

MONTH OF DECISION

FRANCE: Back in Europe again after three months in Southeast Asia, we find France is still the center of a Western European storm. General De Gaulle announced that he was going to hold a referendum on April 27. The public reaction was a groan, "No, not again!" as a government-controlled radio, TV and press began preparing the terrain.

THE FRENCH ELECTORATE WAS TO BE ASKED ONCE MORE FOR A MASSIVE "YES," failing which the General threatened to pack up and go home. "YES" would mean approval of a nebulous plan to bring about decentralization -- meaning a plan that, it was hoped, would turn the population flow from Paris back to the provinces. Decentralization would be accomplished in the name of regionalism, which means that regional groups would form a body to regulate their own affairs. To permit this taking over of the Senate's duties, a change in the constitution which De Gaulle promulgated in 1958 and modified in 1960, '62 and '63 is necessary.

Anti-Gaullists protest that the role of a parliament is to vote laws, and that a provincial assembly in each region, subjected to the whims of 29 million regional voters without juridical or administrative experience, may flatter the provincial ideas of voters at odds with every region but their own, but it will deprive the national Senate of any reason for existing. Furthermore, the proposed change in the constitution would provide that, instead of the President of the Senate becoming interim President in the event of a presidential vacancy, that post, with all the power that control of propaganda and police machinery entails, would be filled by the Prime Minister, who might be anyone an ailing or retiring President names. The electorate was at once suspicious. As part of the campaign for a resounding "YES," General De Gaulle told France, on his return from President Eisenhower's funeral, "I come back from the United States, where I was able to observe the high esteem in which our country is regarded. This reality has its place in the referendum campaign that is unfolding. Frenchmen must realize that it is in this respect that the referendum is a vote of confidence." To which the opposition replied, "Are we voting on regionalism or on the name of General De Gaulle?"

REACTION WAS IMMEDIATE. One development was a report, whether a real leak from the halls of finance or a planted rumor from the bottom, i.e., the extreme Left, there is no way of knowing, that this time the financial leaders of France have decided to topple the General, and that the referendum will bring a "NO" majority. This brought up the question of who would succeed De Gaulle if the result would be a vote of no support and if the General makes good his threat to retire.

Legally, as we have pointed out, the President of the Senate, who is elected to his office, would become an interim President, but under the centralized powers which the government has been able to build up over the past ten years there are fears that plans have already been laid to install by force or a hurried election the Prime Minister, Mr. Couve de Murville, or his predecessor, Mr. Georges Pompidou. This has touched off appraisals of the respective chances of the two men resulting in day-to-day quotations, as though they were issues on a political stock exchange. As of now, the Couve de Murville prospectus goes something like this:

PRIME MINISTER COUVE DE MURVILLE. The researches of Mr. Henry Coston (La Librairie Francaise, 27 rue de l'Abbee Gregoire, Paris VI) tell us that Jacques Maurice Couve de Murville was born in Rheims on January 24, 1907, the son of a magistrate named Edouard Couve. On September 23, 1925, the civil tribunal of Bordeaux accorded permission for the Couves to add "de Murville" to the family name. Jacques Maurice married Miss Jacqueline Schweisguth, daughter of a prominent banker, and in 1932 was named Inspector of Finances. It was in finances that he had specialized, and after the fall of France he became Minister of Finance in the Vichy government of Petain and Laval. He is credited with stabilizing the franc for Petain before leaving to join General Giraud in Algiers, where in March 1943 he assumed office as Commissioner of Finance for the French Committee of National Liberation, under De Gaulle.

Monsieur Coston writes that President Roosevelt was relying at the time on the financial advice of Messrs. Lehman and Morgenthau, and on their insistence threatened to cut off American support for Free French forces as long as Couve de Murville was Finance Commissioner. This is understandable. Neither Lehman nor Morgenthau had any sympathy for a functionary who had tried to hold the pieces together for Vichy. Accordingly Couve de Murville was dropped and it is claimed that this marked the beginning of a deep-rooted though carefully concealed antipathy for America. In 1945, after the liberation, he became director of political affairs in the Foreign Office, and in July 1946 was a member of the French delegation to the Peace Conference. When the Big Four met in Moscow for a conference in March 1947, Couve de Murville was there. In 1950 he went to Cairo as ambassador, where he stayed until he became French representative at NATO and then ambassador to Washington.

The events that followed are said to have hardened still further his feelings toward America. It was while Couve was in Washington that American agents in South Vietnam unleashed a vicious campaign against the withdrawing French. This was the period when Colonel Edward Lansdale and General "Iron Mike" O'Daniel were running a popularity contest against our allies instead of fighting communism, trying to sell America to the South Vietnamese by opening old sores and whipping up feelings against the "despised colonialists." To them there was no communist threat to South Vietnam. The French embassy in Washington bore the brunt of their campaign in America. And on November 1, 1954, came the first onslaught of the Algerians against the Europeans, a revolt in which the Algerian terrorists were to become to an ever-increasing degree the protégés of Washington, while within NATO America was military leader of the western alliance with its base in France.

Two years after the outbreak in Algeria came Suez, with all the rancors that our policy of the time engendered. Little was said about Suez as the flood of obituaries rolled off presses when Ike was laid to rest. Of that rift in the great alliance the conservative London Daily Telegraph of March 19 observed, "Rarely has the head of a United States administration aroused so much rancor in this country as, abetted and perhaps goaded by Mr. Dulles, he (Ike) contrived to do during this grave and momentous situation. His apparent support for, even truckling to Nasser, at first alarmed and then confounded his friends and not only in this country." Only if there were a great deal to be gained by it could Mr. Couve de Murville be expected to close his personal books on these old scores, should he become France's Chief of State tomorrow.

With De Gaulle's return to power in 1958 Couve became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Though he co-operated willingly in De Gaulle's betrayal of French patriots in Algeria, he resented doing so under pressure built up by Dulles, Cabot Lodge in UN and the intrigues of American labor bosses. After ten years as Foreign Minister came the big promotion to heir apparent and successor to Mr. Pompidou when the Prime Minister was removed, presumably because De Gaulle failed to get the vote he anticipated in the 1968 elections. For this is part of the phenomena of the present regime. Before each election or referendum "The Guide," as he is called, threatens to go back to Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises and leave the nation to anarchy if he is not given a resounding vote. It is tacitly agreed that this will never happen. "The Guide" will cling to power. If the vote goes against him, the Prime Minister and a few cabinet members will be sacrificed but the chief will refuse to step down. However, should illness, death or a massive revolt in the streets or at the polls make a change necessary, who would survive the scramble for power? This is the question that persists. The leading threat to Mr. Couve de Murville is still his predecessor, Mr. Pompidou.

GEORGES POMPIDOU was born on July 5, 1911, and was educated to be a professor. MINUTE, the Paris weekly of March 13, 1969, recounts that Leopold Senghor, the present president of Senegal, was converted to socialism by his schoolmate, Georges Pompidou, who, according to Henry Coston's Dictionnaire de la Politique Française, was then a militant in the Socialist Youth Movement.

September 1954 was an event-crammed period. Colonel Lansdale was running the Chief of Staff of the South Vietnamese Army out of his country and purging the army of its experienced officers, labor-revolution-sower Irving Brown was helping to organize the outbreak in Algeria and Couve de Murville was watching events from his embassy in Washington. It was at this time that Georges Pompidou entered the bank of Rothschild Frères and eventually into the specially-created post of Director-General. There he remained until De Gaulle's return to power in 1958, when he was given leave to head De Gaulle's personal cabinet, though he continued to administer a number of Rothschild subsidiaries, which included the Penarroya mines, an arms firm, an African maritime company, two railroads, a cereal firm, a shipyard and several others. There is no doubt that from 1958 to the spring of 1968 Pompidou was the only advisor De Gaulle listened to. It was to Pompidou that De Gaulle entrusted the mission of starting secret talks with the Algerians for arranging a cease-fire. At the time it was maintained that his brilliant negotiating preserved Rothschild oil interests in the Sahara and obligated the Algerians to a mediating role between Israel and Egypt after independence.

In 1962 he replaced Michel Debré as Prime Minister, and there he remained until De Gaulle's disappointment with election returns in 1968 demanded a scapegoat. Many thought at the time that his ousting from the Prime Ministership was a play to keep him uncompromised by De Gaulle's sinking popularity and thus in position to inherit the succession and carry on the Master's work. Those who held that idea were disabused last month, a month and a half before the referendum, when French National Radio and Television announced that Monsieur and Madame Pompidou were to be questioned on the subject of the Marcovic murder case. Frenchmen agreed that the ex-Prime Minister and his wife had shown a preference for company not regularly selected by men of leadership responsibilities, but they were unwilling to see the Pompidous implicated for political reasons in a sordid murder case.

In a flash it became apparent why the case of the murder of movie star Alain Delon's Yugoslav bodyguard had been kept alive, why the public had been titillated with hints that, through the imprudence of their wives, men in high places were going to see their names in print before this sensational case was over, but that, regardless of whom it might involve, the government would leave no stone unturned. As of now many people believe that neither the old fright campaign nor the smear attack on Pompidou will be completely successful, that, if not defeated, the Guide will have only a small majority, after which a new heir to De Gaulle will emerge, even though it may not be Georges Pompidou.

Of equal importance to most Europeans is the question, what kind of a government will they be dealing with in America for the next four years?

THE NEW TEAM IN THE WHITE HOUSE. Bear in mind that the most sophisticated and politically-bent editors and politicians in Europe know nothing of the Council on Foreign Relations. Foreign Policy Association? Never heard of it! Mention of our great foundations conjures only a picture of money being put to good work. Leftists

attack America, while conservative editors and writers laud America as the Free World's leader in an anti-communist struggle. But of those praising America, not a one has displaced himself to go and find out what is behind the men and groups that form American policy. In sum, Europe's pro-American, pro-Western press accepts blindly the judgment of America's leftist press as to who is good and who is bad. Likewise, having no direct line to conservatives in America, European conservatives have no way of warning Americans against those who are palmed off on our leaders as spokesmen for their country when our officials go abroad. The result is an example of the adroitness with which the international Left is able to divide and rule. To misinformed Europeans "Republican" is synonymous with "conservative" and "Democratic" with "liberal." Consequently, with the election of President Nixon a wave of optimism based on wishful thinking brought encouragement to those opposed to De Gaulle and surrender in Vietnam.

On Friday, February 28, hopes were high as President Nixon arrived from Rome and drove into Paris from Orly Airport, along streets lined with Vietcong flags and placards proclaiming "Nixon Assassin." Police armed with rifles and pistols patrolled the road from Paris to Versailles, where De Gaulle waited at the Petit Trianon for his first talk with the new President. Nixon would show the pro-Vietcong riff-raff where to get off. Hopes of pro-Western Frenchmen were soon dashed. With a shock they learned that, unbeknownst to Americans and most Frenchmen, a closed-door meeting had taken place in which twenty hand-picked leftists, labor leaders and pro-communist militants had conferred at length with President Nixon. Among those present were Eugene Descamps, leftist Secretary-General of the French Confederation of Democratic Workers, and Mr. Jean Daniel (real name, Ben Saïd.)

MR. JEAN DANIEL, an extreme-Left North African, born Ben Saïd in Blida, Algeria, on July 21, 1920, has been written up often in these Reports. He is editor of the Nouvel Observateur, the pro-Red weekly that sent Miss Michèle Ray, the anti-American extoller of Che Guevara, to Vietnam, where she lived with our troops for four months before passing over with all she had learned to the Vietcong. Under the name Jean Daniel, Mr. Ben Saïd was for some years French correspondent for the New Republic. He is a friend of New Republic editor Harrison and the American Red, Thomas Buchanan (author of "Who Killed Kennedy?"), and was able, aided by those who see that only Leftists reach our Presidents, to have one of the last appointments granted by President Kennedy before the trip to Dallas.

