "escape." In their case there was at least a pretense that the "refugees" we were taking in were anti-communist. Following the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia a cry went up that America should do the same for escaping Czechs, though it would mean letting into the country a stream of avowed communists wanting not anti-communist freedom but only a more liberal form of communism.

On August 28 the communist-directed mob of obscene rioters, whose support anyone but Gene McCarthy would have been ashamed of, pulled down the American flag in Chicago's Grant Park and hoisted a Vietcong flag in its place. Permissive Americans saw this as a prank. Reported in Hanoi and spread in communist propaganda dispatches throughout the world, it took on another meaning: Hanoi partisans had seized and occupied an area in America which, for as long as the "occupation" lasted, was therefore Vietcong territory.

Chicago police counter-attacked against a rain of abuse and rubber balls studded with needles. Suave and playing-it-cool, TV commentators, headed by Cronkite, Chet Huntley and a dissipated-looking Brinkley, monopolized the airwaves with expressions of sympathy for "the poor children" clubbed by Chicago's police. Of the tearing down of the American flag and raising of the Vietcong's, or why the police had reacted, not a word. A few newspapers later reported that a red flag had been raised, without stating that it was the flag of the Vietcong.

None of the name commentators who had seemingly taken on the "yippie" public relations account and given millions of dollars worth of TV coverage to the unkempt McCarthy supporters, Vietcong partisans and experienced directors of the disorder, made an attempt to set the story straight. That the era of yellow television had arrived became clear to many who, 24 hours earlier, would have denied it.

On August 30 police raided a 15th floor suite of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, rented in the name of J. K. Galbraith and two others, in answer to complaints that hooligans were throwing glasses, bottles, heavy ash trays and whatever else they could get hold of down on pedestrians in the street. (Among the missiles, a coffeepot filled with human excrement.)

"Dad, you have to help them!" cried the Senator's politics-of-confrontation-oriented daughter.

Perhaps it would have brought things into proper perspective had the Chicago police permitted McCarthy-Vietcong forces to tear up the Conrad Hilton Hotel and smash heads in the Convention Hall where Messrs. Cronkite, Huntley and Brinkley were sitting. This is what "politics of confrontation" means.

With anarchy and treason at their peak, the governor of Iowa stood before a microphone on the rostrum of the great Democratic Convention to propose McCarthy and announce that "America is in the grip of a revolution today; those who will not accept peaceful revolution will have violent revolution." Read: Quit resisting, you fool patriots in Chicago and Prague. Let the destroyers take over quietly and you won't get hurt.

A last note of bathos in the Chicago Tribune was a photograph of a teen-ager crying with her head on her knees because McCarthy had lost. On no subject on earth were she, Gene McCarthy and Iowa's governor more ignorant than on Vietnam. Yet, on what McCarthy said he would do in Vietnam they were willing to gamble America's future. The girl, just old enough to demonstrate, was motivated by emotion, the ignorant politicians by ambition. Profiting by them were the out-and-out subversives who knew what they were doing and where it would lead.

On August 31 banner headlines told Americans, "LBJ WARNS RED AGGRESSORS." Only a reader with the intelligence of McCarthy's weeping schoolgirl could have been impressed. A leader who will not seek victory in a winnable war in Vietnam, because of what the world (i.e. the Red bloc in UN) will think of America, is not going to defend anyone, anywhere. What international opinion is really worth, Moscow has just shown us.

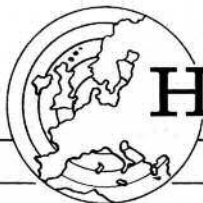
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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from H. dy B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107



The present generation has little idea what the name Yalta implies; the older generation has forgotten. Still trading on the newsman's axiom that nothing is so dead as yesterday's news -- literally a 24-hour statute of limitations on lies, is the sole active participant of the Yalta betrayal who is alive today, Mr. Averell Harriman. His life has followed a consistent pattern. The talks he is conducting in the Hotel Majestic in Paris are Southeast Asia's Yalta.

The first Yalta was a major landmark on America's path to negotiated sell-outs of the West. Just as Roosevelt sacrificed everything for his United Nations dream, and depended upon a compliant press to make Russian adherence appear a victory, so Johnson, now, fosters the myth of Russia as our friend and is sacrificing Asia to bring Hanoi to the negotiating table in Paris in America's election year.

The road to the first Yalta started in January, 1943, when Roosevelt met with Churchill in Casablanca to plan Germany's unconditional surrender. Stalin was invited but refused to come. After Casablanca came Quebec, on August 17, 1943. Here Roosevelt and Churchill sat flanked by Eden and Cordell Hull. Behind the sick president was Harry Hopkins. Stalin had accused Churchill and Roosevelt of cowardice for not invading Europe. Roosevelt, to buy him off, provided handouts, without any conditions attached. Roosevelt's dream was a meeting with Stalin, a meeting which Stalin obstinately dodged. To set it up Roosevelt, at Quebec, announced his intentions of sending Hull and Eden to Moscow. Churchill had been to Moscow the year before, to hear Stalin demand an immediate landing in France and shower him with insults for refusing to accept the losses a premature invasion would entail.

To Stalin's charges that Britain was decadent and cowardly, Churchill replied with reminders of Russia's pact with Hitler. Nevertheless, in early November, 1943, Eden and Hull met with Molotov in Moscow. On his return Hull was greeted as a conquering hero, though nothing had been accomplished beyond agreement on the necessity of establishing the international organization for which Roosevelt was willing to pay any price.

A few weeks later, in November, 1943, Roosevelt left for Oran on the battleship IOWA, and from there to Cairo by plane to meet Churchill and Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. The usual glowing communiques told America that important decisions had been made in the war against Japan, omitting Roosevelt's promise to help Chian Kai-shek boot the British out of Hong Kong.

From Cairo Roosevelt and Churchill proceeded to Teheran and the conference, which lasted from November 28 to December 1. On February 20, 1942, FDR had written a letter to Stalin's personal agent, Zabrowsky, through whom the two had been corresponding, and outlined the path America would take. Roosevelt wanted a "high tribunal" which would decide all differences between the great powers of the universe, under the leadership of America, Russia and Great Britain. Eventually it would become a United Nations Organization which "should give sufficient satisfaction to Stalin" in his feelings against the Germans, Roosevelt assured the despot he never ceased to court.

"We shall grant Soviet Russia entry into the Mediterranean and meet her demands as regards Finland and the Baltic, and we shall insist that Poland show a comprehensive attitude of compromise. Stalin will thus have a vast field of expansion in the small and obscure countries of Europe, bearing in mind the rights due to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia for their fidelity. In sum, he will recuperate completely the territories taken from Greater Russia."

"Most important of all: by partitioning the Third Reich and incorporating its fragments into other territories to form new nationalities which will have no links with the past, the German menace will disappear in a manner leaving no threat to Russia, Europe or the world."

Thus Roosevelt repudiated in advance the famous Atlantic Charter he and Churchill were supposed to have signed and which expressed a "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed desires of the peoples concerned," and the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. Czechoslovakia was written off with a pious reference.

Between November 28 and December 1, 1943, the big meeting in Teheran was to officially violate every paragraph of the Atlantic Charter and give the world its first inkling of FDR's intention to underwrite a revolt in Indo-China. Until the last minute Roosevelt was uncertain whether Stalin would show up in Teheran. Churchill installed himself in the British embassy, while Roosevelt and his son Elliot were put up in the Russian embassy, where Stalin could work on them. There Roosevelt outlined the crusade against colonialism which he and Stalin would lead together.

Victory was around the corner. With the war terminated, he and Stalin would knife their wartime allies in the back. Nationalism was to be extolled, encouraged and glorified in the colonies of Britain, France, Holland and Belgium, as a pre-condition for revolution. In old, established countries it would be discredited as tribalism. Patriotism would become a dirty word, an obstacle to the formation of good citizens of the world.

Roosevelt pretended to act an arbitrator between Churchill and Stalin. Actually, he ridiculed his British ally to flatter the master of Russia, and again promised to run the British out of Hong Kong. The late 1944 trip Churchill made to Moscow was undoubtedly aggravated by Roosevelt's secret gang-up with Stalin. This time Churchill faced, not a brutal and insulting Stalin but a condescending one. From Teheran, where his secret talks in the Soviet embassy had sown the seeds of so much grief to come, our ailing president sailed home for Christmas in Hyde Park and embarkation on

a grimmer trip, the last downhill lap to death.

A ghastly pretense that the president was in good health accompanied cunning maneuvers for a re-election which alone could keep the white ants in the woodwork. Of that campaign Raymond Cartier, one of the most brilliant political writers in Europe, wrote "Roosevelt was re-elected, dying, on the faith of a lying medical bulletin signed by a dishonest doctor, a frightful imposture which a hundred million Eastern Europeans will expiate in chains." Responsible for the deception was Roosevelt's personal physician, Admiral Ross T. McIntire, who had already limited Roosevelt to four hours' work a day -- on the days that he worked -- for the rest of his life. Certainly not enough working time for a man pretending to lead the free world.

On January 20, 1945, FDR was sworn in as President for a fourth term and three days later left Norfolk on the heavy cruiser QUINCY for his last meeting with Stalin. Stalin had said, "If you want to see me, you'll come to me," so like a suppliant Roosevelt went. The trip to Malta, where Harry Hopkins and other members of the party were to join him by plane, Roosevelt spent in bed. Sitting across from him in the salon of the QUINCY, in Malta's harbor, Churchill tried to work out a common line which the two would support, for it must be remembered that Stalin's armies were rolling across Europe toward the West. He had little need of the partners who had armed him in the past.

Against Russia's increasing demands Churchill wanted to oppose a partnership of the English-speaking peoples, a solid front formed by America and the British Commonwealth. Roosevelt replied that any British-American agreement against Russia would be a betrayal of Stalin. He held that the day of alliances was past, that in the future the relationships of the world would have to be constructed on other bases. This provided an opportunity for a long discourse on the colonial system, which he constantly reminded Churchill had been outlawed by the Atlantic Charter. "I will never admit that after fighting the slavery of Fascism we refused to liberate all the people living under colonialism. The peace that we are going to win will tolerate no form of despotism."

It was a theme constantly referred to, "Winston, you have in your blood 400 years of conquest. You think it is perfectly right for a country to take over territory if she has an opportunity to do so, but a new period of world history is opening and you must adapt yourself to it." Unfortunately he never used such language with Stalin. "I am sure of one thing," he said on the way to Yalta, "Stalin is not an imperialist." This of the man whose hunger for territory was insatiable. For Roosevelt the suspect was always Britain. The Russian who laughed with his small eyes full of ruses was admittedly an enigmatic partner, but he was a democrat, a man of the future, an emancipator.

When Churchill learned that Yalta had been chosen as the site of the big meeting, he cabled Roosevelt, "We could have hunted ten years without finding a more detestable place. It is a paradise only for typhus and fleas." He had proposed Edinburgh, Nassau, Malta, Athens, Cairo, Jerusalem, Rome -- all intact cities with good lodgings, adequate airports and efficient communications systems. But Stalin was adamant, and the two leaders had to go to him.

It was an ill-fated meeting from the start. One of the planes bearing the British delegation fell in the Mediterranean off the coast of Italy, and most of its occupants were lost. The miserable road over which the 150 members of the American and British teams drove from their landing place to the conference site, under the eyes of scowling, wind-chilled guards, should have been an indication of what lay ahead. For the dying Roosevelt and his adviser, Harry Hopkins, it was a Calvary. Stalin, sleeping peacefully in his wagon-lit from Moscow, sent word that he would arrive the following morning.

The residence assigned to Churchill was a palace named after the prince who built it in 1835. A thousand workmen were still trying to make it habitable. Only the insistence of a temporary civil servant named Joan Bright moved the Russians to get rid of the couch they had assigned Churchill and give him a bed as large as the ones they were giving Roosevelt and his Secretary of State, a man named Stettinius, who a few years later was to be involved in a shoddy deal over the sale of war surplus Liberty ships to a Greek wheeler-dealer named Onassis.