That he should also be singled out to express his views to President Nixon, in a closed group, came as a jolt. When asked how he got to see the President, Ben Saïd (Daniel) replied, "In spite of my violent and incessant attacks on American policy since the birth of the Nouvel Observateur, particularly as regards Vietnam and Latin America, I was among those invited to a small select group meeting with President Nixon. I accepted that invitation just as I accepted that of the Soviet embassy after the intervention in Czechoslovakia." It could hardly be called an explanation. Those who knew about the meeting asked why a rabid leftist who supports America's enemies in every area where America is in trouble should be singled out to meet and talk to the new President, while no objective scholar or writer was so honored? Who in the American embassy, CIA or the President's entourage selected the twenty men of Ben Saïd and Eugene Descamps ilk to meet the President in secret instead of having an open meeting with a group recommended by someone like Professor Renouvin, whose excellent works on international relations are standard texts in the Institute of Political Science?

No report of what transpired at this meeting appeared in print. It is possible that the meeting was the new President's peace negotiation with the French Left, an opportunity to personally assure those who are behind French demonstrations against America's role in Vietnam that there will be no conflict with aims pursued by them. To a leftist professor, editor and labor leader a meeting with the President inevitably leads to an increase in prestige. Likewise it leads to giving such men pre-eminence over those who support America. The small closed-door meeting of the carefully-selected leftists with the President in Paris brings us to a wider aspect of the negotiations to get America out of Vietnam.

NEGOTIATED SURRENDER. Following the Nixon visit to Paris, a new word was introduced in reports on Vietnam. Hitherto stress had been laid on our having no desire for "military victory." Now the term "classic military victory" appeared. A delicate shading, hinting that though our pull-out might not constitute a "classic" military victory it would be a military victory nonetheless.

Simultaneously with the addition of "classic" to military victory -- as though there is any other -- came Hubert Humphrey's statement over the National Educational Television network on March 3. "The biggest mistake of the Johnson administration," said Hubert, "was our inability or our unwillingness to really explain to the American people that our ultimate objective was a negotiated political settlement." What more the Johnson administration could have done to make this clear is hard to see. Assumption was that the statement had been made for the purpose of keeping the new administration in line.

On March 27, 1969, Mr. Murray Marder told readers of the International Edition of the Herald-Tribune, "The Nixon administration seeks a negotiated settlement of the military and political issues in the war. By contrast, it is claimed, the controlling forces inside the Johnson administration basically sought to achieve a military victory." So military victory was our objective before last November, and Nixon had better keep the sell-out rolling if he doesn't want to be like Johnson!

Twenty-four hours later, in the Herald Tribune of March 28, Joseph Kraft wrote that in a friendly conversation with the leader of the Hanoi delegation to Paris Tran buu Kiem had warned him that the hawks of Saigon and the State Department had another card up their sleeve; they would try to "build up the Saigon army and then begin the withdrawal of American troops." Obviously, Hanoi would prefer a defenseless Saigon when we pull out.

On April 3 Stephen Barber, writing out of Washington, told Britons in the Daily Telegraph that Nixon is going

all out to end the war and bring the boys home -- and he wants both friend and foe to know it. That, said Barber, is why Mr. Laird, the Defense Secretary, announced that cuts will be made in ammunition supplies and heavy bomber operations in Vietnam from July 1, for "budgetary reasons."

The important part of this announcement was that a cut would start in ammunition supplies. Yet, accompanying it came a statement that President Thieu had shifted his stand on talks. He would no longer oppose direct negotiations with the Vietcong or NLF participation in future elections. The reason was not long in coming.

THE RANSOM. The price was, naturally, high. While newsmen drew attention to the cutback in B-52 operations, which would cease anyway when America pulls out, the clause announcing a cutback in munitions was inserted. For Hanoi wants assurances that we will cut Saigon off from the means of continuing resistance after we go, an eventuality which Joe Kraft had already taken moves to forestall, by printing the disclosure of Hanoi representative Tran buu Kiem. At the same time we promised President Thieu a massive delivery of military equipment to the South Vietnamese army. To mask our pull-out and blind Saigon leaders to the pitfall ahead, the promised delivery of hardware had to be big. But accompanying it a promise had to be given to Hanoi that a progressive cutoff in ammunition for South Vietnamese defense would start on July 1, initiating a process that can leave Saigon with no munition for acres of stock-piled guns.

GENERAL TRAN VAN DON is preparing to leave for Washington as these lines are written. Barring a sudden change of plans, he will soon be deep in talks with the Pentagon to outline South Vietnam's requirements for going it alone. General Don is an able young officer. He was a member of the military junta which, under General Minh, unseated President Diem and his brother Nhu in November 1963. In fact, the only authoritative account to be published to date of that coup d'etat and the army's reasons for acting was given by General Don to Mr. François Brigneau, of the pro-American Paris weekly, MINUTE. It appeared as part of a four-article series on April 18, 1968. (MINUTE, 65¢ per copy by boat mail, 49 Avenue Marceau, Paris 16).

In the forthcoming talks in Washington to decide how much equipment we will have to give South Vietnam to compensate for each thousand troops we bring home, General Don is acting as a member of the Committee on National Defense in the South Vietnamese Senate. He and his fellow generals are making their estimates on the basis of how much they will need to continue the war with American arms instead of American men. Overlooked is the new threat that while arms in lieu of soldiers are being offered, to please South Vietnam, a promise to cut off munitions is being dangled in the air to please Hanoi.

General Tran Van Don, it will be remembered, is co-publisher, with General (now Senator) Ton that Dinh, of the Saigon daily, CONG LUAN, and receives mail addressed to him in care of Senator Ton that Dinh, Palace of the Senate -- Hoi Truong Hong, Ben Chuong Duong, Saigon, Republic of South Vietnam.

While General Don and his committee were preparing their requests, New York Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger reported out of Saigon on April 7 that President Nixon had sent Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia a personal letter, and requested Robert McNamara and David Rockefeller to contact Prince Sihanouk. For what purpose? Why David Rockefeller and the man who, as Defense Secretary, made no-winism in Asia a policy?

It should surprise no one that the yearly report released on April 10 by Britain's Institute of Strategic Studies summed up its findings with the conclusion that it was in 1968 that America lost her will and her capacity for world leadership. Appearing on the same date was a New York Times story by Hedrick Smith, assuring Americans that our bombing halt has brought woes to North Vietnam.

What of the highly-touted advisors who, under the previous two administrations, brought America to a state where a story as ridiculous as Hedrick Smith's can be printed with a straight face?

"Forty-six intellectuals -- experts from universities, foundations and public life," America was told by a press communiqué out of Washington, "have been invited to sit down with Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's assistant for national security affairs, and his staff.....on April 12."

Given the sort of advisors who have served Hanoi well in the past, and who appear to continue to have the inside track in Washington, it is now taken for granted by Hanoi and the Vietcong that America will start a unilateral withdrawal if there is no progress at the negotiation table. That being the case, why give anything away at the table, is Hanoi's reasoning.

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FRANCE -- STRANGE STORIES MAY SOON BE TOLD.

Barbouzes? Don't know what they are.

Former Prime Minister Pompidou's headquarters is at 8 rue de Latour-Maubourg as the campaign for the presidency of France unfolds. Over 600 committees support him, in all of which are men whose careers, if not their necks, will depend on Gaullism without De Gaulle, as a Pompidou victory would be called. Clinging to the candidate's coattails in a desperate reflex of self-preservation are the "barbouzes" -- the false-beards, the men with more than jobs at stake. While Frenchmen were disappearing, being kidnapped, beaten up, terrorized, imprisoned without trial, Mr. Pompidou was Prime Minister. If the last ditch fight to put him in a position where he can hold the lid on the doings of those long years is lost, France is going to see revelations, score-settlings, perhaps even legal action against ministers, former judges and officials that will shock the world.

PICTURE THE DRAMA AS IT UNFOLDED. The General had gone to the country to cast his vote. Sunday morning broke, cloudy and overcast, while brief showers fell on the place before the village church where the President's burly bodyguards had killed time playing boule for the past ten years. At 11:30 a priest from the prison in nearby Clairvaux conducted mass for the President at his home, La Boisserie. Mass finished, the tall man walked, bare-headed, against the wind, through the lines of bodyguards and cameramen, to the door of the mairie. Haughty, looking straight ahead, as though for him the people among whom he moved did not exist. Had they ever existed?

A picture of himself taken in 1940 looked down from the wall. Without a glance at the De Gaulle of twenty-nine years ago, he dropped vote No. 52 in the village voting urn. In-different, lofty to the end, he murmured, "Au revoir, messieurs," and walked out. By eight o'clock that evening he knew that the game was lost. What might happen to the judges who had been put in place to send to prisons or firing squads those whom his government had wanted out of the way was no longer his concern. Of the 179 people who voted in Colombey-les-Deux Eglises that day, 21 voted against him.

IN THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, through which pass the masters of the police system of France, with its parallel chains and networks responsible for so many disappearances in the past ten years, champagne had been set out on a long buffet in the Hall of Festivities by Interior Minister Marcellin. A large panel representing France's 95 departments was on the wall. As department after department voted "no," consternation rose. Telephone calls from the round building of the heavy artillery of the government's propaganda machine, the radio and television, became more frequent. "How shall we report this?" the chief of televised news, Jean-Louis Guillaud, wanted to know. There were no precise instructions. It was every man for himself.

OVER AT 123 RUE DE LILLE the victory champagne had also been cooled. Here, in the headquarters of the General's party, a few politicians whose fortunes were linked to De Gaulle's, nursed a last hope as their ship went down. A phone call from Dijon assured them, "The General won't let us down -- he will support Pompidou to the limit." Some at headquarters were not so sure. On Friday, April 25, before launching his appeal on television, De Gaulle had asked Pompidou to announce that he would not be a candidate for the Presidency, and Pompidou refused. "It's Pompidou's fault that we lost," shouted a party stalwart. "When the people heard he would run, they quit being afraid of what would happen without De Gaulle." For the moment affairs were out of the hands of that part of the Gaullist machine which meets the eye. The next move would be up to S.A.C. And S.A.C. in France does not mean Strategic Air Command. It means "Civic Action Group," and any high-sounding name with "Action" in it has an ominous sound.

S.A.C. UNDER DE GAULLE WAS A TERROR ARM, pure and simple, manned by strong-arm thugs recruited from the underworld and headed by a powerful, brutal, bald-headed Corsican named Paul Comiti, who doubled as a bodyguard. S.A.C.'s big chief, Jacques Koch-Foccart (in 1952 he dropped the "Koch") sat in the Elysée Palace itself, under the deceptive front of "Secretary-General to the Presidency for African Affairs." Also under Foccart operated another Gaullist arm, the "Association Pour le Soutien de l'Action du Général De Gaulle." Headquarters for Foccart's secret terrorist police was at 5 rue de Solferino, near the Defense Ministry.

Leon Uris' book, "Topaz," skimmed the surface with its account of atrocities committed by Foccart's criminals. When the true story of their activities is written, if it ever is, Americans who praised De Gaulle for "thinking of France" are going to be in for embarrassment. That they heard nothing about such practices of Foccart's men as inserting a small spoon behind a victim's eyeball, and threatening to tear his eye out if he did not talk, is because America's press, TV, CIA and State Department approved completely when Frenchmen who wanted to keep Algeria from becoming Europe's Cuba were the ones to whom such things were happening. When a Foccart team kidnapped Colonel Argoud from Munich on February 25, 1963, our entire press was elated.

The some 200 men in S.A.C. headquarters had much to worry about as they watched the referendum of April 27 draw to a close. If Foccart could stay in the presidential palace until Pompidou could be elected, both they and De Gaulle were safe. If not -- that was something they preferred not to think about. Foccart's ring of Deputies in the National Assembly was expected to protect the "barbouzes" and their chief until the elections. Pompidou would be eased in with the help of S.A.C. and the danger would pass.

"We'll blow up a few Gaullist meeting halls, and say the Communists did it," one of the conspirators suggested. "That will frighten the Center into sticking with us." It had worked when Gaullists and Communists put plastic charges in their own doorways, during the Algerian war, and blamed it on the Army Secret Organization. Monsieur Mitterand even set up a fake machine-gun attack on himself to gain publicity. While De Gaulle's private force of gangsters on rue de Solferino planned an action in the streets for that night, over at the Prime Minister's palace all was silent as the tomb.