There were three marshals, two admirals, dozens of generals, colonels and upper echelon officers of the Foreign Service in the Churchill entourage. The most important stayed with Churchill, four or five to a room, with one bathroom for twenty generals and one toilet in the building. The rest were put up in two sanatoriums several miles away. The Americans were no better off. Roosevelt was in Livadia Palace, a former winter residence of Nicholas II, with eight generals or sixteen colonels to a room. Every table, chair, mirror and bottle of vodka had been shipped from Moscow in 1500 railroad cars. Even the personnel had been pulled out of the National and Metropole Hotels. Headwaiters, cooks, chambermaids and waiters thought they were being sent to Siberia as they made the five-day trip.

Around an oak table the most powerful military alliance the world had ever seen got down to business. Already Churchill was looking beyond defeated Germany to the dangers of a victorious Russia, but as the German threat dissolved the solidarity of the Allies disappeared.

The British section of the table was serious, rigid and worried. The only civilian was Anthony Eden. Churchill wore the uniform of the old Fourth Hussars, in which he had once been a second lieutenant. Britain's military representatives were Brooke, Alexander, Portal, Ismay and Admiral Cunningham. Churchill had always given precedence to Roosevelt. At the table at Yalta it was brought home to him how far Britain had fallen on the eve of a victory which his heroic and solitary obstinacy had made possible.

In the Russian section of the table civilians were dominant -- Molotov, Gromyko, Maisky, Pavlov. Stalin, in his uniform of a marshal of the Soviet Union, had never been in better humor. His armies were outside Berlin and Roosevelt was opening the way to the West, Stalin dominated the table.

The American section was tragic as McIntire reassured apprehensive generals and admirals who watched their commander-in-chief disintegrate before their eyes, "I know him. He is a little tired, is all, but he will come back." The hands of the man of whom he was speaking were trembling; in his eyes was a vacant stare. After having made him come halfway around the world, Stalin pretended to be solicitous of his guest's health, but nothing could have given Roosevelt the strength he needed at that late date.

Thus they sat in the immense throne room of the Czar whom Stalin's comrades had murdered. Gone were the chandeliers and Venetian glass. At night the vast room with its dark shadows took on a sinister air under makeshift lighting. Roosevelt sat between the insignificant Stettinius and Harry Hopkins, who left bed only to sit by Roosevelt at the conference table and then go back to bed as soon as possible. Roosevelt talked and talked, wearing himself out in vain attempts to hold a little longer the world that was falling from his grasp. His speech finished, his head would fall on his breast and he would ask that the meeting which he himself had dragged out be adjourned.

With him were his generals and admirals: Marshall, Deane, Kuter, McFarland, King, Leahy. The material power which these men commanded was incalculable. Their fleets dominated the oceans, their air armies ruled the skies. Their land armies reached the astronomical figure of eleven million men, armed with the most modern weapons and the most rapid means of displacement the world had ever seen. Behind them was an immense country, untouched by war and protected by an atomic bomb which she was soon to unveil to the world. In all logic they should have dominated the throne room in Livadia Palace where Stalin was treating them as beggars.

Behind Roosevelt at Yalta hovered Averell Harriman, a man who in 1920 threw foundering Red Russia a lifeline -- her first important loans. In 1928 his company organized the engineering project which was to set up Soviet industry. It guaranteed the credits for Soviet purchases of whole factories in America. Following Hitler's invasion of Russia, Roosevelt made him America's ambassador to Moscow, where he gave Stalin a billion and a half dollars in lend-lease material, without a string attached. It was Harriman who, on the road to Yalta, delivered himself of the ponderous nugget, "Stalin is not a communist revolutionary; he is a Russian nationalist."

Roosevelt, begging for a recognition which the sacrifice of thousands of American lives should have made indisputably his, pleaded for Stalin's assistance in the last three minutes of the war against Japan and participation in his cherished project, the United Nations. Stalin knew that the birth of such an institution, as Roosevelt saw it, depended on his adherence. Not even Roosevelt could pay the price that Stalin originally demanded, yet he searched his mind for concessions. "He may be a little bit suspicious," Roosevelt had told Mikolajczyk, the head of the Free Polish Government in London, "but he can take a good joke, and I have always been able to get along with him perfectly. I cannot say the same for my poor friend Churchill; Churchill is a statesman of the Victorian period who still has the British mentality of the 19th century. It isn't with a mind like that that one is going to get along with Stalin."

Around Roosevelt swirled the influences of pro-Russian advisers. Alger Hiss was there, and ever present was the tangible power of Harry Dexter White, who died mysteriously before he could be arrested as a Soviet agent. Many of the Soviet sympathizers around Roosevelt were above suspicion, commencing with the President's wife, who threw open the doors of the White House to the entire American Left. All the civilians surrounding Roosevelt supported his conviction that Soviet Russia was just, human, reasonable and democratic. In sum, everything America would be if America were not capitalistic. Roosevelt's coterie constantly reminded him that the anti-communism of Churchill was identical with that of the Republicans at home whom the President detested.

France? Roosevelt agreed with Stalin. France had been defeated, and there was no reason to let her share in the victory. France would no longer play any role in world affairs; all that remained for the moment was to force her to liberate Indo-China and Morocco at once, then the rest of her colonies as soon as possible. She would remain a small European state, with limited interests, consigned to the Soviet sphere of influence.

"Beyond a shadow of a doubt," Roosevelt had written at Quebec, "Russia will dominate Europe after the defeat of the Axis; this is only another reason why it is necessary to establish with her the closest lines of friendship." Forgotten was the alliance with Hitler in 1940 and Stalin's own order for French communists to sabotage their nation's defenses, the aid given Hitler after the occupation of Paris and the telegrams of congratulations.

Never did a conference at which so much was at stake unfold in such disorder. No question had been prepared in advance. No order of the day was followed. Each plenary session was shortened because of Roosevelt's fatigue, and ended in pointless conversations. Important matters brought up by foreign ministers and chiefs of staff were brushed off by the two greats, who had held power too long.

Roosevelt told his military advisers that they had to bring Russia into the war against Japan. This left them helpless before Stalin's blackmail, though it was obvious that Japan had already been rendered helpless by the loss of her fleet. Roosevelt, after a dozen incoherent speeches, agreed that Moscow should retake the territories Czarist colonialism had conquered in the last century. The Kuriles, half of Sakhaline, Dairen, the East Chinese railway were offered on a platter, and the stabbing of Nationalist China was made inevitable.

Seven of the plenary sessions of the conference were devoted, in whole or part, to making Poland a Russian satellite, though the war had started because of the violation of her territorial integrity and political liberty which Britain had guaranteed.

The story of the massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn woods had not yet reached the West, but the Warsaw Insurrection was well-known. In August of the preceding year Russian forces had reached the Vistula River and occupied a suburb of Warsaw. There they halted and waited six weeks, to give the Germans time to massacre the resistants, whom Stalin saw as Polish nationalists. Both America and Britain protested, but Stalin refused to let them try to supply the heroic fighters in the city.

Over 150,000 Poles had fought to atone for the pre-war errors of their country, and the exiled government in London was undoubtedly the legal government of Poland. Stalin covered it with insults and formed a communist government in Lublin which would complete the work of Katyn and of Warsaw and make Poland, like Czechoslovakia at a later date, a Russian satellite. Next he insisted that Poland's eastern border follow the Curzon line, which had been established in 1919, and this, too, Churchill had to accept in his fight for the survival of free Poland.

When the Yalta conference started, Soviet armies were completely or partly in control of Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. What Yalta did was to give Western consent to the ensuing enslavement. Roosevelt wanted to get the conference over and go home. All that mattered was Russia's entry into the war against Japan and the organization he and Alger Hiss wanted to erect. So he recognized Stalin's Lublin government and, to compensate Poland for her losses in the East, agreed to the expulsion of nine million Germans from Silesia. Their corpses would clutter the route to the West. All this for Stalin's word that Poland would be permitted to elect a legitimate government.

The Americans went home elated. They had Stalin's promise that Russia would join the United Nations. Stalin magnanimously waived his demand that each of the 16 Soviet republics have a vote and settled for three, one for the USSR, one for Byelorussia, and one for the Ukraine, as opposed to America's one.

As late as Sept. 21, 1968, the Topeka Daily Capital, of Topeka, Kansas, maintained editorially that Yalta was essentially good, that its only fault was in its betrayal by Russia. Those opposed to giving Averell Harriman an opportunity to repeat such a sell-out at another round table in the Hotel Majestic in Paris insist that Russia's bad faith should have been anticipated by intelligent and loyal negotiators from the start.

Roosevelt lived long enough to perceive that he had been double-crossed. Six weeks after Yalta, when Russia refused to permit the Polish government-in-exile to return from London, Churchill phoned him to discuss what announcement he should make in Commons. Roosevelt replied, "Minimize it as much as possible," and, on a last note of dishonesty and concealment, an hour later the President who had betrayed the West died of a cerebral hemorrhage.

The men responsible for what America did at Yalta have not all disappeared. One is again negotiating an agreement for which future generations will pay with their lives. Mr. Harriman, the man who for half a century has been Communist Russia's friend, is at a negotiating table through which yet-free Asia is already being made to pay for an American election.

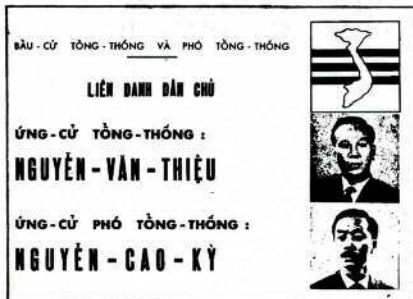
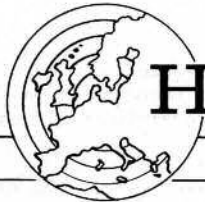
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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from H. du B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107

VIETNAM: ACT THREE, JUST BEFORE THE CURTAIN DROPS

There was no lack of indications as to how the play was meant to end. It would be through a negotiation for "peace" that would start before America went to the polls and leave sufficient time, before the rest of Asia went Red, for the hoodwinked public to forget that it was never anything but a sugar-coated surrender. It was to be accomplished by easing out of power in Saigon the man who wanted to defeat Hanoi and the Vietcong, and sliding into his place someone willing to buy a temporary appearance of tranquil well-being by taking a seed-group of Reds into the government.

Mr. Ton that Thien, now Minister of Information, wrote in the London ECONOMIST of October 2, 1965, that Major-General Edward Lansdale, the political officer turned CIA agent who had master-minded American meddling in Vietnamese internal affairs from 1954 to '56, was being sent back to Saigon for the purpose of removing Nguyen Cao Ky from power. Another Vietnamese, named Huynh Sanh Thong, published the same warning in the Yale News. Officially there was silence.

THE SITUATION AT THAT TIME: General Nguyen van Thieu, 43-years-old, a converted Catholic from Central Vietnam, former commander of the army's 2nd Corps and later Chief of Staff, held the largely ceremonial title of Chief of State. Running the country was Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky, 36, a Buddhist, born in Hanoi, trained by the French air-force in Morocco and by America in the U. S. Ky, a high-flying Air Marshall who led his own missions, was for saving lives by ending the war with military victory, and at once. Military victory was not America's objective, hence the clash with Ky. Events followed an immutable pattern.

JANUARY 16, 1967: Nine lines in U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, one of those planted "leaks," told readers that Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge was trying to talk Premier Ky out of running for office on his own "when the time comes to dissolve the military government," because "the U. S. would prefer to see civilians, not military men, running things in South Vietnam." What South Vietnam wanted or the situation demanded was inconsequential.