IN PALAIS MATIGNON, seat of the Prime Minister of France, a morose Couve de Murville had learned the bad news from Minister of the Interior Marcellin, by telephone. A few disconsolate friends sipped whisky. They had small pleasure in contemplating Cabinet meetings under the interim President, Mr. Alain Poher, the stocky man listening to a radio broadcast of the results in Luxembourg Palace at that minute. Who was Poher? A month before not one Frenchman in a hundred had heard of him. A Paris headline summed him up: "Poher: 23 years of career, 15 days of fame."

THE LUXEMBOURG PALACE, home of the Senate whose powers De Gaulle sought to destroy, was understandably in a festive mood. "We've got him!" a beaming usher, standing at the door in cutaway coat, exclaimed to an arriving senator. Mr. Poher, the unknown who had been elected President of the Senate because everyone else regarded it as a position without power, and who by being the recipient of that action became De Gaulle's interim heir, was sitting in his office a few feet away. The office was First Empire; a tapestry of the Chateau of Blois hung on the wall. The plump man was smiling as he listened to a transistor on his desk. He had celebrated his 60th birthday ten days before. An English paper said of him that he had survived politically just as he had survived the war, when those working with him attracted attention and were shot by the Germans.

De Gaulle's defeat had been in the air for a week. Men who had paid no attention to the President of the Senate, and who had spent their time flirting with the group in power, had been hurrying to pay their respects. From Monsieur Maurice Grimaud, the Prefect of Police, came a telephone call: "Monsieur le Président (of the Senate), I hope that you will stay in the Luxembourg on Sunday night. It will be easier for me to assure your safety." Monsieur Poher thanked him. His supporters inside the Gaullist network had already informed him that between five and six thousand action specialists were mobilized into commando groups in Paris and had been standing by since Thursday, April 24, awaiting orders.

At 10 P.M. the new interim-President opened his doors to the press. No one gave a thought to what might be going on over at the Elysée Palace.

AT THE ELYSÉE the men whose necks depended on De Gaulle's files not falling into the hands of people who might make something of them had been awaiting results. Under the eyes of Minister of National Defense Messmer and Bernard Tricot, Secretary-General of the Elysée, papers were being hurriedly packed in cases for loading on trucks. One editor called it a "scorched earth policy of government files." Just before 5 A.M. four trucks escorted by motorcycle policemen drove into the night for an undisclosed destination. Monsieur Georges Bidault, the former Prime Minister, recently back from exile, exclaimed, "They are going to burn everything! I told you, it is going to be a regime without archives." Bidault announced that he would call for an accounting. "The people must know what went on in Algeria, what happened in France; about our finances, our foreign policies, that famous nuclear striking force....!" They will not. De Gaulle had given formal orders to Foccart, according to the editor of MINUTE, the anti-Gaullist weekly, to get rid of everything incriminating, and this included the lot. Since noon Alain Poher, according to the constitution, had been raised by popular vote to represent France. When he arrived at the Elysée Palace the following morning, the papers were gone. On the steps to welcome him was a solitary gendarme. The flag had been hauled down and taken away. Not even a blotter remained.

The London Daily Telegraph observed on May 9, "France's interim President, M. Poher, has a vigorous struggle on his hands against the hard-core Gaullist establishment. The first public hint was the announcement that though all other Gaullist political officials were leaving the Elysée, M. Foccart, described as in charge of African affairs but in fact director of the General's personal "parallel police force," would be staying on. Two days later M. Poher announced personally that M. Foccart was fired.

"Next came M. Poher's first Cabinet meeting, where M. Debré made a propaganda speech and then, against security rules, published his own account of it. M. Poher issued a suave communique putting him in his place. It now emerges that the lorries which left the Elysée during the 36 hours after the referendum carried more than Gen. de Gaulle's personal papers. A vast quantity of dossiers and State papers have disappeared, including even the protocol film on how the flame should be rekindled at the Arc de Triomphe yesterday."

In Paris the editor of MINUTE, Monsieur Devay, whose defense of America over Vietnam had brought down on his head a year and a half suspended sentence and fines that would have closed the magazine had subscribers not paid them off, took up the chase. MINUTE of May 15 informed M. Poher that if he wanted to find the secret archives of the presidency he would find them on the second floor of S.A.C., at 5 rue de Solferino, in the custody of Monsieur Bayle. One of the temporary President's first acts was to summarily oust Mr. Foccart, who moved into the S.A.C. office with his staff. As the June election approaches there may yet be excitement. For the present, with a Pompidou victory still possible, French editors are unlikely to print openly some of the questions Frenchmen with

scores to settle are asking. One of the questions heard is, "Where is Lemarchand?"

MONSIEUR PIERRE LEMARCHAND represented the Yonne constituency as a Gaullist Deputy in the French Parliament when Foccart's organization was being built up. Aside from his parliamentary duties, Lemarchand worked with a Vietnamese known as Sun Xang, who, armed with police card No. 804, headed a group that specialized in kidnapping Frenchmen suspected of sympathizing with those opposed to the sellout in Algeria. Lemarchand and his wife, Michèle, moved upward in the Foccart network, and eventually rented a villa in Algiers called EL BIAR, where torture experts extracted information from those drawn in by methods which De Gaulle's most flattering biographer, David Schoenbrun, then Paris bureau chief for Columbia Broadcasting System, found perfectly laudable.

Michèle served as a sort of housekeeper for the villa and took out the life insurance policies for which a certain sum was withheld from the inquisitors' pay. Around 4 P.M. on January 29, 1962, the villa blew up, killing all 18 of Lemarchand's men, whom Michèle had insured and whose policies she was holding. Michèle cynically announced the explosion with the words, "Our men in Algiers have just resigned en bloc." A few days later she placed a wreath before their graves in the cemetery near Corbeil. It bore the inscription, "From the U.N.R. (De Gaulle's party) of the Seine Region, 16th Section, to the victims of the O.A.S. (Secret Army Organization), fallen in defense of the Republic and Gaullism."

While others thought of the election campaign ahead, men who had seen friends disappear into the villa El Biar joined in the rising clamor for the Lemarchands and a confrontation concerning the fatal explosion, as well as Madame Lemarchand's reported deposits of the victims' insurance money in her account in the bank of Dupont et Cie, in Paris. Did Lemarchand kill them for the money, they asked, or because he was afraid they would talk?

There are so many stories to be cleared up, blood on the hands of so many people who until now have been untouchable. Young men had died before firing squads for participating in plots which Mr. Foccart's agents were accused of having set up. Fine officers, the flower of the army, had been denounced by pro-Communist committees of draftees which a notorious Red named Daniel Guerin had formed into "Soviets" in the French army to furnish the names of officers they suspected of "fascist sympathies." Flown into Paris at night by the hundreds, such men were imprisoned, with or without trial, by order of hand-picked judges. Witnesses were prevented from testifying for officers whom De Gaulle wanted to disappear.

Frenchmen are not the only ones whose reputations are going to suffer if the lid is lifted on the stories of De Gaulle's years in power. David Schoenbrun, whose book on De Gaulle is one of the most false bits of sycophancy ever hawked as a serious biography, will find himself as discredited as a historian as events in Algeria have made both him and CBS, for whom he was Paris bureau chief, as honest reporters of news.

ONE OF THE FIRST QUESTIONS AMERICANS ASKED, as the scramble started to find a man to replace De Gaulle, was: Will France's new man be more friendly to America? The answer is no. No politician is going to tie himself to a power that is on its way down. "America's aura of invincibility has long disappeared," was how the London Daily Telegraph of May 21, 1969, referred to Washington's claim to leadership of the West. This is one of the prices America must pay for letting the Johnson administration opt for a sell-out instead of victory in Vietnam.

On June 4, 1968, the left-leaning London Times headlined a story on Senator McCarthy and his pro-Vietcong students with the words, "Students' work for Peace Praised." Ten days later the Paris edition of the Herald Tribune pleaded the case of Yale's anti-victory chaplain, William Sloan Coffin, Jr., and Dr. Benjamin Spock, under the headline, "Critics helped bring war nearer to a close."

Such stories were recruiting calls for more militants to support Hanoi within America, while Hanoi remained obdurate at the negotiating table in Paris. It was not peace that our dissenters were hastening but American defeat. Peter Jay wrote in the London Times of May 22, 1969, "Mr. Nixon and his civilian advisers can see that if they cannot settle honorably, in the next few months, they will have to settle dishonorably. Since Hanoi knows this, there can scarcely be an honorable settlement."

France's elections and the conduct of her next President cannot fail to be affected by realization that a revolutionary Left has dictated policy at a critical period in the country to which the Free World has looked for twenty-five years for leadership.

MONSIEUR GEORGES POMPIDOU is running neck and neck with Monsieur Poher as this is written, but Poher stock is on the rise. To gain non-Gaullist support, M. Pompidou agreed to maintain the constitution of the Fifth Republic, to defend the franc, grant greater freedom to the TV and press, to work for peace -- which in France, as in America, means yield when French interests conflict with Russia's or China's -- and to withdraw French support from the Arabs in the Middle East. Since France's TV and press, like America's are leftist-oriented, greater freedom means more latitude for pro-Communist propaganda, and the right of TV employees and journalists to suppress what they do not like.

As Monsieur Pompidou wooed the nation with promises of changes, a cynical electorate replied, "If you thought all those things should be done, why didn't you do something about them during the long years when you were Prime Minister?" Mr. Robert Galley, Minister of Scientific Research, was rushed to Moscow to explain that it will be in Russia's interest to support M. Pompidou, the Gaullist without De Gaulle.

MONSIEUR ALAIN POHER is an internationalist. His experience has been as an administrator, mainly in connection with German and European affairs. Before he became President of the Senate, he was President of the Common Market Commission and later of the European Parliament.

Mr. John J. McCloy and the men who make up ATLANTIC INSTITUTE have reason to rub their hands as M. Poher's rating rises on the public opinion polls. Regional one-worldism is one of the interim President's dedications. "If France wants, with justice, to recover her role in the world, it will be through a united Europe, which will be a match for the size and power of the super-powers," he declared on May 22. A United Europe with its supra-national government, to which M. Poher would sacrifice more French sovereignty, will become a prison if, too late, he realizes his mistake and wants to get out. Today 6,815 officials are installed and working as the nucleus of a federal Civic Service for Europe, in Europe's regional one-worldism government. More are being recruited, preferably young people just starting out, in preparation for the present group's enlargement.

Where a remote and all-powerful government at the top elects to slide, countries committed to the packaging operation by leaders like M. Poher will be carried. M. Poher favors Britain's entry into the super-state. This will enlarge the administration by an estimated 20% to provide places for Britishers in the expanding bureaucracy -- a United Nations in miniature. These are thoughts that Frenchmen have not yet considered. The present parliament of France is made up of 291 Gaullists and their associates, 62 Independent Republicans, 32 Communists, 33 Progress and Modern Democracy deputies and their associates, and 10 from among the various Independents. With such a Gaullist majority it would be impossible for a non-Gaullist President to govern. Therefore M. Poher would have to dissolve Parliament. The Communists were reduced to four deputies at the end of 1958, thanks to the efforts of M. Jacques Soustelle. Today they boast of 50,000 new members in recent months -- and there are the Maoists. The Communists, in a new election, would pick up many seats.

ALAIN KRIVINE, THE 27-YEAR-OLD TROTSKYITE CANDIDATE, has his headquarters at 14 Faubourg Saint-Denis -- two large rooms, stained with the dirt and dust of ages, hippies running mimeograph machines beneath portraits of Marx, Trotsky, Che Guevara, Ho chi Minh and De Gaulle. He has plenty of money to spend. Where it comes from no one to date has asked. Krivine says that he has been a revolutionary since he was 17. He is a follower of Herbert Marcuse, who is currently training future Krivines for America at San Diego campus. Among Krivine's international colleagues are Tariq Ali in Britain, "Red" Rudi Dutschke, in Germany, and Dany Cohn-Bendit, who led the anarchists in France last May and announces that he will return to become Krivine's prime minister if Krivine is elected. Krivine says he does not expect to be elected, but is running only to get the 100 minutes on television which the new freedom of radio, TV and press accords him. The first ten minutes utilized were devoted to calling for the tearing down of France.