JANUARY 22, 1967: Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) called on Washington to kick Marshal Ky out if he refused to negotiate along our lines. Every reference made by the American press and government to the elections being touted for South Vietnam stated that the purpose was to install a civilian government, thereby planting the idea that for Ky or his partner to run would be unthinkable.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge was recalled from Saigon, and to fill his place President Johnson appointed 72-year-old Ellsworth Bunker, the Yale classmate of Dean Acheson. Bunker had been Sukarno's friend. For Sukarno he had knifed the Dutch in New Guinea in 1962. In '65 he engineered the sell-out of the anti-communist general in Santo Domingo. In '66 he had the job of persuading Saudi Arabia to cease supporting the royalists fighting Nasser's Russian-backed revolutionaries in Yemen. Bunker's son is the Ford Foundation's man in semi-Russian satellite India. But the Vietnamese knew little about this. They resented smug American claims that Lodge had been the brains behind the November 1, 1963, coup d'etat which toppled Diem and Nhu. (That date, not the anniversary of independence from France, is South Vietnam's national holiday.) Their indignation was justified. Lodge was no mental giant. His value as vice-presidential candidate, UN delegate, head of the Paris office of Atlantic Institute or ambassador to South Vietnam lay in a snob-appeal claim to pre-eminence provided by his being a Cabot and a Lodge. Had his name been Smith he could have been an insurance salesman.

Conspiracy is to Asiatics what swimming is to Hawaiians. Lodge, the labor-courting aristocrat who called right-to-work a "sanctimonious ambush," was a babe in arms alongside the Vietnamese generals with whom he was dealing. They were glad to see him go. The ominous nine lines in U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT were never brought to their attention.

HOW DID KY BECOME PRIME MINISTER IN THE FIRST PLACE? General Duong van Minh, known as "Big Minh," and five of his fellow generals shook off the American-installed Ngo Dinh family in their November 1, 1963, coup. General Hinh had tried to do so in September, 1954. General Le van Vien, leading a coalition of two religious sects and a private army, all anti-communist, made another attempt in April, 1955. His Majesty the Emperor Bao Dai called for Ngh Dinh Diem's resignation as Prime Minister a few weeks later. They were all destroyed by American agents and money for opposing the man America had selected. Being too stupid to influence events one way or the other, all Cabot Lodge did in 1963 was to mind his own business.

Big Minh lasted three months. He was followed by General Nguyen Khanh. Khanh had observed Lansdale's tolerance for the communists and phobia for the French in 1955 and figured the way to make the Americans like him was to claim the French were plotting against him. It worked for seven months. Then he was succeeded by a stooge named Nguyen Xuan Oanh whom CIA agents had discovered and sent to Harvard some fifteen years before. Oanh, partly because he was no longer Vietnamese and had all but forgotten his mother tongue, lasted six days, before Khanh made a comeback and threw him out. Tran van Huong, the mayor of Saigon (now Prime Minister) rode into power on the next crisis, stayed there for awhile and was swept out when Khanh came back for his third and last try. This time Khanh lasted a month. Now he is in exile in France, enjoying the hospitality of the people he used as a whipping boy in 1964.

A kindly, elderly engineer named Phan khac Suu became the country's next chief of state. Pham huy Quat, of the Dai Viet party and from the north, was prime minister. But Lansdale and his team had created a power vacuum by imprisoning or running out of the country every leader of stature, beginning with Vietnam's Emperor, and no civilian team could survive for long.

ENTER NGUYEN CAO KY. In June 1965, a year and seven months after "Big Minh" ended the nine and a half-year rule of the man Edward Lansdale, Mike Mansfield and our State Department had bolstered, Phan khac Suu handed the reins to Nguyen cao Ky, the aviator, and Nguyen van Thieu, the general. These were the leaders Washington decided to dump because Ky wanted victory rather than the pointless struggle of "limited war with limited means." His solution for halting Hanoi infiltration was invasion of the North. He had to go. So back to America went Cabot Lodge and to Saigon went Mr. Bunker. His Job: to find and install in Saigon's presidential palace someone willing to open the petcocks of Vietnam's ship of state and let it founder slowly, under a coalition government, in return for a year or so in power.

Off American presses rolled a flood of newsprint selling Ellsworth Bunker. A climate was being prepared in which it would be unthinkable to question Bunker's judgment or veracity. Or to permit anything but a potentially-neutralist civilian government in Saigon.

MARCH 16, 1967: "Bunker brings high expertise to Saigon," wrote William Tuohy in the Los Angeles Times. What expertise? No one bothered to ask. Three days later headlines in the same paper gushed, "Bunker expected to be advocate of reconciliation." There was no way of reconciling North Vietnam with the south save by surrender to the former. But the story by Los Angeles Times man Tom Lambert continued: "Ellsworth Bunker, newly named American ambassador to South Vietnam, can be expected to urge the forthcoming civilian government in Saigon to make more national reconciliation moves toward the Vietcong.....It might do more than bombs, bullets or American peace gestures toward North Vietnam to end the war in Southeast Asia." Certainly, voluntary surrender would be quicker than achieving victory. It is also more costly in the end.

MARCH 20, 1967: "Our New Man in Saigon" is a master in the "arts of persuasion," said a Los Angeles Times editorial. Under him, elections for a new Vietnamese president might take place as early as September, "to make the transition from military to civilian rule." The Los Angeles Times saw some possible drawbacks. "There is still some fear, for example, 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 authorities might react to a possible (but for now unforeseen) negotiated settlement of the war."

What did they mean, "a for now unforeseen negotiated settlement?" Washington had never contemplated anything else.

MARCH 23, 1967: Front pages continued to hawk Ellsworth Bunker as though he were a new kind of soap. An AP dispatch out of Moscow announced that John C. Guthrie, No. 2 man in the American embassy, had delivered a personal letter from LBJ to Ho chi Minh at the Hanoi embassy in Moscow on February 8, and called to receive a reply from the hands of Hanoi minister-counselor Le Trang on February 18. Guthrie and Ho's representative, AP stated, had met six times in Moscow between January and mid-March.

APRIL 18, 1967: Lieut-General Tran van Dung, chief of state of the army of North Vietnam, confidently announced, "The U. S. LACKS the Will to Win!" He had been encouraged by statements made by the Kennedy brothers, riots on American campuses and the rise of what he considered partisans of the Vietcong within America.

MAY 7, 1967: U. S. Delegate to the UN, Arthur Goldberg, told the world over a nation-wide TV hookup that "Military victory is not our goal in Vietnam."

IN MID-MAY KY ANNOUNCED HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE PRESIDENCY. Caught between South Vietnamese who were certain to be assassinated if the Reds got a foot in their government and the team in America's six-story, 240-room embassy on Thong Nhut Boulevard, he was to continue to waver. Over 2,400 Americans and 4,600 Vietnamese were employed in our Saigon embassy. It would be foolhardy to think that all of the Vietnamese we had taken on were trustworthy, when the men who had hired and cleared the American staff had sent Joan Baez' bosom companion, Pete Seeger, to Saigon in early 1965 to sing his songs of protest.

The full story of the behind-the-scenes pressure on Ky to pull out of the race for the presidency and stay out, or settle for a vice-presidency under Thieu, would be unbelievable, if it were ever published. Once again the key man in America's meddling in Vietnam's internal politics was our old friend General Lansdale, Suave, ingratiating, spending money when it was needed and ever reminding the righteously indignant Ky how he (Lansdale) had kept the Ngo dinh in power through the 1954 to '56 years, Lansdale, pressed the point that when the time was ripe he could do as much for Ky. Ky must wait. His time had not yet come.

"Trust me, I am your friend and I know what is best," was the Lansdale line. Ky's righthand man and chief of protocol, Nguyen phuoc Don, was warned again and again that Johnson would move heaven and earth to sell out South Vietnam via the negotiating table before the 1968 elections, but neither he nor Ky would believe it.

Back in Paris His Majesty Bao Dai, whom Lansdale in Saigon and Kenneth Todd Young in Washington had taken it unto themselves to drive from his throne in 1955, watched events unfold. Said His Majesty, "Lansdale will stop at nothing to get what he wants. If I were there the first thing I would do would be to name Ky Prime Minister; he has shown better military judgment and political acumen than any of them."

In this climate a National Assembly was set up in September, 1966, to prepare for the elections that would oust Ky and install a no-winism civilian or, if worse came to worst, General Thieu, who it was figured would be more manageable than Ky. President of the new Assembly was Phan khac Suu, the elderly engineer from whom Ky had seized power. Suu became the leading civilian candidate for the presidency. His running mate was Phan quang Dan, who was and would have remained a nonentity in Vietnamese affairs had not a CIA agent named Kenneth Taber Ripley recruited him years before

and sent him to Harvard to be groomed as a "card" for America to play on some future occasion. Thieu became President, and slowly and patiently the process of straitjacketing every leader, political and military, who might have supported Ky in a move to block a sellout, started.

THE LAST DAY OF JANUARY, 1968: Through the length and breadth of South Vietnam the enemy struck. CIA had been so busy making and unmaking politicians that American commanders had no warning of the impending attack. Saigon and Hué, seat of the old Imperial capital, were scenes of indescribable horror. Prisoners, Vietnamese, American and European alike, were thrown into mass graves and quickly covered. National police chief, Brigadier General Nguyen ngoc Loan, a close friend of Ky's, caught the leader of a terrorist unit that had massacred every prisoner it seized. The situation was fluid. Loan put a gun to the terrorist's head and shot him while he could. Our TV cameramen and press boys seemed to be working for the enemy; close-up views of General Loan shooting the Vietcong terrorist flooded America, on TV screens and front pages. They were paraded by campus subversives. Magnified out of all proportion, Loan's justified execution provided a pretext for stepping up the purging of pro-Ky officers and officials.

MAY 1968: America's elections were approaching. PARIS MATCH had carried a statement General Westmoreland made in Saigon, that "Johnson wants to win the elections, not the war." A short time later Westmoreland was out and General Creighton Abrams had his job. To get Hanoi to sit down at a table -- nothing more -- America made more than 90% of Ho chi Minh's territory and 3/4 of his population safe from bombing. Professor Herbert Marcuse, in Paris for a UNESCO meeting, seized the occasion to exhort anarchist students in the Sorbonne and encourage the Hanoi delegation in the Hotel Lutetia, after which he returned to San Diego to "educate" more students.

MAY 26, 1968: London's conservative Sunday Telegraph printed a disheartening report for any ally looking to America for protection. It was an inside story out of Washington, signed by "Mandrake."

"Liberal CIA against Vietnam war" was the heading. Europeans were told "Long ago the CIA realized that liberals, particularly in Europe and the USA, were the best and most effective anti-communists" ... However, "intensification of the Vietnam war shoved more and more soft-hearted liberals into a more and more anti-American position Since then the CIA has been waging a strenuous battle with the State Department to get the Americans out of South Vietnam." Put plainly, when CIA's beloved liberals slid to the Left, instead of abandoning the idea that they had been barriers to communism in the first place, CIA was for surrendering to the liberal-communist gang-up.

No, "CIA is not a grim reactionary octopus at all, but a sophisticated liberal organization," Mandrake told students clashing with policemen in front of American embassies. CIA was for the B.E.M. movement, "the Business Executive Move for Vietnam Peace, an anti-war group organized by Quaker Harry Niles, chairman of Baltimore Life Insurance, which held a one-day conference in Washington last week." The Sunday Telegraph story explained many things.

JUNE 4, 1968: "Students' work for Peace Praised," went the headlines to a London TIMES story out of America. Europeans were told that, according to Mayor John Lindsay of New York, it was "demonstrating students who had obliged President Johnson to retire, to embark on peace talks with North Vietnam, to curtail the bombing and reduce troop commitments and recall General Westmoreland from the Saigon command."

JUNE 13, 1968: Yale University chaplain William Sloane Coffin, Jr., was extolled by a Boston defense attorney for having "helped bring war nearer to close." Everywhere was the sad spectacle of a once-great nation rotting from within and calling for surrender. Out of the hat came Phan quang Dan, the reserve "card" CIA had groomed at Harvard for just such an occasion. Dan, dignified by the impressive but meaningless title of "Minister of State," was brought to America to tell Americans, as a cabinet member, that Saigon must negotiate with the Vietcong. This would plant the idea in the minds of Americans likely to rise up in arms at the first sign of a sell-out, that the Vietnamese themselves wanted to recognize the Vietcong and negotiate with them. It did not work. A storm of protest arose at home and forced Prime Minister Tran van Huong to disown Dan, call for his resignation and pull him home. But the purging of pro-Ky officers and officials continued.

Ky, as Vice President, had accepted Premier Huong's cabinet on condition that General Nguyen van Vy, who was known to be among those dedicated to winning the war, would remain as Defense Minister. It was a trick: General Vy remained in Defense, but his hands were tied, once Ky accepted the cabinet. One by one, Vietnamese with General MacArthur philosophies were eliminated. Lieut-General Le nguyen Khang was removed as Governor of Saigon and head of the capital military district. Then went Brigadier-General Nguyen ngoc Loan, the police chief who executed the terrorist in performance of his duty to protect the capital. With Loan went his brother-in-law, Colonel Van van Cua, who was Saigon's mayor.

JUNE 10, 1968: "South Vietnamese units are now so closely observed by American advisers," wrote Claire Hollingsworth in the London Daily Telegraph, "it would be difficult if not impossible for the Vice-President to organize a coup." South Vietnam was bound, tied and ready to deliver. Suddenly General Lansdale was brought home, long enough before the shipwreck to be able to deny any responsibility. (On October 2, 1968, he delivered an address on Vietnam at an invitation-only meeting in Room 304 of Washington's Union Station, under the sponsorship of the Co-operative Forum. Dana D. Reynolds, the consultant on "International Development Strategy," and Arthur Z. Gardiner, Executive Director of International Voluntary Services, presided. What Lansdale was selling, the public was never told.)

JULY 28, 1968: Mike Mansfield, the liberal senator from Montana who in 1955 and '56 covered the crushing of every Vietnamese man and group that opposed the leader he called his Vietnamese godson, and did so in the name of fighting communism (Harpers, January 1956), came out for including the Vietcong in the Saigon government. Mansfield demanded a halt to American bombing in the north. By September 8 he was for giving Hanoi another strip of South Vietnam territory if that would buy a face-saving gesture from the North for American Democrats facing a hard election.

IN A SAIGON OFFICE ADJOINING THAT OF GENERAL ABRAMS, THE NEW COMMANDER, sat President Johnson's friend, Robert W. Komer, with six autographed pictures of LBJ on the walls. Komer's title was Chief of Pacification. His qualifications for the job were nil. No representative of the Cao Dai sect (1,700,000 followers) ever received an invitation for a

talk. General Le van Vien, whose Binh Xuyen army had been the terror of the Reds in the Saigon area, remained ignored and in exile.

Komer, 46, was a product of Harvard. From 1947 to '61 he had been in CIA, where McGeorge Bundy found him and made him his deputy assistant in the office of presidential assistant for national security affairs. In 1966 LBJ sent him to Saigon to boss Agency of International Development parasites, U. S. Information Service hangers-on and CIA spooks -- some 5,300 payroll-clingers in all. Only an administration committed to preventing victory would have kept Komer on the job. Suicide at a green-baize table was being prepared.

JULY 11, 1968: A committee headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower sat in Washington to discuss the causes of violence in America. President Johnson had brought them together. A conclusion reached by Dr. John P. Speigel, of Brandeis University, was published: Americans give too much thought to winning and not enough to being good losers. Next day, James Reston wrote in the New York Times of the peace we would enjoy in America "if we could only understand the glories of defeat." If this wasn't ground-preparing for a sell-out in Vietnam, what was it?

AUGUST 3, 1968: "Government in Saigon Seen Moving Slowly Toward Acceptance of Role for Communists," wrote Chalmers W. Roberts in the Washington Post. Said he, "The United States has said over and over that it will not 'impose' a coalition or any other form of government on South Vietnam. But this is a smokescreen for a more subtle operation: prodding the Thieu Government in Saigon into negotiations with the Communists."

AUGUST 5, 1968: "Saigon Says More Time is Needed for Peace," Peter Braestrup told readers of the Washington Post. President Thieu, he said, "needs time to consolidate his own political base with the army and civil service. He has been moving quietly and cautiously to isolate Vice President Nguyen cao Ky, his chief political rival. Only when he has in hand the levers of power, his friends suggest, will Thieu have enough 'clout' to push harder for reform and deal more flexibly with the foe."

"Lieut-General Le nguyen Khang, one of Ky's strongest supporters, has been replaced as commander of the III Corps area, which surrounds Saigon," Braestrup continued. "Khang was replaced by Lieut-General Do cao Tri, a former ambassador to South Korea and a close ally of President Thieu, according to Associated Press."

TWO WEEKS BEFORE AMERICA'S ELECTIONS, LBJ made a last desperate move to give his party the support of voters campaigning for surrender. He stopped the bombing raids over North Vietnam. "Bombing Halt Hailed in UN," headed the story Michael Padev ran in the Indianapolis Star on November 2, 1968.

SEVEN DAYS BEFORE VOTERS DUMPED LBJ'S PARTY AT THE POLLS, Robert W. Komer was named ambassador to Turkey. He will be far from Vietnam when the collapse comes, and an ambassador for about two months.

The Washington Post was right: Saigon did need more time for "Peace" -- i.e., acceptance of an imposed coalition government. Thieu at the last minute refused to sit at the conference table with members of the Vietcong. The public behind him had not yet been sufficiently softened. They knew that nothing would be gained at the conference table which Washington had not wanted to win on the battlefield.

NOVEMBER 12, 1968: "American Aides in Saigon Resent Stand by Thieu," was how the New York Times headed its story on Thieu's refusal to sit at the conference table with the Vietcong whom he would next be requested to take into his government. That same day President-elect Nixon announced that he would back President Johnson's Vietnam policy.

NOVEMBER 13, one day later, New York's conservative DAILY NEWS avoided the word "ultimatum," but headed its story, "U. S. to Saigon: Join Parley or We Act Alone." Philip Habib, billed by Daily News Paris bureau chief, Bernard Valery, as "the American delegations No. 3 man and its top expert on Vietnam," was on his way home for a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association and top administration officials on how to put more sugar on the bitter pill.

NOVEMBER 14, 1968: "Our Existence is at Stake" went the lead editorial in the Washington Post. Put in quotation marks, it was meant to be sarcastic: Not Vietnam's existence was at stake, but the political careers of those selfish politicians.

Thieu and Ky, if Saigon were to recognize the Vietcong as representative of a segment of South Vietnam and sit down to negotiate an arrangement with them, was the tenor of the Post. Though enslaved, Vietnam would still exist. Thieu and Ky as leaders would not.

The curtain has not yet dropped, but as far as the playwrights are concerned, barring a miracle, the end has already been decided. Whether Nixon will provide the miracle remains to be seen.

One of the first telegrams of congratulations sent to him was from the Emperor Bao Dai, whom the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration had deposed through a rigged referendum. (Few knew that in 1965 Nixon requested and was granted an audience with His Majesty Bao Dai in Paris.)

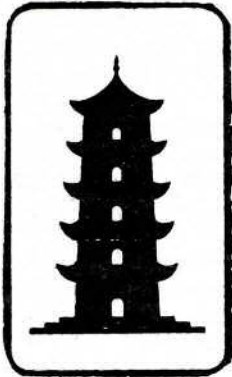
Such is the situation as of this writing.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



Dear Reader:

This first H. DU B. REPORT of 1969 is compiled in Hong Kong in the course of a four-month information search in Asia which will take your correspondent to many of the countries with which thinking Americans are concerned. As you may know, each year the July-August issue of American Opinion Magazine carries a report by your correspondent on twenty-nine Asian countries. For the past three years the question most often put to us has been "What about that road across Asia, from Afghanistan?"

This mysterious road looms large in the minds of those who do not want to see the West commit suicide. Fragments of information appear from time to time, as though by accident. Enough to let apprehensive citizens know that the project exists, that a highway over the roof of the world, capable of serving as a road-bed for a monster Red machine, is creeping to completion. Since the citizen knows from experience that neither America nor any American-led coalition of western powers is likely to use this highway to roll back the Red tide, his worst fears are more than justified. To him it is and was meant to be a one-way artery, as senseless as it would have been had the British saved Japan the trouble of cutting a path through the jungle to Singapore. Never having been given all the facts of this project by his liberal press, probably out of fear that he would start protesting, the victimized American taxpayer has gleaned three general impressions: 1. That Russians are pushing the project. 2. That America is paying for it. 3. That Russian expansionism, not brotherly understanding between the nations so linked, will be the result.

THE BASIC FACTS BEHIND THE ASIAN HIGHWAY. The man pushing it hardest behind the scenes is the UN Secretary General, U Thant of Burma. The idea of such a road was first introduced by a United Nations Agency called the "Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East" (ECAFE) in 1958. From that moment, turned over to an ECAFE sub-committee called "Highways and Highway Transport Committee," the project became a monstrous boondoggle, destined to leak money like a sieve, in vast amounts over a span of years, far enough from America that no prying eyes would cause trouble. Also pushing for the proposed highway were hard-eyed men out for world conquest rather than loot and consequently perfectly willing, since it was not their money that was being grafted, to allow the looters a free hand in return for their support. Starry-eyed do-gooders, imbued with the UN line, made up the remainder.

The stories of wanton robbery that have come out of our aid programs along the route of this projected highway would fill a library. Wheeler-dealers in Washington in debating how they were going to divide the swag, called it "cutting the melon." A man who had been barred from government contracts because of a graft scandal some years before managed to edge his way back to the trough by becoming a director of a company handling government contracts. Then the company's president became a foreign aid official and sent his erstwhile blackballed associate to India. In order to see his New York girl-friend for one weekend, the rehabilitated contractor in India persuaded a group of melon-cutters in Washington that a pending deal would go through if they would buy a round-the-world plane ticket for the niece of a certain general handling foreign aid in Afghanistan. The general had no idea of the lady's existence or the round-the-world plane ticket, new luggage and expensive camera on which his good will was supposed to be contingent. But the melon-cutters came through.

This is only a sample. Consider the scrambling among friends of politicians when there is a chance to construct a bridge in America. Then imagine the opportunities which resourceful Asiatics and westerners, working with and against each other, have been able to come up with in a project to build a highway that will cover 34,500 miles and link the countries of Asia, from Saigon in South Vietnam to Teheran, in Iran.

COMMITTEES AND SUB-COMMITTEES WENT TO WORK. It was a sight that would have delighted Mr. Parkinson. Money-dispensers estimated that the project would cost at least \$1,100 million (U. S.), which is to say that the total bill will be two or three times that much. The work is under the aegis of United Nations, thereby providing a triumph for the world body. In the actual construction ECAFE supervises the job, aided by an advisory organ of UN parentage called the INTERNATIONAL ROAD FEDERATION. Of the \$1,100 million (U.S.) that the road will cost, the American government agreed to pay \$600 million out of foreign aid. The "Asian Highway countries" -- most of whose contributions would come from the American taxpayer -- would supply the rest.

ECAFE's multi-million dollar seat in Bangkok is the headquarters of the grandiose project, and twelve Asian countries are as of now due to be linked by what is called "the Priority Route A-1." This, as the name suggests, indicates that other routes, similarly financed but with UN getting the credit and aggressive Red nations eventually the use, will follow. Running from Kabul to the Khyber Pass and thence toward Southeast Asia, "Priority Route A-1" is designed to provide a rapid transportation artery through Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Iran, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, South Vietnam, Ceylon and Thailand, if communist guerrillas and native bandits permit. Burma and Cambodia were among the original signatories of the scheme, and both are essential links to the highway as it was planned. Particularly Burma, whose span would connect the Indian sub-continent with Southeast Asia. Both backed out in 1967. One reason given was that Peking regarded the highway as an imperialist plan to encircle Red China. Another was that the Burmese government admitted its inability to guarantee the safety of highway builders or travelers in areas bordering jungles where communist guerrillas are active.

Taiwan and the Philippines asked the Permanent Bureau for the Asian Highway, as the Bangkok head office is called, to let them in on the project, but were turned down because of ocean distances dividing them from the Asia mainland. Brunei, which is on the island of Borneo and equally distant from the mainland, is for some reason, about to be included.