THE 67-YEAR-OLD M. LOUIS DUCATEL is candidate of the Independents. He is a millionaire who calls his program "Popular Capitalism" and advocates abolishment of income taxes for anyone earning less than \$216 a month.

JACQUES DUCLOS, LEADER OF FRANCE'S COMMUNISTS, will bargain with his party's votes in the run-off which, by the laws ruling French elections, will have to take place if the winner of the first ballot does not poll more votes than the other candidates combined. Duclos' Communist package of votes could decide the final election.

MARSEILLES' SOCIALIST MAYOR, MONSIEUR GASTON DEFFERRE, made a play for Socialist votes by announcing that, if elected, his Prime Minister would be M. Pierre Mendès-France, the man who in 1953 and '54 was conducting secret negotiations with Ho chi Minh while Frenchmen were dying in Indo-China, fighting the enemy we are fighting today. Ho chi Minh did not have thousands of allies in France in 1954 as he has in America today. He had one big one at the top -- it was Pierre Mendès-France. Just before the referendum De Gaulle made one of his usual threats of disaster if the nation did not approve his demands, and added that, whether the nation rejected his referendum or not, there would always be "an army" to sustain him. M. Defferre asked, "Is this army armed?"

THERE ARE TWO ARMIES. The most influential man in the national army is 61-year-old General Massu, Commander of the 6th Military Region. General Massu saved France in May, 1968. His price was the release of France's imprisoned generals. It is not inconceivable that General Massu's tanks may rumble through Paris, but it will not be to sustain De Gaulle or Gaullism.

The other army is the non-uniformed one of M. Foccart, still not demobilized, still intact in the headquarters of S.A.C. Before the referendum there were 7,549 strong-arm men on the payroll, ready for action against De Gaulle's enemies anywhere in Europe. Another 2,000, listed as "borderline forces," were on hand at lower pay in case they were needed. Funds for this political militia came from a secret cashbox into which unspent money appropriated for education, hospitals, tourism and scores of other items has been automatically poured at the end of the year. Until the new President is elected and a new government formed, S.A.C. has plenty of money, and no dearth of desperate, experienced men. All the components for trouble are still at hand.

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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



THOUGHTS AT THE END OF A DAY IN PARIS.

"Senator Joe McCarthy lied to this country and instilled an irrational fear of communism in the people," Hanoi-apologist and erstwhile Paris bureau chief of Columbia Broadcasting System David Schoenbrun told college students in Walla Walla, Washington, in May 1969, to a burst of student applause.

"The future of the world revolution in the coming period of history is being decided in Vietnam. A victory by American imperialism will open a new counter-revolutionary ice age of history. Defeat of the NLF will make revolutionary victory impossible for years. On the other hand, victory for the revolution in Vietnam will stimulate the rise of revolutionary struggles around the world. The first duty of all revolutionaries is to use all means to assure victory for the revolution in Vietnam." So went the Moscow-dictated proclamation which France's "NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH" issued in March 1967 as elections approached in South Vietnam.

In these two contradictory statements can be found what communists tell each other and what newsmen become professors tell America. One an argument for treason, the other a rallying cry for our enemies exerting their last ounce of strength for victory, as the negotiations unfold on which "the rise of revolutionary struggles around the world" depends. Let us look at the negotiation scene.

SOUTH VIETNAM'S DELEGATION TO THE PARIS TALKS sits in a somber building at 101 Avenue Raymond Poincare, Paris 16, with French plain-clothes officers at the foot of the stairs. Up one flight, at the door of the delegation's offices, is another officer. With scores of communist organizations operating openly in Paris, all visitors are closely scrutinized.

No. 1 of Vietnam's permanent delegation is His Excellency, Ambassador Pham dang Lam, President Thieu's ambassador to France. His relations with the press pass through a handsome young aide named Nguyen trieu Dan. Holding the fort in the combination embassy and consulate at 45 Avenue de Villiers, Paris 17, is Vietnamese Consul Tran thanh Quan. Note the names and addresses of these men. They are good Vietnamese officials, doing their jobs as best they can under next to impossible conditions.

Americans at home know none of their problems because their only way of reaching Americans is through correspondents who come to see them. And our mass media of communications form, in most cases, a distorting sieve. Why this transcoloration on the route from event to reader? Different explanations are given: Left-wing journalists help each other upward and at each level slant what is given the public; leftist newspaper and TV men help each other beat out lone pluggers in the race for editorial desks. Sometimes owners dictate policies -- or advertisers may insist on the "popular," which is synonymous with leftist, slant. On the brink of a denouement a compromised name-writer may clear himself by going on record in a series of sensible reports. As Ambassador Pham dang Lam gropes, trying to reach Americans in the midst of our downward trend in Paris and Saigon, it is interesting to study day-to-day currents in the New York Times.

THE NEW YORK TIMES is the parent body of a newspaper empire. Its colonizing arm is the NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE. When regional and local papers fill space and cut expenses by printing what is sent from a single source, America is reduced to one big newspaper which appears in different cities under different names.

Mr. Harrison Salisbury is the pro-Hanoi member of the N. Y. Times News Service stable. There are no conservative columnists or correspondents on the team. Recently, however, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger has swerved from the traditional Times line. On April 16, 1969, he wrote, "Inside Vietnam the outcome remains uncertainThe enemy is determined to triumph regardless of the cost in blood. He is prepared to stake innumerable lives in a protracted offensive on the assumption that wavering U. S. opinion will drive Washington -- and in turn push Saigon -- to settle at a disadvantage."

The extent to which the New York Times is responsible for creating the climate of U. S. opinion on which Hanoi is staking hopes of victory, Mr. Sulzberger may never face. The real battlefield was never Vietnam; it was America. Vietnam was projected on a world screen as pictorial evidence of casualties, suffering, expense -- and the futility of war (for wars are futile when generals are not permitted to win). It formed part of a worldwide Red propaganda drive against America, against wars and generals and a thing called militarism, which is the pejorative term for national defense. To Asia's Reds it provided proof of what can be gained by war against powerful nations if mobs and politicians within prevent their generals from ending war by victory.

What we are facing today is the approaching triumph of well thought-out Communist strategy. Those who opposed it have had no audience. Never were they able to reach the ears of policy-shapers in Washington. (Your correspondent tried for three years to see Senator Strom Thurmond and was prevented by an assistant of the Senator's named Corso, who explained, "I couldn't let a man like that see the Senator; he (H. du B.)

has been taken in by the communists.")

Our press campaigned for defeat by telling readers that the war in Vietnam could not be won. Since acceptance of defeat will bring peace -- temporarily -- the next step will be to present acceptance of defeat as a victory. It took much careful working to soften the American public for this. While UN ambassador, Arthur Goldberg assured the world Left on May 17, 1967, that "Victory is not our goal in Vietnam." American patriots were told that we had two alternatives: victory, or a soft policy of holding the line until the enemy realized he could not win and was willing to negotiate. Obviously, as long as Hanoi believed that America dared not go out to win, that Hanoi supporters would stage a revolution within America if we did, the chances of Hanoi's losing hope and quitting were nil. Senator Gene McCarthy's contribution to Vietcong morale at the 1968 Democratic Convention was invaluable. Why else did a McCarthy aide named Gallagher leave the Senator's office in Washington in 1966 for the discomforts of an A.I.D. job in Saigon, if not to garner ammunition for the senator and his Yippies, many Vietnamese asked.

By 1969 talk was still of two alternatives but the alternatives had become: (1) holding the line, fighting hard enough to convince the enemy he cannot win and so bring him to the negotiation table, or (2) pulling out and letting Vietnam sink or swim. Victory was no longer mentioned. As Hanoi stepped up attacks, moves to protect ourselves were denounced as escalation, likely to hamper negotiations. "We are not seeking a military victory nor do we want military escalation in Vietnam," said Secretary of State Rogers on March 27. "President Thieu must be cut adrift to face his future alone if he refuses to make the concessions necessary to achieve peace," spouted Senator Edward Kennedy on May 31, as fear spread in Saigon that Washington and Hanoi were making a deal over President Thieu's head. The concessions Teddy was demanding of President Thieu were surrender on all points.

AMERICA'S POSITION AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. Cabot Lodge is at the top, the man who once called Right-to-work a sanctimonious ambush. He is at home among leaders of the international Left, having headed that regional one-worldism group, the ATLANTIC INSTITUTE, in the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt, from 1960 to 1963.

Louis Heren, Washington correspondent for the London TIMES, wrote on April 29, 1969, that President Nixon's advisers "believe the solution he wants (is) the survival of South Vietnam and a non-communist government, at least for a decent period." The objective of the N.L.F., wrote Mr. Heren, "is to acquire a political power monopoly in South Vietnam....The North Vietnam argument for a negotiated settlement is that once a mutual withdrawal of external forces is negotiated and implemented, the Americans will not come back, whatever happens."

Chalmers M. Roberts wrote in the international Herald Tribune of May 6, 1969, that the Nixon administration is operating on the assumption that it has time "to reach an agreement with the communists for an orderly end of the war on something vaguely called 'honorable terms'....The time to be bought, of course, relates to American public opinion which is translated into pressure on the President. The communists, as a recently captured document shows, intend to concentrate their efforts in both the military and political fields on building up the pressure on the President to make concessions to them in Paris." Mr. Roberts added, "Administration officials are noting with satisfaction that many of the war's most vocal opponents, in and out of Congress, have switched to an attack on the ABM (anti-ballistic missile) program," and that this change of tactics might help Mr. Nixon buy time for a Vietnam settlement.

THE ANTI-ABM OFFENSIVE. The ABM is intended to intercept and destroy enemy missiles before they hit America. Installation of such a system is what the enemy wants to prevent. A naked America, threatened by nuclear attack and pressured by panic-gripped citizens will make for successive surrenders. If America has a protective belt, a fright-induced inner collapse will be harder to attain.

War with Red China was the bogey used by pacifists and traitors pushing for American surrender in Vietnam. It should never have worked. Red China, playing for time to develop a missile delivery system capable of hitting us, rent with civil war and gripped with chaos, was never a threat. Five years from now she will be, and to keep Americans frightened they must be unprotected, even through the shoddiest of arguments--the expense. Construction of a protective belt is being attacked as militarism, a boondoggle desired by a military-industrial complex. America must be kept soft for sell-outs to come.

Phase two will start with some future crisis -- challenge by Russia in the Mediterranean or by China in Africa or the Far East. Having refused to erect the anti-ballistic barrier, citizens will be frightened with pictures, verbal and visual, of what will happen if they do not give in. Pictures like those on TV screens in the campaign against Goldwater -- a little girl running across a field, suddenly obliterated by a rising nuclear mushroom. This is the domestic bogey which, to be effective, must be used on a people stripped of defense.

The other bogey is a line of Communist reasoning designed to soften our allies: Washington has said that we will never strike the first nuclear blow. So Russian agents remind our allies that America's strength is not what she has on bases and in humming factories, but what she will have after suffering that first attack. The Kennedy who, at Amherst on May 31, called on President Thieu to "make the concessions necessary to achieve peace" -- or else -- may five years from now be saying the same thing to America. Here we have a senator who votes billions for foreign aid and the Peace Corps but attacks anti-ballistic defenses because of the cost!

The drive to sell no-winism in Vietnam and no-defenses in America are consecutive operations in a single war. The former was put over under LBJ. To LBJ it became apparent at times that unseen communist script-writers were at work, but he never had the details when he needed them.

"THE TRAGEDY OF LYNDON JOHNSON," by Eric Goldman, has just appeared in Britain. Until its publication few had heard of the Princeton professor brought to the White House in December 1963 because the Kennedys had made it the thing to do. Permitting a tame historian to sit in on selected scenes is a President's way of taking out history-insurance for himself. Kennedy had Schlesinger; LBJ picked Goldman, shunted him into Mrs. Johnson's wing of the White House and waited for the yeast to start working.