ONE WORLDISM REMAINS THE GOAL. The theme constantly harped upon by the one-worlders in UN (which in 1968, to sell itself, turned out 526 million printed pages of propaganda weighing 1,738 tons) is that comfortable, air-conditioned buses will contribute to understanding and the elimination of national boundaries by whisking passengers over the roof of the world and from continent to continent.

At the fourth session of the "Asian Highway Co-ordinating Committee," which met in Bangkok in late November, 1968, representatives of countries that denounced the West at the Bandoeng Conference, a little over a decade ago, decided that these buses, which the West will furnish, will be fitted with the latest telecommunication equipment and be capable of traveling at high speeds. Salaries and printing bills for the tier on tier of committees growing fat on this boondoggle must be colossal. Obviously the upkeep of 34,500 miles of Asian highway through countries plagued with bandits and rebels, and the servicing of air-conditioned, radio-telephone-equipped buses that will roll over them, driven and maintained by often-careless natives of the Asian countries concerned, is going to cost a tidy sum. To create enthusiasm for the project, the 25th Session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which is to meet in Singapore in April, will consider holding a motor rally later in the year between Vientiane, Laos, and Singapore -- this despite the fact that as this is written the only relatively safe way of going from one city to another in Laos is by plane. Another rally is planned for 1970, starting in Europe and ending in Singapore. The proposed rallies require another committee.

Disregard the glowing verbiage about increasing understanding and removal of nationalistic barriers and what emerges is a clear picture of another step forward in UN's one-worldism dream. To the agitators who fanned revolution in Europe's colonies by fostering nationalism, the way to destroy nationalism in countries now independent is to create drifting populations, moving from country to country and loyal to none. Cheap bus-fares in air-conditioned vehicles is seen as a way to lure them. Highways are a prerequisite for the buses. Road maintenance "specialists," bus salesmen and manufacturers of spare parts will have a heyday.

As the ASIAN HIGHWAY CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE now has the network laid out on paper, the European highway network will link up with the Asian chain at the borders of Turkey and Iran. The Middle East highway will join the Asian thoroughfare at the borders of Iran and Iraq. Chances that America or any western combine, not resolute enough to go out for victory in a winnable war in Vietnam, will ever use a mile of these graft-ridden road constructions to move armies eastward in defense of themselves are nil. That communist guerrilla actions and succeeding revolutions will combine banditry with sabotage along vast stretches may be taken for granted. Likelihood that waves of Reds will eventually roll westward on them is certain enough to make America's financing of the project under existing conditions as sensible as it would have been for Europeans to provide a transport system from Mongolia to Vienna for Genghis Khan. Yet support for the project is tremendous.

Aside from lobbyists for those who stand to make something on it, idealists who feel that they are improving the world, and communists clearing a route for the final advance, the body most active in giving the Asian highway its momentum is still UN. Here the conviction reigns that an unobstructed road across Asia, linking with similar chains traversing Europe and the Middle East, will provide the cords which will bind a UN-packaged world. Supporting the one-worlders is Soviet Russia, with her bloc of African, Asiatic and Eastern European votes. Looming on the horizon is Red China.

THE CHINESE THREAT. Though Peking hypocritically professes to see the Asian highway plan as a move of encirclement, in practice she would be the first to profit by it. For an idea of the importance of the signal service U Thant and his layers of American-supported committees are rendering to Peking, a cursory glance at existing situations along "Priority Route A-1" is all that is necessary. First we must bear in mind that opening of this road will coincide with Britain's withdrawal from Singapore. Peking's propaganda

and trade offensive will be stepped up accordingly and, at this moment, no few anti-communist Asiatics are studying Peking's methods elsewhere as a means of anticipating what lies ahead. The Red Chinese spider-web extending over Western Europe, with its center in the Peking embassy in Berne, interests Asiatics far less than what Peking is doing in the East. Albania, being on the fringe of Europe, is of importance. On November 28, 1968, the anniversary of Albania's liberation in World War II, Peking announced a grandiose project for setting up new industries in Albania. Presumably they will be factories for the manufacture of arms, ammunition and military items. This could be the western claw of the Chinese pincer movement.

In Tanzania's offshore islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, the aggressiveness of Peking stands out in contrast to the vacillation of the West. Among Zanzibar's 140,000 inhabitants Peking has set up her principal training center for Biafran and Tanzanian guerrillas. Over a thousand Chinese are estimated to be attached to the Chinese consulate in Zanzibar, with still more in the smaller island of Pemba. Chinese ships calling regularly at Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam and Beira take the more promising recruits to China for advanced military training and load Rhodesian chrome ore, for hardening steel essential to the manufacture of arms and munitions. Some of this chrome undoubtedly comes back in the form of weapons and ammunition to be used against Rhodesia by Kenneth Kaunda's terrorists operating out of Tanzania. Rhodesia's sale of chrome ore to Peking is necessitated by the sanctions imposed by UN. Meanwhile, energetic rice-growing projects being pushed by Peking agents in Zanzibar indicate preparations for a Chinese influx amounting to occupation in the future.

Manila, gripped with lawlessness and pessimism, is contemplating closer ties with Red China. General Carlos Romulo, the new Foreign Secretary of the Philippines, was informed before he took office on January 2, 1969, that Canada would move closer to Red China under the Trudeau government, and that Senator Russell (Dem. Georgia) would join the list of American senators pushing for recognition of Red China. Hong Kong probably provides the best example of how Red Chinese diplomats will operate, once they are admitted to countries where the principal ingredient for trouble exists -- to wit, a large Chinese population and inefficiency as the Europeans depart.

THE PATTERN OF CHINESE SUBVERSION IN HONG KONG. It starts in the schools. At present twenty-six Chinese communist schools and middle schools exist in Hong Kong, Kowloon and the territory administered by Britain. Peking has ordered that the number be increased. Anticipating a British refusal of permits for the opening of new schools, after the anti-British disturbances of 1967 and '68, the drive is for permission to open more branches for the existing schools. It is an operation that those who opposed barring communist teachers and professors in America would do well to study. The Chung Wah School, now known as the bomb school since British police found that bombs were being made and stored there during the riots of 1967, recently provided a girl agitator who posed as a worker while paying strikers to block Labor Department efforts to end a strike. From the schools and middle schools come the militants who will fan out into jobs.

In the transport field it was recently discovered that communist cells had painted yellow marks on the front and rear of communist owned and communist-driven trucks. Communist taxi drivers had put yellow paint around the shiny hub-caps on their wheels. Communist banks provide loans for Reds wishing to buy small trucks or taxis and set themselves up in the transport business. When they are established, they serve as propaganda movers, message-bearers between cadre leaders and trouble-makers harassing the authorities. If one of the yellow-marked vehicles is stopped by police for a traffic violation, comrades recognize the halted car as one of their own and flock to the "persecuted" driver's assistance. In a matter of minutes a surly crowd is collected. Red infiltration, at the point to which Peking agents have developed it, will soon turn the American-financed Asian highway, when it is opened, into the greatest channel for treason and subversion on earth, whatever the folders put out by UN may say about contributing to peace and understanding.

THE BOSSES OF PEKING'S TROUBLE CENTERS. Who are the men who exercise initiative on the spot or implement the directives that come down from the faceless trouble-planners in Red China? What sort of men are they? How secure are their jobs? Here again Hong Kong provides the best example of the genus "Peking boss abroad" at work. Because of its size and the thoroughness of British services on the spot we have a clear picture of what goes on in the countries of Asia on a larger scale.

During World War II a communist guerrilla force known as the "East River Column" operated in the Hong Kong area. Its prime mission: to build up a reputation with the British and Americans as valuable allies against the Japanese by bringing escapees from Kong Kong safely to Chungking. The Deputy Political Commissar of this column was a Cantonese Red named Chi Fung, who after the Red takeover appeared in the Information Bureau in Peking. Back in Hong Kong Mao Tse-tung's regional cell was already implanted. At its head was one of his important underground leaders, a ruthless agent named Pan Han-nien. Pan laid the groundwork; then he was moved to Shanghai as Deputy Mayor until one day a group of Mao's henchmen closed in and arrested him on charges of being a member of the "Anti-Party Alliance" which Jao Su-shih was accused of having set up. The whole thing may have been a trumped-up charge. In any case, the doors of Mao's

prison in Shanghai clanged shut behind Mr. Pan and he has never been heard of since.

On Pan's promotion to the Deputy Mayor's office in Shanghai, his old post in Hong Kong was taken over by a man from North Kiangsu named Dr. Chao Kuan-hwa. In Hong Kong, as elsewhere among Mao agents, Peking's press service, the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY is a favorite cover. It was Dr. Chao who opened the NCNA in Hong Kong, and as head of the news agency he automatically became chief of the secret affairs section of the Peking "United Front" organization. Apparently both Mao and the military were satisfied with his job, because Chao went from Hong Kong to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Peking where, despite Red Guard terrorizing of many of his former comrades, he is still in favor. Chao was succeeded in Hong Kong by a subversion and intelligence specialist named Chang Tih-sun, from Fukien province. By all accounts Chang did an excellent job, from Peking's viewpoint, in getting Taiwan officials to defect, but his downfall came when he stirred up a tramway drivers' strike which failed. Forgotten were the Formosa officials he had drawn into his web. Overnight Chang disappeared, as though the earth had swallowed him, and into his place moved a Peking Intelligence Bureau chief whom the British deported and whom Peking then dispatched to Indonesia to join the team forming around Sukarno.

The next Peking "boss" to be installed in the Crown Colony was a man of importance. His name was Wu Tih-chou and though, officially, he was editor of a comparatively unimportant Red paper called the Wen Wei Pao, he was really Deputy Secretary of the party for the whole Hong Kong-Macao area, and he remained in Hong Kong until 1960, when Chi Fung, the old wartime Deputy Political Commissar of the "East River Column," who had built up credit with British Intelligence and America's OSS by spiriting refugees through the Jap lines, took over where he had left off some thirteen years before. His predecessor, Wu Tih-chou, is reported to be in prison in Peking, on charges that he cannot prove that his membership in the party is genuine. The interesting thing about this long list of Maoist bosses in Hong Kong, each apparently as diligent a fomenter of trouble as the others, is that six of them were assigned to the post in thirteen years. Of the five who preceded the present boss, two are known to have been thrown into prison, the fate of two others is unknown, and one is in the ministry of Foreign Affairs. Career-wise, being a Peking subversion chief holds no promising future.

Of the lot, the most powerful is undoubtedly Chi Fung, the East River Column's old Deputy Political Commissar, who has ridden the storm through all the ups and downs of Chinese politics since 1960. His return to Hong Kong was on the express recommendation of Chou En-lai. Officially he is only Deputy Manager of the New China News Agency (NCNA); actually he is head of the "United Front" movement for the Hong Kong-Macao area, and as such in complete charge of penetrating enemy organizations and softening up all opponents. He is Branch Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party's "Hong Kong and Macao Overseas Unit," and one of the few men who can still report directly to Chairman Mao, to Premier Chou En-lai, to the Military Affairs Commission (which means to Lin Piao, Mao's heir, himself) and to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chi Fung is about 55 years old today. He is a quiet man, of medium build and married to a woman who is also Cantonese. They have three children. Chi Fung is not a fist-shaking, red book-waving type of communist. He is rather a quiet man who shuns publicity and believes that lulling the West is a better way of making headway than throwing everything into headline-making riots. In mid-1967, when the Red labor unions tried to seize power in Hong Kong, after the line currently being followed in China, it was Chi Fung who promptly got a telegram of authority from Chou En-lai and brought them to heel. He is reported to have had a hand in quieting the storm in Macao also. Obviously his methods have been successful. Did not the New York Times of November 29, 1968, tell us "PEKING SHOWING NEW FLEXIBILITY..... Concern for World Opinion seen in offer to U. S.?" The "offer" mentioned was a brief note to the effect that Peking and American representatives might meet again in Warsaw on February 20.

American benefits from the Warsaw meetings have been nil. What Peking derived from them was what she wanted most: assurance that America would approve no military operation against the mainland by Taiwan. The hands of Army Chief Lin Piao were left free to crush Mao's enemies at home and continue to aid Hanoi.