In a mood of high exhilaration the new "Special Consultant" saw himself presiding over an era of liberalism shaped for "metro-America" -- the new kind of restless, socialistically-inclined country in which wealth and family would be replaced by the new snobbishness of the Left, with its own title of nobility, "Intellectual." But when he found himself being used as window dressing instead of a shaper he took refuge in the discreditable snobbishness mentioned. The court historian portrayed his employer as a vulgar and uncouth slob, spewing obscene remarks, only slightly excused because of his "crabbed environment in youth and poor education" -- a man ridden by a gnawing sense of inferiority and insecurity that not even occupying the White House could assuage.

One day in 1966 the President sat munching potato chips and sipping a drink called Dr. Pepper. Goldman's contempt for the leader his own Left had elected permeates his description of the scene. The President made some allusions to "knee-jerk liberals" and "crack-pots" who opposed his policy in Vietnam (which was no-winism, at that!). Suddenly he thumped his knee and exclaimed, "Liberal critics! It is the Russians who are behind the whole thing." He was kept informed by the FBI and the CIA, he confided, and he knew that "the Russians think up things for the senators to say. I often know before they do what their speeches are going to say."

Goldman, unable to restrain himself, burst in to say, "Mr. President, you know (emphasis Goldman's) what you are saying simply is not accurate."

A short time later Goldman went back to Princeton and the chain production line turning out graduates in the mold of Eric Goldman. Johnson deserves what he got for having bestowed insider status on such a man in the first place, in his calculated play to woo those at whom he sneered in private as "knee-jerk liberals." Had his CIA been doing an honest job he would have had an answer to Goldman's condescending contradiction.

IN PARIS RUSSIAN AND CHINESE COMMITTEES had been at work for years. During the Algerian war the goal was to inflict surrender on France. After Algeria the manifestos, demonstrations, meetings, protest marches and student slogans were switched to "Peace in Vietnam." Vietnam became a game that went far beyond the suffering of the people over whom world Reds were shedding crocodile tears, as the National Congress of Revolutionary Youth proclamation quoted at the beginning of this report attests.

The texts for such proclamations came directly from Russia. Under further instructions from Moscow, on June 17, 1966, a group of French doctors, scientists and professors issued a paper condemning American intervention in Vietnam and calling for American surrender. All such appeals and proclamations were reproduced by the thousands and distributed by French labor unions, the French National Students' Union, the United Socialist Party, the National Vietnam Committee, Vietnamese Base Committee, One Hundred Artists for Vietnam, the "Billion Francs for Vietnam" committee, and scores of others. Professional, political and social groups were provided with the names of leaders of similar groups in America to which copies of manifestos and petitions should be sent. The same performance was repeated in England, with Vanessa Redgrave as part of the decor.

In October 1966 hand-picked French physicians, mathematicians, professors, scientists and sociologists signed an open letter, calling on American scientists and intellectuals to pass on to senators and congressmen their declarations of opposition to American intervention in Vietnam. American Reds, informed well in advance, raised a cry that if such warnings were not heeded America would find herself isolated around the world. It was as though only pro-communist public opinion existed. American publication of such open letters was reported back to Europe as proof of American solidarity with European intellectuals. In November 1966, 80 French priests and pastors signed an open letter, calling on their American confreres to incite their congregations into demanding a questioning of the national conscience as to whether victory in Vietnam was worth the wiping out of a people -- this in face of the blind killings practiced by the Vietcong and Hanoi. Congregations were told to write their congressmen and to refuse to vote for anyone who did not heed their demands.

No sooner had the flood of letters inciting American preachers been dispatched than 74 leading French professors with Red leanings signed a pre-prepared letter asking American professors to call for "an immediate and unconditional halt of all bombing, withdrawal of American troops and negotiations with the N.L.F. which now controls four-fifths of the territory of Vietnam and two-thirds of the population." Not a single such proclamation was spontaneous. When the cornered President said so, however, his historian-in-residence wrapped the cloak of "intellectual" around himself and cut the argument by picturing LBJ as a fool.

Karl E. Meyer ended his review of Goldman's book in the London SUNDAY TIMES of May 25, 1969, with a sigh of regret for liberalism's tragedy, that in their self-righteous fervor so many are "prone to see a sub-

versive plot in honest disagreement." He lamented, "One cannot conceive of so canny a realist as President Nixon sipping a Dr. Pepper and solemnly telling his aides that Bill Fulbright is a Moscow stooge."

SENATOR KENNEDY. In the furor caused by the appearance of Fred Lawrence Guiles' book, "Norma Jean," embittered European conservatives quipped that Teddy is doing to South Vietnam what brother Bobby did to Marilyn Monroe. And here an anomaly exists which no amount of Nixon-apologizing can explain: While Teddy stiffens Hanoi's demands by heading the home sector calling for surrender, and in so doing delays the final peace and condemns more boys to die in Vietnam's jungles, his own brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver, is left by Nixon in Paris, as America's ambassador, in the middle of the presentvital negotiations and with access to every scrap of information pertaining thereto.

Lord Thomson's London TIMES reported Russia's expulsion of New York Times correspondent Anatole Shub, on May 24, and quoted the badly-done-by newsman as saying of his father, "He was a friend of Lenin's and a revolutionary since he was 17. He voted for Kennedy - It's the same tendency, really." If a conservative were to infer such a thing he would be called a kook. The same paper's Washington correspondent, Henry Brandon, author of a misleading and dishonest 3-issue report called "The Unwinnable War" which appeared in the SUNDAY TIMES (London) of April 13, 20 and 27, 1969, added another frightening bit of information for Kennedyana, in the SUNDAY TIMES of May 1. Concerning Teddy's drive to woo the American Left by making defeat in Vietnam an objective, Brandon wrote, "Teddy is using a large reservoir of experts from academia. Experts from inside the government are also consulted and during the creative process (of declarations and speeches) the drafts are debated over working dinners presided over by Ted, with Robert's widow Ethel present to give her a sense of continued participation." Why should Ethel be given a "sense of continued participation?" What qualifications does she have for participating in political planning that will affect hundreds of millions? Is there a member of Teddy's "reservoir of experts from academia" not of the same "academia" as LBJ's Eric Goldman? How many of the eight Bobby Kennedy aides to whom Ford Foundation gave an average "travel and study grant" of \$16,500 each after Bobby's death are in this circle? Is there a professor in Teddy's entourage likely to oppose the Russian-dictated demands which France's National Congress of Revolutionary Youth spread through the international university Left and which have formed the basis for all Peace-in-Vietnam manifestos since?

THE THIEU-KY REGIME IN SAIGON and its delegation to the negotiations in Paris regard the factors that must be taken into consideration. As in Paris, Washington's ambassador to Saigon is a Johnson appointee -- Mr. Ellsworth Bunker. It was Mr. Bunker who in 1962 caused America to support Sukarno in his grab of New Guinea. Seven years of genocidal war followed, which Mr. Bunker knew of but of which no word reached the American people until in April 1969 the desperate Papuans blew the lid sky-high.

In March 1967 LBJ sent Mr. Bunker to Saigon to set up elections that would bring a civilian government to power, because the Ky regime was not considered democratic. Besides, Hanoi refused to negotiate with Ky. The "man of reconciliation" the Los Angeles Times of March 19, 1967, called Mr. Bunker. He reconciled no one. Since he could not get a civilian team elected, he accepted with bad grace General Thieu as President and Air Vice-Marshal Ky as Vice President. Vietnamese were told that this met with our requirements for democracy.

But on June 5, 1969, Secretary of State Rogers announced that "the United States is not wedded to any regime in Saigon." If we are not "wedded" to this regime, why did we insist on the election that installed it? Or are we performing "Operation Salami" on our friends? -- slicing off, one after one, leaders Hanoi does not like, to buy not concessions in return, but a temporary lull in insults? It has been intimated that Mr. Bunker and Lieut. General Bruce Palmer, Jr., in 1966 forced Santo Domingo's anti-communist leaders to perform Operation Salami on themselves, a suggestion that is not reassuring, since General Palmer accompanied Mr. Bunker to Saigon in March 1967, as commander of the 2nd U. S. Field Force in Vietnam.

A coalition government has been hawked for two years as a means of inducing Hanoi and the Vietcong to let America out. Hanoi never saw a coalition government as an end in itself. A first step was to get America to recognize the Vietcong. That bitter pill swallowed, a "free South Vietnamese government" would suddenly appear and everything would grind to a halt until America agreed to talk to it. Senators Kennedy, Fulbright, McCarthy and McGovern would be depended upon to do to President Thieu what Churchill and Roosevelt did to Mihailovich.

President Thieu in Saigon and Ambassador Pham dang Lam in Paris can be pardoned for being apprehensive.

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JULY AND AUGUST -- THE STAGNANT MONTHS?



That boy will go far, particularly if he keeps on hiring good lawyers.

(CARREFOUR, Paris)

The moon-landing was successful, in spite of the "scientific authority" whom the Kennedy Left now quotes in its fight to prevent the Anti-Ballistic Safeguard ring from making America less vulnerable to nuclear blackmail. The world went wild. Only in the British conservative press was an observation made that nothing less than the pride engendered by landing a man on the moon could have distracted the American public from the sell-out now being put over in Vietnam, or inflated Nixon on the eve of his Asian tour to a point where new faith in America would temporarily lull Asia's apprehensive leaders.

THE BOILER-ROOM GANG. As Nixon basked in the reflected glory of America's astronauts, Destiny, in the wings, was preparing a denouement. By Sunday night, July 20, the story of the fatal party at which Kennedy secretaries doubling as weekend companions for Teddy's married friends had also circled the globe. Thereafter the world press was divided between the moon exploit and Teddy's example of what money and power can do. President Nixon's tour was relegated to third place.

With the perspective that distance affords, Europe was cynical. Rose's "It is our money and we'll spend it the way we want to," had not been forgotten. In 1960 JFK hornswoggled the American public by flaunting a rigged U. S. Information Service report to the effect that American prestige had slumped in Europe, and that if elected he would restore it. In a weekend his brother, aided by authorities who hastily buried the evidence and a big-name brain-trust to steer him into the clear without answering questions under oath, brought Kennedy family prestige far lower than the 1960 rating. With the storm bursting around his head, Kennedy's ambassador brother-in-law, former Peace Corps chief Sargent Shriver, remained in the American embassy in Paris.

Previously, the European misconception of American justice, assiduously planted by the international Left, was a folk-lore negro abused with impunity by Sheriff Jim Clark. Overnight, in a flash of reality which for some inexplicable reason the biased media elected to face, it became a sweet young girl meeting death in a sunken automobile, while an all-powerful Massachusetts rich man's son saved himself, then popped up ten hours later to arrange for a couple of small-town Massachusetts officials to hastily close the book.

In southern France, where old Joe's young companions had been referred to as "caddies," the observation heard was "Like father, like son." PARIS-DIMANCHE, a sensational weekly, stated that Mary Jo had visited Greece with Teddy in 1968. MINUTE (weekly, 49 Avenue Marceau, Paris 16), in a story headed "What Ted Kennedy Wants to Hide from America," also referred to the ravishing blonde whom Teddy introduced as his brother's former secretary when they visited Onassis in Greece last summer. Everything passed, observed MINUTE, "as though Teddy was setting up an alibi for himself by making it appear that Mary Jo Kopechne was alone when her car went off the bridge. MINUTE quoted Teddy as telling Mary Jo's father, "Don't worry, I'll pay for everything."

"What characterized Mary Jo, aside from her beauty, was her naïveté," according to MINUTE. "She was a bit simple, one of her friends summed her up. Coming from a small town, she was somewhat lost in Washington until she got a job with Bob Kennedy. Then she changed quickly, she gained assurance and started buying dresses, at the same

Events belied the assumption. Italy's 29th post-war government fell in a flurry of rising prices, labor unrest and an all-out communist drive for power. Trains ground to a halt as land-owners fled their properties in fear of violence. While Italy's Communist Party rode the advancing tide which appeared to be carrying communism forward around the world, army officers began holding secret meetings "for the examination of the political situation."

This brought ominous references to an imminent "backlash," the American term which a leftist press has exploited as a synonym for "effect," in cases where leftist militancy has provided the cause.