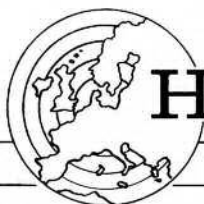
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THE FACES OF VIETNAM



This report is written from Saigon, a city of many faces. Among those not preoccupied with the problems of mere existence spreads a growing bewilderment. President Nguyen van Thieu long expressed the conviction that America could not be planning to pull out during a respite bought by making Saigon take the Vietcong into the government -- it would be against America's interests.

Now a doubt is beginning to appear. It has not yet reached the point where an American conservative might ask, without being laughed at, "What makes you think, Mr. President, that the leaders who decided on a policy of no-winism in Vietnam were thinking even remotely of America's interests?" That seemingly anti-communist America might have in high places men dedicated to the enemy's ideology is inconceivable, or that men on whom the world's future depends might buy personal victory at the polls at the price of America's defeat in the world.

Hanoi is a city of a single face -- a single voice. Hanoi wants the Americans out of South Vietnam and a government there of Hanoi's choosing -- a government in which communists, supported by a murderous underground network, will dominate non-communist elements at will. Hanoi is willing to compromise a little on America's pullout. The difference of a year or two is unimportant. Hanoi expects to win by wearing down our will, while Americans within America press their government to yield.

As morale crumbles in Saigon with America's advance toward a sellout, fighting increases in northern Thailand. Saigon knows that only a winism war in South Vietnam can prevent another no-winism war in Thailand and another and another, until all Asia is enslaved.

Our fighting men on airbases and in isolated outposts and with the Seventh Fleet at sea are forbidden to speak their thoughts. All are helpless crew-members aboard a ship which inepts or traitors on the bridge are heading for the rocks, convinced that this is what the passengers want -- or ought to have.

The Vietnamese of whom we shall speak have no way of reaching you. They do not know whom to appeal to in America, or how. And you do not know whom to send encouragement to, in South Vietnam, or how to reach them.

PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU, as we pointed out in H. du B. Reports of November-December, 1968, was grudgingly accepted as a presidential candidate by American political agents in Vietnam only as a last resort, when it became apparent that it was impossible to install a civilian team. President Thieu, we made clear, was regarded as more manageable than Nguyen cao Ky, who made no secret of his determination that the war should be won. Once in office, the soft-spoken, smiling General Thieu became harder to handle than had been anticipated, which is to say that Vietnamese patriots made themselves heard and he refused to go along with our plans to buy a peaceful exit permit from Hanoi by foisting Hanoi's men on his government.

Far East TV programs of December 20, in a broadcast worth millions of dollars to the Vietcong, showed Senator McGovern smearing Vice President Ky as a Benedict Arnold who sold out his country to the French -- because he had not fought for Ho chi Minh! Thus an American senator parroted the Red line that anyone who does not fight for Ho is a traitor.

In a fury of frustrated rage Defense Secretary Clark Clifford lashed out at the Saigon government for "stalling" while American boys were dying. (TIME, December 27, 1968). This from one of the men who condemned thousands of American boys to death by completely halting the bombing which gave them some protection.

Your correspondent chatted with President Thieu at his reception in the presidential palace on February 6. The president of South Vietnam had no way of knowing that hundreds of thousands of Americans who have no voice in our press are ready to support him. How then are Americans going to bridge the Pacific and get their encouragement to him? One way is to write a letter to his friendly close associate, Colonel Lam, Press Director to the Presidency, 1 Le quy Don, Saigon. It will go directly to President Thieu's desk.

THE PRESENT LINE OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT THIEU AND THE AMERICAN IN THE STREET is through a distorting filter: the press. It is another of the faces of Saigon. There were some 500 people in the Klieg-light-heated hall of the Presidential Palace on February 6. A New York Times man and a CBS television correspondent wanted to know if the President was going to keep his pledge of "one man-one vote," and if the President considered it democratic to threaten a clamp-down on a monk who was expressing pro-Vietcong sentiments. The questions put to the President were trivial. Never was the vital question of defeat or victory brought up, or what Henry Cabot Lodge might do in Paris. On everyone's mind was the January 17 interrogation of Mr. Lodge by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Lodge told the committee, "I don't think I'm a hard-liner. You can't be a hard-liner if you have always said a military solution (which is Washingtonese for victory) is not possible. This is what I've always said since I've been associated with the Vietnamese question."

What sort of defender of South Vietnam's interests or ours at the negotiating table is that -- a man who tells the enemy in advance that he has always thought we could not win. That being the case, all Hanoi has to do is stand firm, thereby leaving the already defeated negotiator to choose between surrender at the Hotel Majestic table or on the battlefield in Vietnam.

After President Thieu and Vice President Ky, the man immediately concerned with Vietnam's relations abroad and her support or lack of support at the Paris negotiating table is Prime Minister Tran van Huong. At the top of his ministries is the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS is at No. 6 Alexandre de Rhodes, in Saigon, a wide boulevard named after the priest who introduced catholicism to Indo-China. To whom would an American write, if he wanted to ask for information, or tell this ministry of his opposition to a sellout of Vietnam at the negotiating table?

The two young men most proficient in English, interested in what is written and thought by Americans and close to the Foreign Minister in Saigon, are Mr. Luu danh Du, Director of Press and Information for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Tran cao Luan, the ministry's third secretary. If you were to tell them the whole grim story of how Otto Otepka tried to investigate highly placed officials denounced as Red agents in our government, and how, instead of the suspected officials being investigated Mr. Otepka was ousted, they would find it hard to believe you.

Yet if you ask them why they do not denounce, if they cannot silence, Mr. Tran van Dinh, they will avoid a direct reply. Tran van Dinh is a Washington Vietnamese whom the American Friends (Quakers) have passed off as an ambassador and sent throughout America, making pro-Ho chi Minh speeches while the negotiations are going on. They will reply, "He was never an ambassador." Unexpressed is the thought in every Vietnamese mind: Tran van Dinh would never have been permitted to brief reserve officers in the Pentagon or tour America making treasonable speeches if high persons in CIA were not behind him. Yet, so great is the lack of communications between Vietnamese and American anti-communists, to them it is inconceivable that there might be a relation between the muzzling of Otto Otepka in Washington and the flagrant subversive activity of Tran van Dinh. The only way the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has of explaining its policies abroad or selling its point of view is through the Ministry of Information.

THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION is located at 170 Phan dinh Phung street. Its recently resigned ex-minister is Mr. Ton that Thien who, as correspondent for the London ECONOMIST, reported on October 2, 1965, that the reason Major-General Edward Lansdale was being sent back to Saigon was to remove Prime Minister Nguyen cao Ky from power. (H. du B. REPORTS, November-December, 1968)

The present Minister is a fine, no-nonsense soldier named Nguyen ngoc An, who is also Minister of Open Arms, the program to encourage Vietcong and North Vietnamese desertions. His Assistant for Administrative Affairs, Mr. Nguyen xuan Hue, speaks English fluently, as does Mr. Hue's assistant. The job of this ministry is to deal with the press in Saigon and make Saigon's policies and views known abroad through press attaches appointed to Vietnamese embassies.

There is a great deal of difference between the duties of this ministry and America's U. S. Information Service. When we were destroying an anti-communist named Tshombe in the Congo, to please a pro-Red named Mobutu; crushing enemies of the Ngo dinh family in Vietnam, and backing communist terrorists in Algeria, our USIS was regarded abroad as half intelligence service, half propaganda agency. As set up under the Eisenhower administration by Arthur Larsen, who has since thrown off any pretense of being anything but the enemy of all persons to the right of Walter Reuther, the USIS became a ponderous machine designed to sell Americans on policies decided upon behind closed doors by faceless officials, rather than to improve America's image around the world.

The Ministry of Information's job is not easy. Beneath it the ground is rumbling as Vietnamese language papers, such as a recently suppressed daily owned by the ex-police chief, General Nguyen ngoc Loan, whom our press and television smeared for shooting a terrorist during last year's Tet offensive, strike out at the Americans in reply to high-handed acts of ours.

Relations with American correspondents are not always smooth. An AP correspondent in Saigon insists that we did quite right by setting up Ho chi Minh after World War II. "We had to run out the French," he will tell you. On being reminded that kicking our allies out of their colonies and bringing communists in was as senseless as our 1955 knifing of the anti-communist Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects, he replies, "They weren't anti-communists; they were brigands. And the only reason they fought the communists was because they had a deal with the French."

His Excellency Nguyen ngoc An indignantly observed, "That's a lie. I am a Cao Dai and we could have protected Tay Ninh."

Because of the power of political life and death which press and TV correspondents wield by being able to decide, without a restraining hand from anyone, what millions of Americans are going to read and hear, many have become arrogant tyrants, their evaluations shaped by professors and journalists formed in the Roosevelt years. Some are treated with more respect than others, such as the Los Angeles Times' man in Saigon, who is preceded by a whisper, "Be careful, he is Dean Rusk's brother-in-law."

THE ASIAN PEOPLE'S ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE. Part of the war in Vietnam is the propaganda war against communism by which the Ministry of Information tries as best it can to mobilize the support of anti-communists abroad. Two fronts, the ASIAN PEOPLE'S ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (APACL) and its subsidiary organization, the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (WACL), are the ministry's principal arms in this project.

Originally the Vietnam chapter of the APACL was set up as a public relations front for the brothers, Diem and Nhu. It was used to sell Vietnam's ruling family to the American Right as anti-communists, while labor unions, leftist writers and the NEW LEADER, the official organ of the AFL-CIO, sold them to the American Left as socialists.

Almost three years ago a wider front, the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (WACL) was formed and there is no reason to believe that the two are not now trying to do the job which the public is told they are doing. It is true, however, that they are still stuck with many of the "delegates" the old public relations front took up. Some of those brought to Saigon last December were valid leaders, others were not. Officials directing the two organizations have no way of weeding out the free-loaders who are using them. The problem is to reach solid people with followings in other countries who can be of use.

The APACL has chapters in a number of Asian nations. In Formosa it is headed by Mr. Ku Cheng-kang and its office is at 1707 Chung Cheng Road, Taipei, Taiwan Republic of China. The Saigon chapter is at 122 Hong thap Tu, under the chairmanship of Dr. Phan huy Quat, who until Marshal Nguyen cao Ky seized power in June 1965 was Prime Minister of South Vietnam. He may be reached through P. O. Box 575, in Saigon.

It is well to remember, in studying the anti-communist struggle, that socialists are also marxists, and when a socialist or one of Walter Reuther's labor delegates -- Irving Brown, for instance -- puts on a breast-beating show of anti-communist militancy, what they are really doing is trying to win the support of those they are both out to destroy in their strictly family fight. There is opposition, but within the framework of two marxist factions competing for power. When communists launch an attack on our free enterprise system, which they refer to as capitalism, the socialists are their allies. This explains the ferocity with which socialists and communists together tear the non-socialist anti-Red to shreds, and see that the opposition to communism is named by themselves.

From December 16 to 20, 1968, over a hundred invited guests converged on Saigon for the second conference of the WCAL and the 14th conference of the APACL. The traveling expenses of many of them and the hotel expenses of all were paid by the Ministry of Information, through the APACL.

Representing France was Madame Suzanne Labin, whom Steve Allen, of the American television Left, praises in his book, "Letter to a Conservative," as the sort of socialist who should be running the anti-communist fight. The "Dictionnaire de la Politique Francaise" (published by Henry Coston, 27 rue de l'Abbe Gregoire, Paris VI, 1088 pages, \$21 including postage) lists Madame Labin as a "militant socialist." In THE WANDERER of February 24, 1966, Madame Labin indignantly denied charges that the Vietnamese government had ever given her a free trip to Saigon. "My travel expenses were covered," she said, "not by the Vietnamese government but by the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, which invites me every year to its congresses."

"That money comes from us," exclaimed Assistant Minister Nguyen xuan Hue in the Ministry of Information, on February 6, 1969.

Sitting in a seat reserved for the delegate from the United States when the December congress ended was a Chicago sponsor of Madame Labin who in 1957 was barred from practicing law in Illinois because of his communist record, as files of the Illinois Bar Association will attest.

At present the Vietnamese most determined to rid the APACL and WACL of socialists using the Ministry of Information as a vehicle, and unknown quantities presenting letterheads printed by themselves as proof that they have effective organizations behind them, is General Ton that Dinh. Elected to South Vietnam's senate in last year's elections and also publisher of a newspaper, he is likely to plan an important role in shaping events in the months ahead.

GENERAL TON THAT DINH (pronounced Ton taaht deen) was military governor of Saigon at the time of the November 1, 1963, coup d'etat which deposed the Ngo dinh brothers, Diem and Nhu. On his adherence to the group of generals under General Minh (Big Minh) plotting the coup its success depended. Associated with him now in publishing the daily CONG LUAN is another of the November 1, 1963, plotters, General Tran van Don. General Don's account of the coup, the reasons behind it and the assassination of Diem and Nhu, against formal orders, by a man whose family had been tortured by Nhu's police, is to be found in the April 18, 1968, issue of the Paris weekly MINUTE, (12 rue du Croissant, Paris 2).

It is unlikely that any American conservative knows the name and address of a single South Vietnamese senator. Should an American wish to send information to Senator Ton that Dinh, for either his paper or his fight on the senate floor, he may be addressed in care of the Senate, Hoi Truong Hong Palace, Ben Chuong Duong, Saigon, Republic of South Vietnam.

THE PHENOMENON OF SAIGON THINKING is a subject that would fill a book. Seldom is the man in the street's assessment of cause and effect behind America's decisions correct. America as a whole is seen as ferociously anti-communist, our no-winism policy notwithstanding. How can one reproach Dr. Phan huy Quat for the sort of people he brings to Saigon on the Ministry of Information's money, to attend the APACL and WACL's conferences? Vietnamese have no way of knowing who can help them in America and who cannot.

Vaguely they know that, once out of Asia, the Americans will never come back. There is no suspicion that feeding boys into a no-win war, year after year, might have been to make war appear more horrible than it is -- to prove irrefutably that war settles nothing -- which is true if those pretending to wage war prevent its settling anything. It has not yet dawned on the Vietnamese that a possible reason for letting young soldiers die in a struggle they were not permitted to win might have been to convince American boys that wars settle nothing, and so make them refuse to take up arms some day in defense of themselves, much

less Asians on the other side of the world. There has been a relentless drive to smear anyone who might put such thoughts in our allies' heads.

The day after President Thieu's press conference of February 6, the Pacific Edition of Stars and Stripes was open on the desks of Saigon officials at a page featuring a story in which Bob Considine tore Robert Welch and the John Birch Society to shreds for questioning the integrity of such Nixon appointees as Henry Kissinger. (Stars & Stripes, Pacific Edition, APO 96503, San Francisco.)

If the journal of America's fighting men brands America's leading anti-communist a kook and his society a bunch of lunatic extremists, who then are the Vietnamese going to trust? It would do no good to tell Saigon ministers and their secretaries that Mr. Considine was doing a hatchet job. They would want to know why he did it and why Stars & Stripes published it. One way to penetrate the wall of blank incomprehension would be to reprint Bob Considine's column of October 17, 1956, "INSIDE STATE DEPARTMENT - Indo-China Payoff." Here Americans were told that through our brilliant policies in Southeast Asia the war against communism had been won and a perfect Vietnam state, happy prosperous and permanent, was in place. Vietnamese know personally and only too well that the opposite was the case, but this now-discredited account is never going to reach a Saigon desk.

THE INSULATION PROCESS. Part of the tragedy of the downhill road in Vietnam is the ruthlessness with which an insidious machine effectively cuts the Vietnamese off from any American who arrives with a message of support, or desire to put Vietnamese officials in touch with Americans who might raise voices in their behalf. Silently wheels are set in motion to close doors and cut him off. Those he talks to are frightened out of a second encounter through an ominous warning that he is being followed. Why, they never know.

If he reflects that American meddlers had no business exposing Saigon and Cholon to communist attack by crushing General Le van Vien's private Binh Xuyen army, which protected the capital, a rumor is spread that he is being paid by the Binh Xuyen. If he states that whether Vietnam had an emperor or not was Vietnam's affair, and not that of a faceless group within State Department, those he talks to will receive a warning that he working for the ex-Emperor. Every sort of intimidation is used.

One of the best examples of this sort of thing is to be found in George S. Schuyler's touching article on his daughter, Philippa, in American Opinion Magazine of March, 1969. Here George told how subordinates in the American embassy did everything possible to speed her departure from Vietnam, how Philippa was followed all over the country in a way to which no other correspondent was exposed, before her untimely death.

"Numerous efforts were made to hamper her reportorial work and spy on her," her father wrote. Philippa was a dedicated anti-communist who did not hesitate to tell the Vietnamese what American policy in Vietnam had been since the Roosevelt regime. "The purpose of war is to win," she insisted. "Tactics which wear out the active potential of the fighting man generate futility." The patriots of Vietnam had to be prevented from learning that there are Americans who feel like this, so Philippa was insulated by a cordon of warnings and watchers.

To counter this sort of blackout one must know who is behind it. That one never precisely learns. The American embassy? Vietcong sympathizers? Entrenched officials, identifying some game of their own with what is good for the country? No one knows. It is a cloud that closes around and behind such people as Philippa. It would recede for a certain distance if she attempted to touch it, then close in when she withdrew her hand.

TO SUM IT UP: Only if Americans who oppose handing Asia over to the Reds through a coalition government in South Vietnam get together with Vietnamese who feel the same way can the Red tide be stopped. The first step toward getting together must be a move to halt the drive to keep you apart.

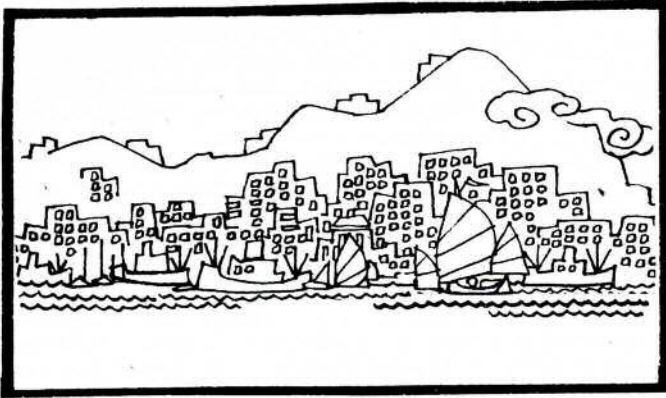
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A TRUE STORY FROM KONG KONG

It would take a book to hold everything we would like to put in this issue, which ends the eleventh year of H. DU B. REPORT'S existence. We could start with a conversation in Tokyo in which CIA and ASIA FOUNDATION, the organization whose thirteen field representatives are regarded and tolerated as CIA operatives, came up. The San Francisco-based "cover" foundation was set up in 1954 with a strong smell of the now infamous INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS about it. In fact, old IPR President, J. Wallace Sterling, of Stanford University, is a trustee and among his colleagues are Ellsworth Bunker, presently on leave as

ambassador to South Vietnam; Caryl Haskins, President of Carnegie Institute; Grayson Kirk of Columbia University; Walter Mallory, former Executive Director of the Council on Foreign Relations; and Harvard's petitioner for a coalition government in South Vietnam, Professor Edwin O. Reischauer, who is also a veteran of the IPR.

"Kennedy sent Reischauer to Tokyo to open a dialogue with the Japanese Left," the well-informed gentleman with whom we were speaking observed. "What America gained by it no one has ever been able to understand. Since America's friends in Japan are on the Right, it should be self-evident that encouraging and strengthening the Japanese Left could only hasten the defeat of America's friends. He (Reischauer) was a Japanophile who thought Japan could do no wrong. His Japanese wife was a better American than he was. His close relationship with the Japanese Left led to the stepping up of student demonstrations against anything Reischauer did not like. They, with his complicity or not, became his arm against the war in Vietnam, American bases in Japan and retention of Okinawa. If America were to pull out of Vietnam tomorrow, dismantle her bases and give Okinawa back to the Japs, they would find something else to yell about. The anti-American demonstrations really have nothing to do with Vietnam or Japanese bases or Okinawa; these are only pretexts in a Red war against America."

Then there was a conversation with an airline captain which must be repeated for the insight it gives into what the men holding the fate of planes full of passengers think as they wing their way over the China Sea. "I shudder every time I read of another hi-jacking to Cuba," he said. "I wish the papers wouldn't write about them. For someday it has to happen -- some nut is going to take it into his head to make a big story by coming up front and ordering us to head for Red China. When it happens, if I'm the man in the seat I know what I'm going to do."

SAIGON. Secretary of Defense Laird went there and returned with a gem of wisdom: If Americans were to pull out, the South Vietnamese would not be able to stand alone, said he. Of course they would not, Mr. Laird. During the period when Mike Mansfield was approving the destruction of religious forces and regional leaders who refused to accept the leader he and Justice Douglas had "elected" for South Vietnam between themselves, at a luncheon one day in Washington (See HARPERS, January 1956), we swept the table clean of the men and groups who formed a barrier to the Reds. The sensible thing to do, Mr. Laird, would be to start building them up again. After he had cleared the field for Hanoi and the Vietcong, Mike Mansfield decided America should pull out. Unfortunately, Mr. Laird was never permitted to talk to anyone in Saigon who might have told him these things, or who might have confronted him with an unpalatable reality: Sending boys against an enemy that kills, and telling them they must not try to win because our aim is to discourage the enemy, not defeat him, teaches the enemy only one thing: Namely, that patience pays. Hold out long enough and TIME Magazine and Mike Mansfield will convince America that we cannot win. This is the only lesson we have taught.

SINGAPORE. Again, a book could be written on Singapore and the rabble-rousing Chinese Prime Minister who your press would have you believe has seen the light and become a conservative anti-communist, now that he is faced with the reality of Chinese expansionism and British withdrawal by the end of 1971.

Lee Kuan-yew, known as Harry Lee, dominates the 224-square-mile city state through his extreme Left Peoples' Action Party (PAP). Powerless and serving only as a sop to Singapore's Malaysian minority is President Yussaf, whom Lee humiliates in public. Behind the arrogant Chinese Prime Minister but ever-present, even on formal occasions, is the unkempt, unshaven, coatless and tie-less Britisher, Alex Josey, who serves as a combination "gray eminence" and local Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. So disturbing are Josey's red record and actions to Singapore's anti-communist neighbors, Josey is barred from entering Malaysia when Lee Kuan-yew goes to Kuala Lumpur to visit the sumptuous home he bought there. Whether his home was acquired as a place of potential refuge if his own policies backfire on him, or a future command post in preparation for the day when he is ready to mobilize the Chinese in neighboring countries and enlarge his domain under Peking's support, no one can say.

As America drifts leftward toward a sell-out in Vietnam behind a newly-elected Republican President, the campaign is stepped up on one hand to accord Lee Kuan-yew respectability and on the other to bring him and his shadowy advisor into some game of the American Left which is slowly taking shape. On March 1, twenty-five top-level American businessmen, being sold the TIME Magazine line, were made to feel important by being the guests of Lee Kuan-yew, shepherded by eighteen TIME Magazine executives. Those who weigh the true state of affairs in Asia against TIME's steadily deteriorating reporting are apprehensive. Nor were they encouraged when they read (TIME, March 21, 1969) that on their return to America TIME's flock of business men "gathered around the large coffin-shaped table in the Cabinet Room of the White House to report their observations and reactions to President Nixon." So TIME, which supported Johnson in 1964, is now, through TIME-guided business men, attempting to shape Nixon's Asian policies.

On March 3, two days after the TIME junket, it was Massachusetts Institute of Technology's turn to herd into Singapore what the STRAITS TIMES described as "a top team of American brains in engineering and technology for a two-week study of Singapore's development problems at the invitation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan-yew." Unmentioned was MIT's current campaign to prevent American scientists from contributing to America's defenses, a campaign that is treasonable in the light of the all-out drive for weapons of destruction being pushed in Red bloc countries. Accompanying the engineering and technology specialists destined to hear the declarations Alex Josey had written for Lee Kuan-yew were MIT's political science professor, Lucien Pye, and a representative of Carnegie Institute.