Then came the moon landing, made possible by the manned space program which Jerome Wiesner, in a report prepared for JFK before he entered the White House, opposed as "unsound and very unlikely to put the first man in orbit." Wiesner recalls, "I told Kennedy that the least he could do was never refer publicly to the moon landing as a scientific enterprise. And after he had announced the decision he never did so." Realistically interpreted, when Wiesner could no longer block the moon landing project, he made sure that it was labelled military rather than scientific. Thus charges of a monstrous Pentagon boondoggle could be raised if the project failed.

time declaring herself against the war in Vietnam and for the revolt of the Blacks. In the weeks before her death she could not get up in the morning or got to bed at night without playing the music from 'HAIR' on her record-player."

It did not escape realistic Europeans that the island house leased by Joe Gargan, Teddy's cousin, had been taken for eight days, which included two Saturdays, and that the lease was held by Teddy. Even Frenchmen with ten years of experience under the De Gaulle machine were shocked at CARREFOUR's July 30 description of the war council called together at Hyannisport to prepare the script designed to bring an avalanche of telegrams from the public. These were the men whose assurances, decisions and explanations America's allies had accepted like sheep for almost a decade!

CARREFOUR spread a sordid picture: thirteen men and two Kennedy women, Ethel and Joan, putting their heads together to prepare a tear-jerking, dishonest paper. Robert McNamara, described by London Sunday Times biographers on August 3 as "greatest of United States Secretaries of Defense;" Ted Sorenson, making the council's version convincing; Burke Marshall, previously regarded as a guarantor of justice; Dick Goodwin, who set up racial demonstrations in Mississippi and mobs of delirious youngsters in California for Bobby; Robert Clark, a former magistrate, and brother-in-law Stephen Smith. Paul Markham, who with Joe Gargan had visited the scene of the sunken automobile the night of the tragedy but had breathed not a word to the police nor to the other five girls of the party, was there. Also, according to CARREFOUR, Teddy's personal brain-trust was there: David Burwe, Dick Drayne, Dun Gifford, James Flug and Andy Vitali. PARIS MATCH included Teddy's friend, Kenneth O'Donnel.

Spellbound as the shocking drama unfolded, Europeans watched Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., fly home from Rumania on July 24 and jump in a waiting plane for Hyannisport. From his home in Vermont John Kenneth Galbraith -- too ill to join the huddle -- kept in constant touch with the evasion-of-justice strategists by telephone. Events having exposed these men for what they were, the question asked by those committed to American leadership was, "Will this bunch have a hand in deciding our destiny again?" The answer is "Probably."

On July 24 Louis Heren, Washington correspondent for the left-of-liberal London TIMES, saw Teddy's fall as the beginning of a national tragedy, as though America's fate were somehow inextricably linked with the Kennedy family's. On July 27 the London Sunday Telegraph's Peregrine Worsthorne expressed his low opinion of Americans by estimating that "Kennedy can ride it out."

In Paris the International Edition of the Herald Tribune -- liberal of the liberals! -- pictured the luncheon at the Kingston House on the day of the funeral as a gay affair. "It was like one big family," said Mr. Kopechne. "I embarrassed him (Teddy), I think. I called my nephew over and said to Kennedy, 'Here's a good Democrat.' The Senator took it beautifully. He laughed and said to me, 'You're really something.' I talked a lot with Ethel. I thought I was talking with my sister. That's the way she makes you feel. She's like the nice lady next door. She was interested in mine safety and what was being done lately about safety in the mines." Forgotten was Mary Jo, who, according to her mother, would not be exhumed. "Two parish priests came to the house," she said. "They told us, 'Mary Jo is with God. She is at rest and don't disturb her.' We're following their advice."

If Teddy can take in the Kopechnes, there is little chance that any of the gullible Hoosiers who voted for Birch Bayh last November because they received a letter from Teddy asking them to do so will come to their senses.

Abroad, it was impossible to keep the artificially-created image inflated any longer. By August 1 the London TIMES had taken stock of which way the wind was blowing and Louis Heren began to change tack. "Only after the accident came the realization that remarkably little was known about this most public of men," he told Lord Thompson's readers. "Columnists who had never bothered to dispel the notion that they were his intimates admitted that they had written about the image and not the man." Mr. Heren, and the TIMES, were getting off the sinking ship. "The record is only too blatantly of a spoiled brat," he added.

On July 30 the London Daily Telegraph, which is conservative on British affairs but which reprints the American left on things American, published a letter from Mr. C. R. C. Marlow, of Wentworth, Surrey. "Sir," wrote Mr. Marlow, "I know we are regarded as a backward nation compared with our friends in the United States of America. However, I find it hard to believe that even under our present government it would be possible for a young lady to die in an accident without a full inquiry, including the cross-examination of witnesses."

On August 3 "Mandrake" devoted two columns in the London Sunday Telegraph to an account of the Telegraph's futile attempt to hire ex-FBI men to conduct an investigation of the Kennedy affair, only to have one after another accept the job, collect his expense money and then report that he had changed his mind. The Sunday Times of the same date devoted almost a page to establishing that Teddy's 2 A.M. talk with the Shiretown Inn room clerk was a panic attempt to create an alibi. "Atticus," in his column in the Sunday Times came up with a story on Teddy's uncontrollable temper in a rugby match in the early fifties, when Teddy was playing for Harvard and an English referee named Frederick Cosstick sent him off the field in the first fifteen minutes of play. "I've always remembered that incident," said Mr. Cosstick, now a schoolmaster in Wimbledon. "It's fairly indicative to me of character."

What particularly stuck in Europeans' minds was Teddy's "I would have no further comment, now, or ever," which, roughly translated, means, "Tell the public to go to hell."

NIXON WAS FAR AWAY BY THEN. His specific job on the whirlwind trip that took him to eight countries in eight days was to make sure that he could deliver to Hanoi what he was promising, in return for being let out. What he was promising was -- South Vietnam, wrapped, tied and ready to be taken over.

Whisked from Saigon's Tan Son Nhut Airport to the presidential palace in a fleet of U. S. Army helicopters, on July 30, while 19 rocket-armed helicopters and a fire-rescue helicopter circled overhead, the President got down to business. The air was one of false amiability. President Nixon tightened the screws. With him sat Ellsworth Bunker, the American ambassador, Dr. Kissinger, the President's "Security Adviser," President Thieu, on whom the vise was closing, and Vice President Ky, who had declared a few days previously that it was time to end the negotiations in Paris, since each concession had no other result than to stiffen the terms of Hanoi. Ky is quoted as reproaching America for never having waged the war to win.

For two hours President Nixon laid down the law, though, officially, his mission was to tell Asians they must handle their own destinies. A fifteen-minute session followed with President Nixon closeted alone with President Thieu and Vice President Ky. The message? According to leaks, Thieu and Ky were told to keep still -- no going to the Vietnamese for support against our arrangements, no more coups or counter--coups among Vietnamese leaders.

THE BACKGROUND. At the Saigon end CIA had permeated every level of Vietnamese officialdom with Vietnamese who can be counted on to advance American-dictated policies. Truong dinh Dzu (now in prison) had been backed for the presidency, others had been sent to Harvard. Some had become owners of newspapers.

Nixon's plan for getting out was approved by Indira Gandhi, who would never have applied the same reasoning to Kashmir or Goa. It was to announce that South Vietnam must be left to decide its own future without outside interference from anybody. It was a solution for which the American public had been prepared by a scurrying army of writers and professors accorded "authority" status by a press that as high-handedly relegated to limbo anyone who brought up embarrassing responsibilities.

One theme of the campaign was the thesis that countless opportunities for peace had been lost because "super-patriots" had blocked some new concession to Ho chi Minh. Men claiming to be able to read Ho chi Minh's mind bombarded the public with instances where he would have been reasonable if we had done or not done so and so. Ho had never used negotiations as anything but tranquilizers for an enemy being led to a trap, but this the American public was never told. Climaxing the drive to sell American voters the idea that we are to blame for Hanoi's intransigence came a last specious blast by Norman Cousins, published simultaneously in LOOK Magazine of July 29, 1969, and the Saturday Review of Literature, to coincide with Nixon's ultimatum to Thieu and Ky. "HOW THE U. S. SPURNED THREE CHANCES FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM" went Mr. Cousins' screaming headline.

THE PARALLEL OFFENSIVE. Other "authorities" had conditioned the public to accept defeat. In mid-June Senator Joseph Tydings of Maryland told a university gathering, "Whatever the terms of the peace settlement in Paris, there is no avoiding the fact that the United States has lost the war in Vietnam." "The United States is in retreat," the London TIMES informed Europeans on July 24. As in an ant-hill where each worker has his assigned task, it was California's Senator Alan Cranston's turn, that same day, to forestall a last-minute coming to our senses in the face of Hanoi's obstinacy. "Before it is too late, we must come to grips with the false god of military victory," Cranston declared on the Senate floor. When was victory ever a false god, save for traitors working toward surrender?

DR. HENRY KISSINGER. LOOK Magazine of August 9, 1966, used Henry Kissinger to support a drive for negotiation, whether Hanoi wanted to negotiate or not. First, Kissinger had to be made important. This was accomplished by listing his claims to leftist pre-eminence: Professor of government, Harvard; member of the Center for International Affairs; consultant to the National Security Council under President Kennedy; author of "The Troubled Partnership," "Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy," etc. But why should these qualifications make him acceptable to the conservatives who elected Nixon? That withdrawal was impossible Kissinger admitted in his LOOK interview. Also the dire consequences of an American defeat. Then he proceeded to sell both in another form by stressing the inevitability of negotiations.

Historically the goal of a war has been destruction of the enemy forces, he wrote. Already he was cutting corners. Historically the goal of a war has been to destroy the enemy's will to continue the war, or his ability to do so. By his choice of words Mr. Kissinger was implanting the picture savored by the Left, of a devastated and flattened North Vietnam.

"Negotiations could start only after the enemy had been crushed," he said, as though that were what he wanted. Then he added the contradictory line that would let him out, "But the primary issue in Vietnam is political and psychological, not military." Talk sense, Mr. Kissinger, the political and psychological struggle is lost, with the oriental, the moment the idea of anything less than military victory is accepted.

Mr. Kissinger dwelt on the existence of a "Communist shadow government permeating every aspect of Vietnamese life," and he said this complicates the war. It should not. This Communist shadow government was not a spontaneous thing that sprang from Vietnamese roots; Mr. Kissinger had been an American citizen for one year when American officers implementing American policy got Ho chi Minh out of a Chinese prison in 1944 and began setting him up. We cannot say that we are letting Asians settle their own affairs when we walk out, leaving them to cope with an all-pervading communist shadow government which Americans who are known to us planted.

"A favorable outcome depends on the ability to create a political structure that can command the loyalties of the Vietnamese people," continued Mr. Kissinger, the liberal Democrat of 1966. Anyone but an "authority" selected by LOOK would know that there is not one "Vietnamese people" but, racially, regionally, politically and spiritually, about a dozen. Vietnam's emperor commanded the loyalty of Annam (central Vietnam), part of Cochinchina (the south) and the montagnards of the high plateau. A religious sect called the Cao Dai commanded the loyalty of Tay Ninh Province. Another sect called the Hoa Hao commanded the loyalty of the Mekong Delta area around Cantho.

A general named Le van Vien commanded the loyalty of a private army which kept Saigon, Cholon and the roads radiating out from the capital free of communists. A general named Hinh commanded the loyalty of as much of the Vietnamese army as America's recruiting drive had not previously turned over to Ho chi Minh. United by the throne, these groups formed a workable federation.

Mr. Kissinger had been an American for twelve years and was already burrowing into the organizations that since Roosevelt have dictated American policy and advanced their own, when our government crushed all the Vietnamese groups and leaders that commanded loyalty in their areas, except the communists, whom we had set up. So now he is security adviser to a President who has decided to wash his hands and get out. Having destroyed every anti-communist native force with roots in the country, American liberals smugly announce it is time to "let the Vietnamese settle their own affairs."

Mr. Kissinger raised the spectre of trouble with "so many major powers" if we were to seek a military solution in Vietnam. This is an argument for weakness as a road to peace. Actually, it is a prescription for successive surrenders, which is the road to slavery. Mr. Kissinger did not name the major powers, but the threat ruled out any solution except negotiation.