KUALA LUMPUR. The capital of Malaysia, with its slender minarets and lush hills dotted by the scars of tin mines, is another story. Never disparage here what apostles of "the virtue of being big enough to accept defeat" sneer at as the domino theory. The Malaysians know that if America settles for trying to teach Hanoi a lesson -- and through Leftist pressure at home does not have the will to accomplish that -- they will be next in line. Ask what they are going to do when Britain pulls out of the Orient at the end of 1971 and they will tell you that to all intents and purposes the British have already gone. Malaysia's 66-year-old Prime Minister, the Tunku Abdul Rahman, had the courage to chuckle at the absurdity of it all as he sat among cases of foreign decorations and photos of himself shaking hands with Heads of State and told how Washington blocked his attempt to buy modern jet fighters from Canada when the Philippines threatened his 700-man army in Sabah with an invasion force of 20,000 men, backed with American-provided equipment. Washington's excuse was that America does not want to start an arms race.

BANGKOK. A few days later, Thailand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the able Mr. Thanat Khoman, who for ten years has guided Thailand through troubled waters, discussed the situation in Southeast Asia with your correspondent. His statements would have warmed your hearts. He had no illusions about the American Left. The calibre of men who have been given appointments to Southeast Asian posts for no other reason than to lend weight to the statements they would make in support of suicidal policies when they returned home was no secret to him.

There was only one blurred spot in the Foreign Minister's excellent vision. And it, unfortunately, is common to the best of Asian leaders. They have never had contact with Americans other than those of the scurrying, ubiquitous and pushing Left. They know nothing, aside from the disparaging reports they have read, of the American Right, which, in a pinch, would be their allies. The story that needs to be told to American patriots is the need of Asia's leaders to know the truth about you, and to meet enough of your correspondents to know that there is a counter-balance to Harrison Salisbury and CBS. The Asian leader has no yardstick for measuring Americans accorded stature by a liberal press. Cabot Lodge, being an aristocrat by birth, must, by their reasoning, be a conservative in politics. What is socially acceptable according to the worldwide leftist press must be embraced politically by the Asian conservative, lest he offend that powerful press. Thus Thailand's estimable Minister of Foreign Affairs ends up by becoming Chairman of the Bangkok branch of the John F. Kennedy Foundation, which, more than anything it accomplishes for handicapped children, serves the political aims of a Kennedy opposed to everything Thailand's Minister of Foreign Affairs holds dear. It, like the flood of streets, parks, avenues, boulevards, airports, schools, peninsulas, monuments, coins and stamps, is grist for a monster propaganda machine, enhancing dinners and balls where head tables occupied by ambassadors and celebrities are used to lure society editors into becoming producers of gratuitous tinsel, for a party, a political movement and a family.

Honest men like Thailand's Foreign Minister, as local chairmen, provide respectability abroad for the foundation out to dispatch more Reischauers to undermine everything they represent. At home a sister foundation to the one which Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman makes respectable in Bangkok serves as a tax-free accounting department to pay bills for the family using it as an upward-bound transmission belt. A book could be written on the craftiness with which the family and hangers-on behind Teddy have advanced themselves at home by going international.

These are vignettes of stories that could fill pages of our report this month, but instead of developing them we are going to tell you a story about a family that once lived in Shanghai. It is a story that the head of that family told in Hong Kong one night, over a long reunion dinner which followed twenty-three years of separation.

JOHN'S STORY. John's life would have been the humdrum story of hundreds of thousands of Chinese condemned, as far as foreigners are concerned, to anonymity, if a Canadian named A. R. St. Louis, a man who was a wizard at radio communications, had not spotted him for his intelligence and integrity when he was a boy. It was St. Louis who taught John how to make, repair and operate radios. Thereafter his fortunes rose and fell with St. Louis', and when St. Louis took over the servicing of Nationalist Chinese underground radio stations in Japanese-occupied territory, John was carried along with him.

John's boss and benefactor had the advantage of being a foreigner, which meant that he commanded more respect and money, but John, being Chinese, had the advantage of being faceless. Consequently, John could work for St. Louis

in the open, workaday world -- till the day St. Louis and his family boarded a Canadian Pacific steamer one jump ahead of the Chinese puppet government's assassins -- and, on the side, for a network operating for the Chiang Kai-shek government in Chungking. John was a slender young man then, eager to improve his English and learn foreign ways and manners that would mark him as urbane among his Chinese acquaintances. He would sit with ear-phones on his head, over the key of a radio transmitter hauled out of a clothes closet or cupboard in the string of shabby apartments into and out of which I was constantly moving, always a jump ahead of Japanese radio detectors. In one such apartment, on Avenue Haig, the transmitter key and receiver were concealed in a fireplace with the antennae wires coming down the chimney, but actual transmission, through the complicity of Chinese members of a ship-to-shore radio crew in the office of a British steamship line on the Bund, took place from said company's downtown offices. Connection was established between key and transmitter by calling the British firm's radio man on the private telephone line that had been installed between my place and him, unbeknownst to his employers.

At different times, prearranged by code, John would tap out a message for Chungking in the forenoon and another in the afternoon or evening, but he or some other member of his family would receive messages for longer periods during the day. They were all related, as insurance against betrayal to the Japanese. When messages came in they were turned over to a coolie, a more distant member of their family, who would take them to a cousin employed at the reception desk in a neutral consulate. He in turn would pass them to a coolie used by the faceless Nationalists whom we never saw.

These were the things about which John reminisced as we sat in a Chinese restaurant in Hong Kong, near a table of American sailors who, despite Harrison Salisbury's plea that the British refuse to let them in, were enjoying a rest-and-recreation leave from waters off Vietnam. Some of the Chinese whose acts of daring, done without change of expression or the flicker of an eye, we discussed, are still alive and unable to get out of the cruel country with which Teddy Kennedy would like to promote "a greater flow of ideas," so we will pass over them here.

"How are your wife and children, John?" naturally came first. He was obviously proud. "They are fine. My wife is here and my daughter is married and teaching in Rhode Island. She has a Ph. D., and my son married an American girl and has a fellowship at Rockefeller Institute, in nuclear physics." It was a far cry from the young Chinese St. Louis had picked up and helped to acquire an education in Shanghai in the early thirties.

"Did James Lee get out?" He was a friend of the old underground radio days in Shanghai. "No. He became office manager in the Telecommunications Office for Anwei Province, after the war. The Russians and Red Chinese were organizing unions among the telegraphers and trying to sabotage communications, so the higher-ups in Nanking told James to ship trouble-makers off to remote posts if they showed their hands. When the collapse came, it was everyone for himself. James' bosses took off for Formosa and he was the first one denounced by the men he had transferred. The Reds sentenced him to death, then left him in a prison for several months. He never knew when he would be taken out and shot. After a few months they told him they had decided to try to make a useful citizen out of him, and he was given the brain-washing treatment. When that was finished, they put him to work at hard labor and worked him until he died."

"How did you get out?"

"It took me a year and a half. Things weren't so bad at first. I had a small business which I hated to leave, and they (the Reds) told business men to carry on, that they wouldn't be harmed. But after awhile they started closing in, and I found I was working for them. I managed to get permission to go to Hong Kong by leaving behind my wife with our daughter, who was having lots of trouble with asthma. She couldn't breathe, and doctors told us we should send her to Peking, where the climate was drier."

Pictures of Peking and the hot, dry wind off the Gobi Desert came back. John paused reflectively. A grin crossed his face. "Do you remember the little back bedroom we had in the house near Jessfield Park?"

"We were very poor when I started working for St. Louis and we rented that room out. The woman who lived there for years was Chiang Ching. She was married to Tong Nga then, the fellow from Soochow who has a restaurant in Paris. They didn't have much money; Chiang Ching couldn't get parts as an actress, so she used to lie on her bed, eating oranges and reading about injustices to the poor. She didn't have enough money to pay the amah to clean the room for her and go out to buy oranges, so she made a deal. The amah made her bed every morning and went to the food stall for her, to buy oranges, and Chiang Ching taught the amah mandarin."

"She (Chiang Ching) had a bad disposition. She made scenes with her husband and he would get mad and beat her. Then she would call to the amah for help. One time, after a fight, she packed up and went back to Tsinan, in Shantung."

A pause followed. "She came from Shantung. After a few days her husband got lonely and went to bring her back, but Chiang Ching had her friends watching for him. When she learned he was in town she hid, telling her mother to say that she hadn't heard from her and did not know where she was."

"The husband did not argue. He went back to a small hotel where he was staying and thought it over. He got an idea. He put an announcement in the paper, telling his wife he loved her and that if she did not come back he would commit suicide and haunt her."

"She went to his hotel then, and they came back to Shanghai together, to our place. But eventually they broke up for good and she took her books about the poor and went off to join the communists in Shensi and Yenan, and that was the last we heard of her until one day we learned that she was living with Mao Tse-tung and that General

Hurley was arranging for them to go to Chungking to talk to Chiang Kai-shek. It was Chiang Ching's big moment. From then on she became more and more important."

"She had two daughters by Mao and when the Reds came to Shanghai, after the Nationalists left, she was too important to see people who knew her when she was poor and Tong Nga was giving her beatings. But she had not yet become so bad, either. She had not started to round up cabaret managers who had refused to give her jobs, and actresses who got parts she wanted."

"She and Mao were in Peking when we sent our daughter north for treatment for her asthma. The amah went along to look after our daughter and one day, like two kids, they did not know what to do so they wrote a letter to Madame Mao asking if she remembered them. A few days later a car full of soldiers came to the house and took them to where Chiang Ching and Mao were living. She served them tea and showed them how important she had become; then she gave them a basket of oranges and sent them home, escorted by the soldiers."

"That was the last time they saw her. As she became more sure of herself, she began looking for people with whom she had scores to settle, and it was dangerous to know her because one never knew what direction her rages might take. Everyone who had ever known her began to get as far away as possible. Still, on one more occasion she was useful. My daughter could not sleep one night so she and the amah were playing mah jongg. Soldiers who stopped in the street to listen outside doors heard the mah jongg pieces being scrambled. It was the period when they were beginning to frighten people and clamp down on amusements. One of the soldiers climbed up on the roof and removed tiles while the others guarded the door; then he dropped down into the room and threatened to arrest my daughter and the amah for gambling. My daughter was frightened and pretended she was studying, but the amah told him they were friends of Madame Mao and that, besides, they were not gambling but were only passing time because the little girl was sick."

"The amah did not have any way of proving that she knew Madame Mao, but the soldiers were so frightened that the one who came in through the roof said, 'If you are a friend of Madame Mao you should not amuse yourselves; you should be working for the revolution,' and with that they went away.

"People were being arrested on all kinds of pretexts then. Lots of my friends were disappearing and I knew it was time to get away."

"How did you manage it, John?"

"Well, I got permission to go to Hong Kong by leaving my wife behind. Then she got permission to join me by leaving our son and daughter behind. We could not take anything with us, but we got out of China and went to Indonesia. It was the period when Mao was trying to build up a strong Chinese community under Sukarno and convince the Chinese in Indonesia that the Peking government was kind. By making a request from Jakarta for our children to come and join us in Indonesia we not only got permission for them to leave, but they were able to bring the old paintings and art objects we had collected."

"As soon as they reached Hong Kong I stopped them and put them in school. They were soon at the head of their class and after that we sent them to America where they graduated with honors, and my daughter got her Ph. D. and my son the fellowship in Rockefeller Institute."

"How strange it is, John," I reflected, "that your son and daughter ended up in American universities among left-wing professors and students who talk drivel about Mao Tse-tung and Red China and get into print with their ravings. And of the lot your children are the only ones who actually knew Chiang Ching and the terror of life in China, and how hard it is to get out."

"Yes," he answered. "They write and tell me about it. They tell me that when the other professors talk they don't say anything. They just keep still. They have to live, and if they want to keep their jobs they don't dare say anything about what they know."

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