Besides, "military victories will prove empty if they are not coupled with an effort to build political structures," went the 1966 reasoning of the man who, according to Stewart Alsop, now spends an hour and a half a day with the President. These are fancy words for more meddling -- a way to put Vietnamese in office who will do what Mr. Kissinger thinks should be done.

Mike Mansfield, Kenneth Todd Young, Colonel Lansdale and the Foreign Policy Association proclaimed they were building political structures in South Vietnam when they tore down the institutions that existed when we barged in there.

There is more than a hint of a new demarcation line that would give North Vietnam another slice of territory, in Kissinger's 1966 statement to LOOK that "It is better to have 100% control of 40% of the country than 40% control of 100% of the country." When he says that "the war in Vietnam is a crucial test of American maturity," what is our alien security adviser with the Hans Morgenthau-Herbert Marcuse background suggesting? Does he mean that if a Saigon government installed by Americans who seek a no-winism solution (in the name of building political structures) accepts a negotiated surrender, our approval of the deal will be a sign that we have grown up?

Murray Sayle, writing out of Saigon on August 4, 1969, told readers of the London TIMES that "President Nixon's special adviser on security matters, who hardly ever left his side during the President's Asian tour, was exposing the situation in Vietnam in the harsh light of day. The American and South Vietnam side have victory nowhere in sight and must either negotiate something like capitulation or face protracted even indefinite war."

Briefly, what Mr. Kissinger is proposing is capitulation masked as negotiation. This raises the question of Mr. Kissinger's qualifications to decide whether victory is possible or not in Vietnam. When he prepares a paper for the President, outlining all possible options, is Mr. Kissinger acting as a servant of the Council on Foreign Relations, or as an expert familiar with every factor of his problem? Is the option accepted by the President one which he thinks will please the most voluble of the electorate, or one which Mr. Kissinger has sold him by quoting "authorities" who owe their status to TV and the press?

A study of America's popularly recognized "experts" is long over-due. Few of their decisions of the past have stood the test of time. The eighteen of "the nation's top China experts" accorded space by DIPLOMAT Magazine of September 1966, to the exclusion of any dissenting voice, is an excellent example of public-opinion-preparing by handpicked propagandists, blown up to "authority" stature.

The object of this September 1966 issue of DIPLOMAT was to sell Americans on Red China, where anarchy was then raging. Mr. Kissinger has had no experience in Asia. Too many of his thoughts appear to have been dictated by DIPLOMAT's "top China experts of the nation."

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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



WITHIN AMERICA: FRIENDS OF AMERICA'S ENEMIES ARE ON THE MARCH

"A shattering blow has been delivered to the morale and reputation of the American army," wrote Murray Sayle of the recent Green Beret murder case, in the London TIMES of August 22. "In the past few days American army legal officers have been deluged with inquiries from people working on this program (breaking up Vietcong recruiting and propaganda networks, in the countryside), asking what is the legal basis of their activities," he added. "At least one Green Beret officer has already said privately that he will in the future demand that he get any such orders in writing."



Young Chinese sent to populate the far west and Inner Mongolia get a seal of mission: a rubber stamp of Chairman Mao.

What the Green Beret officer is up against is frightening. He faces an enemy that assassinates, terrorizes, sets up traps, kills his prisoners and wipes out those who do not help him. The West, by accepting negotiations without previously demonstrating its ability to win, permits the enemy to use his time-trying methods of intimidation. In 1954, before Dien Bien Phu, units of the Emperor Bao Dai's army were persuaded to desert under threat that if they did not rally to Ho Chi Minh before the ultimate victory they would be ruthlessly liquidated later. That desertions were not more widespread was because anti-communist Vietnamese thought they would be safe in the South. That illusion is dead now. There is no further haven.

Charles Douglas-Home wrote in the London TIMES of August 8, 1969, that America's objective is "to make it as easy as possible to get out and if necessary leave a communist or communiscent government behind them without their losing so much face in the process that they would be forced into another disastrous decision to stay on and fight." As our willingness to see South Vietnam communized became clear, provided a suitable time elapsed between our departure and the massacre, the enemy enjoyed what Peking calls a great bound ahead.

"In recent months," the London TIMES article of August 22 on the far-reaching effects of the Green Beret case observed, "information on highly placed Vietcong has become harder and harder to come by. Information is either inaccurate or, if people suspected of being Vietcong are picked up, they seldom stay long in prison." The report continued, "South Vietnamese officials have come to the conclusion that as a result of the Paris talks their local outlaws may suddenly acquire official standing as members of some sort of coalition government, and said officials are taking no chances." If the American is not safe from his own officials, who are supposed to be fighting the enemy, what chance will a Vietnamese have when an enemy agent becomes his boss?

The question many asked when the attack on our Green Berets started was: Is this part of the crusade against everything military, the aim of which is to strip America of defenses? With treason around him -- in front of him, in his midst, behind him and particularly in his rear at home -- the soldier in Vietnam has no way of knowing. He knows only that he has been prevented from winning. The crusade which started by smearing soldiers and glorifying deserters was an early phase in what was to become an all-out drive against American defenses in general. Washington Post cartoonist Herblock was its heavy artillery. From charging American soldiers with genocide at the "War Crimes Trial" presided over by Jean Paul Sartre in Denmark, in November 1967, it took two years of Gene McCarthyism to soften the public to a point where charges of murder could be brought against soldiers on the battlefield.

A woman's auxiliary, the WSP (Women's Strike for Peace) pushed its own drive, with "Peace" being used in the Agitprop sense, as an argument for surrender. Far-sighted Americans should start collecting copies of WISP, the monthly news bulletin published by the Southern California Women's Strike for Peace, 5899 West Pico Blvd., Los Angeles. Returning GI's will be interested to learn that, while they were fighting, Bea Tucker's Restaurant, 14524 Lanark Street, Panorama City (Phone 785-7689) and the Nine Muses Restaurant in Los Angeles were donating 10% of their receipts to the WSP campaign of encouragement for the enemy.

Gradually the anti-defense drive was enlarged. Industry was pictured as militarism's ally. The industrial-military complex came under fire. It was a more subtle campaign than the one waged by Senator Gerald P. Nye and his legal counsel, Alger Hiss, to tear down America's defense industry on the eve of World War II. Those who doubt the ability of the enemy to dupe unquestionable patriots and use the arguments that patriots unwittingly produce should go back and read Taylor Caldwell's "Dynasty of Death," which, coming when it did, provided Nye and Hiss with an invaluable handbook against all makers of arms and those who wanted to train our boys for the war ahead. "All wars have been started by the munitions-makers" was the theme. The result: short of weapons and deprived of a vital year of training, boys who should never have died were cut down, re-taking islands that never should have been lost.

THE RED PLANNERS BEHIND CRUSADES ARE FAR-SIGHTED. Roosevelt at Teheran in December 1943 saw only his mission to run America's wartime allies out of their colonies; Stalin's eyes were fixed on what would happen thereafter. Absurd decisions were made in the name of democracy. When results were disastrous, the dupe was told, "There is nothing wrong with Democracy that more Democracy won't cure" -- meaning another move more suicidal than the last. When bombing halts and restriction of targets in Vietnam failed to make the enemy reasonable, America was told that it was because we had not gone far enough. While almost forty thousand American boys were being pushed in a meat-grinder that generals could have stopped, if given a free hand, the next political booby-trap was being baited. It was free trade, travel and cultural exchange with Red China.

THE SALES PITCH: China will be a threat to us, if we refuse to start being friendly now. In Peking each call for overtures was seen as an admission of weakness. "We must not do anything to win in Vietnam; it will bring Red China into the war against us," went the argument for surrender over radio, TV and in the press.

To prove that the war could not be won anyway, our Yarmolinskyites and McNamarians changed the rules of warfare and the word "limited" was introduced. Limited warfare, stated the intellectuals -- sort of military Keynesians -- would show the enemy that aggression does not pay and make him pack up and quit fighting without being defeated. What it did was string the conflict out, creating casualties whose names those plugging for the enemy would have to work in relays to read from the Capitol steps. Pictures of a week's casualties filled page after page in LIFE Magazine, for U. S. Information Service to distribute gratis around the world. The clamor that resulted was called adverse foreign opinion and used as a further argument for surrender. How many were sent to their deaths by "limited war," bombing halts and restricted targets, the Luce publications never asked. From offices high in the TIME-LIFE Building in Rockefeller Center, men disseminating no-winism on enough slick paper to blanket the world sneered at the "super-patriots" who wanted victory. Tom Sawyer had no more trouble tricking his friends into painting a fence for him than America's enemies have had getting our editors and intellectuals to whitewash their every move.

CONDITIONING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO ACCEPT RED CHINA was not easy. With Americans still rotting in Peking prisons seventeen years after the Korean War, it took a new crusade to sugar-coat the bitter pill. While one busy beehive of "authorities" smeared free China, another produced arguments for being nice to Peking. Reports that France's ambassador had been pulled from his car and forced to stand for seven hours in sub-zero weather with his head bowed, when Madame Mao's Red Guards were terrorizing their elders, deterred Peking's apologists not at all. That Britain's Charge-d'Affaires had a handful of hair pulled out was an unrelated trifle.

By mid-1969 the shake-hands-with-Peking drive was in full swing. On July 21 AP announced that "consistent with the Nixon Administration's desire to relax tensions and facilitate the development of peaceful contacts between the people of the United States and Communist China, regulations tending to ease trade and travel restrictions toward Communist China would go into effect on July 23."

A New York Times report out of Hong Kong on August 8 stated, "U. S. Officials See China as Less of a Threat." On the same date the New York Times quoted Mr. Rogers as telling the ANZUS Treaty Council meeting in Australia, "Washington will soon undertake new approaches to Peking." Stanley Karnow, recently barred from Thailand, wrote in the International Herald-Tribune of August 12 that "the Chinese are discarding the dogmatism that dictated their recent conduct in favor of more pragmatic moves."

"Nixon looks more kindly on Peking," headlined Robert Trumbull's report from Samoa in the August 12 issue of the London TIMES. The London Daily Telegraph of August 22 carried a different story, which American readers did not get. "Left-wing students are being trained in Albania, by Chinese Communist trouble-makers for deployment in the major cities of Western Europe," wrote Clare Hollingworth from Tirana. "Albania has become the major center for the dissemination of Mao-Tse-tung tactics and doctrines in the West. Parties of 20 and 30 students arrive daily from France, West Germany, Italy, Scandinavia and even Spain and Egypt in response to the invitation of the Albanian Prime Minister, General Mehmet Shehu. They are welcomed at the port of Durazzo by the Chinese Cultural Mission."

Hollingworth added, "One group of French students told me frankly that they are preparing to cause the maximum amount of trouble with the minimum of effort and expense when they return to their universities in the autumn. Some of the tougher young men and women in their twenties were, I saw, taking courses in what were called during the last war 'tough tactics.' They were also learning how to make hand-grenades and to make the most effective use of revolvers and other small arms. Some students were devoting their holidays to the correction of proof copies of books." And if there is anything the West does not need it is riot-inspiring books printed by the Chinese in Albania.

This is Stanley Karnow's changing China on which President Nixon is looking more kindly. For the most part the visible militants forming the Peking lobby are professors, and ex-newsmedia and foreign service men become professors. As quoted authorities they prepare the public; under their influence as professors America's colleges and universities become production lines, turning out revolutionaries for such centers of advanced study as the Chinese summer camp in Albania. A look at the men selling Red China in America and their media is long overdue. Let us consider one publication: DIPLOMAT Magazine, of September 1966.

DIPLOMAT MAGAZINE, polished as the aristocrat on the De Retzke cigarette package, appears unassailable. In reality it is propaganda bearing a label suggestive of diplomacy. The parent company of DIPLOMAT is Metromedia, Inc., of 205 East 67th Street, New York; it is printed in the nation's capital. Every loyal American should have a copy of this 144-page, September 1966 issue on file for reference five years from now. Excellent Agitprop direction is discernible behind the decision to call it a "SPECIAL ISSUE - NATIONAL BRIEFING ON CHINA." Briefing emerged during the war as a military term for a pre-battle situation report, issued to officers as a basis for

their decisions. As such it implies unquestionable reliability. The soundness of a briefing is a matter of life and death.

DAVID SCHOENBRUN, Columbia Broadcasting System's former bureau chief in Paris, is listed as associate editor of DIPLOMAT, and contributor of "The Empty Chair at UN," a plea for Chinese admission to the world forum. A biography note credits Schoenbrun with being both a major contributor to the special China issue, and "responsible for much of the planning and commissioning that has made the issue possible." Read: Schoenbrun planned a smooth-appearing DIPLOMAT to advance his ideas and selected authors who would support them.

Is there a yardstick by which we might judge Schoenbrun's integrity? Yes, his book, "The Three Lives of General de Gaulle." From Schoenbrun's description of the General as a World War I demon in battle, falling wounded "like an immense tree caught by a tempest," to be taken prisoner, to the final fawning page, it is blatantly and transparently dishonest. (See H. du B. Reports, Nov.-Dec. 1966). But John Kenneth Galbraith praised it in the Sunday Herald Tribune's BOOK WEEK, of January 23, 1966.

Schoenbrun's friendship with Ho chin Minh, by his own account, dates back to the night Schoenbrun invited Ho to dinner in his Paris home, in September 1946. Newsday, Inc., circulated the pro-Hanoi articles on Schoenbrun's August 1967 visit to North Vietnam.

During the Algerian war Schoenbrun made CBS a propaganda conveyor for Algerian terrorists. Today Algeria is a Russian base. In COLLIERS' Magazine of September 30, 1955, he wrote of Vietnam, "Diem must not only remove (the Emperor) Bao Dai, but do it in such a way that he no longer has any usefulness as a symbol of Vietnamese unity." Schoenbrun should have known that the destruction of every institution that might provide unity in South Vietnam would lead to war.

By 1966 Schoenbrun had become professor of Vietnamese history at Columbia. He wrote in the Fall issue of the Columbia Forum, "The crux of the matter is this: Should not the Vietnamese have been permitted to determine their own fate in the first place?" But Mr. Schoenbrun was deciding Vietnam's fate, before he took up that of Algeria. Now he is determining the fate of Asia. The Columbia OWL in late 1967 quoted Schoenbrun as saying, "I have served my country for many years, so don't call me a dove." Was he inferring that his CBS and WINS radio posts in Europe were covers for a job with CIA, while he was boosting Ho chi Minh in Vietnam, communists in Algeria and Red China in UN?

TIME of February 2, 1968, reported without comment Schoenbrun's defense of a pro-Hanoi television documentary filmed to be run by National Educational Television channels. Schoenbrun conceded that the film gave a false impression but supported it as "a useful counterpoint to our own propaganda," a way of saying that what Americans get on Vietnam is as far to the right as Hanoi's reports are to the left. On October 21, 1968, he was in Indianapolis, lauding student revolt in Clowes Hall, of Butler University.

Paris' left-wing FIGARO LITTERAIRE of October 30, 1967, encourages Europe's revolutionaries with Schoenbrun's story of brave North Vietnam under American bombing. On May 12, 1969, he was in Walla Walla, Washington, telling students that the revolution has started and we must make America get out of Vietnam the way she got in -- by simply walking out. This is the man who for years decided what CBS television viewers were going to be told about Europe and North Africa. Since CBS sponsored him could CBS' reporting elsewhere have been any better? Now he is educating students.

MR. A. DOAK BARNETT, a Shanghai-born apologist for Red China, was commissioned by Mr. Schoenbrun to write on "Areas of Inquiry," the particular area being Red China. Mr. Barnett, as head of the department of foreign area studies in the State Department's Foreign Service Institute, was brainwashing Foreign Service employees as far back as 1956. Later he became a research fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, after that a program associate with Ford Foundation, then a professor of political science at Columbia and head of the Contemporary China Studies Committee. Joe Alsop in his column of March 22, 1966, called Barnett and John K. Fairbank "the sole serious authorities (on China) who have yet been given a large audience." TIME of May 20, 1966, hailed him as a "leading China expert." Both Barnett and Fairbank were among the 198 accorded expert status by Senator Fulbright at the Senate hearings of March 1966. There were no conservative authorities at those hearings.

MISS MYRA ROPER, Australian who like her Red compatriot Wilfred Burchett goes into and out of China at will, has two articles in the Schoenbrun issue, one on her China travels and another on Chinese art. Only an approved propagandist could have made Miss Roper's trips and been able to reach Marshal Chen Yi, or would have printed Chen Yi's judgment of Americans: "Roosevelt, the wisest of them, died, alas, too soon."

HAROLD R. ISAACS, who in the 1930-'35 years worked beside Chou En-lai's present representative in Hong Kong, Mr. Fei Yi-ming, in the office of Havas News Agency in Shanghai, was assigned the job of dealing with "Old Realities and New Myths." What of his principles? How seriously should we take him? That Isaacs, who describes himself as a Trotskyite, could tell us much there is no doubt. He was in the Red inner circle in Shanghai during the period of Eugene Dennis' activity there, while a German named Sorge was setting up the greatest Red spy ring of World War II and Ho chi Minh, under the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc, was being defended by Stafford Cripps in Hong Kong. Expelled from China for his pro-Red writings during World War II, Isaacs was sent by NEWSWEEK to Korea, Japan, French Indo-China and Java. His report in HARPERS of April 1946 is an example of revolutionary fervor -- of honest reporting, no.

Seven pages of Isaacs' theorizing -- no information -- comprise DIPLOMAT's coverage of China's old realities and new myths. They are boring. Only a pro-Red propaganda organ would print them, or an already dedicated leftist

wade through them.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK, whom Joe Alsop ranks with A. Doak Barnett as one of the sole, serious authorities on China to be given a large audience in America, is Harvard's East Asian Research Center director. The New York Times of August 15, 1967, called him America's "foremost China authority." Fairbank's contribution is "Reflections on the China Problem," two pages of expensive paper devoted to a plea that America encourage "China's peaceful participation in the international world of diplomacy, trade, travel, information, disarmament negotiations and technical and cultural exchange." He presupposes that Red China wants to be peaceful.

On page 39 he asks if "the sequence of Japan's modernization, expansion, defeat and eventual friendship with us (must) be repeated in China." Only Professor Fairbank's collaboration on books with Edwin O. Reischauer, whom Kennedy sent to Japan to open a dialogue with the Japanese Left, can explain the conviction that Japan's friendship with America is more than a transient phase, between Japan's era of anti-communist militarism and the era of leftist economic expansion to come.

In the San Francisco Chronicle of May 20, 1967, Fairbank says that we got into Vietnam as we got into Korea and that we cannot expect to negotiate a Vietnam settlement without negotiating with China. (We could, if we were negotiating from a position of strength.) On August 15, 1967, at the University of Michigan's 27th International Congress of Orientalists, Professor Fairbank asked, "Where are the American experts on Vietnam?" He was implying that we have none. We have, but they are excluded from the closed circle for refusing to go along with the self-appointed expert pool.

Vice Admiral Milton E. Miles, in his notes for "A Different Kind of War," mentions Fairbank in connection with OSS activity against Nationalist China and in favor of China's Reds. In a letter to the New York Times of July 1, 1969, he entered the fray against the ABM Safeguard system, but here the charge that Nationalist China hoarded the weapons we gave her during World War II, instead of fighting, is used to prove that it is not in the nature of Chinese to make war; therefore, we have no need to fear Red China's growing nuclear arsenal and we do not need an ABM system. Anthony Kubeck, in "How the Far East was Lost," describes Fairbank as a propagandist for Mao Tse-tung.

O. EDMUND CLUBB, the American consul whom Dean Acheson permitted to retire with a \$5,800 a year pension, against the recommendation of his own Loyalty Security Board, is Mr. Schoenbrun's choice as an authority on "Sino-American Relations." In Shanghai in 1939 Clubb was on the files of French Intelligence as turning over secret papers from the American consulate to a French Red who was then head of the Havas News bureau. At a Whitaker Chambers hearing, in August 1951, Clubb admitted carrying letters from Agnes Smedley, the American communist named by Sorge as a member of his spy ring, to the office of "New Masses" in New York, where he was introduced to Michael Gold as Comrade Clubb.

Though Acheson called witnesses from halfway around the world to testify for Clubb at his Loyalty Board hearings, and brought Nathaniel P. Davis out of retirement to clear him, witnesses against Clubb (including your correspondent) were informed when and where the hearings would take place, and told that they could come if they cared to, at their own expense. He is now on the Political Science faculty at Columbia University.

MARC RIBOUD, a French left-wing photographer who has provided Red editors in Europe with their best photographs of Asia's heroic Reds confronting imperialist America, is responsible for most of the "worth-a-thousand-words" pictures in this issue.

FELIX GREENE, author of "A CURTAIN OF IGNORANCE. China - How America is deceived," does the bomb-brandishing for Mr. Schoenbrun. Contrary to the Fairbank premise that China is not to be feared and no defense system is necessary against her because it is not in China's nature to make war, Mr. Greene, whom Senator Milward L. Simpson (R. Wyo.) has charged with being an agent of Peking, threatens us with war with Red China if we do not get out of Vietnam. Greene owes his place in this issue to the many trips he made to Red China on his British passport and re-entries into America by grace of his American wife.

TO SUM IT UP: There are twenty articles - all pro-Red China - in this biased issue sold as a diplomatic briefing. Five years from now it should be unearthed, studied, analyzed. A book should be written about it. Granted, Praeger & Co. would never print it, since it would not be the sort of book CIA would finance. And the Pall Mall Press, which Praeger owns, would never bring it out in Britain. Pall Mall Press' editor, Mr. Murray Mindlin, who helped run the left-orientated Congress of Cultural Freedom until it folded up after the admission that it was funded by CIA, would certainly ask critics to blacklist it if such a book would appear today. But a time will come.

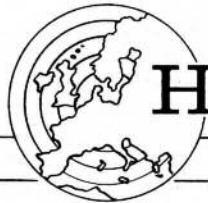
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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from H. du B. REPORTS, 3678 Grayburn Road, Pasadena, California 91107



CAMBODIA -- FOR THE RECORD



In July 1958 the 199th broadcast of a respected American commentator stated that pro-communist Cambodia had invaded pro-American South Vietnam. The truth was, President Diem had sent troops into Cambodia in pursuit of his personal enemies, remnants of the Binh Xuyen army that had kept the Reds out of Saigon and followers of the anti-communist Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects. Diem's soldiers moved the frontier marker five miles inland, where Cambodian National Highway 19 crossed the border from Vietnam and occupied three Cambodian villages. Till then Cambodia had had no relations with Peking.

Prior to independence, Cambodia, Laos and what is now the two Vietnams were known as French Indo-China. A group of Americans doing very much as they pleased drove the Emperor out of South Vietnam in 1955, and resented the fact that they could not move into Laos and Cambodia as well with what was grandiloquently called "America's great experiment." Consequently the New York Times of June 27, 1958, reported untruthfully that Cambodia's charges of invasion were "purely imaginary." A day later the Times carried an attack on Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Senator Mike Mansfield claimed responsibility for discovering South Vietnam's President (HARPER'S, January 1956) and supported, at home, the team that crushed all Vietnamese attempts to unload him, so Cambodia asked Washington to mediate, which is to say, restrain her man. John Foster Dulles' reply that America could not intervene unless requested by both parties amounted to a blank check for President Diem and his brother Nhu. At that point Peking stepped in and offered to guarantee Cambodia's territorial integrity, and Cambodian recognition of Red China became inevitable. Thereafter American writers and officials who normally serve as apologists for Red leaders proceeded to denounce Cambodia's prince as pro-communist.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK: What Cambodia's leader has to say about all this, no American statesman or big-name editor has to date bothered to ask. Whether one agrees with His Highness or not, his case should be heard. Probably no Chief of State, politically and geographically in a position of desperation, ever poured out his heart in such a frank exposition of his problems as Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia did in a letter of August 16, 1969, to your correspondent.

"The Americans have never had a real dialogue with us to date," was the essence of the Prince's appeal for understanding, "in spite of the fact that I have endeavored to leave no question unanswered. I do hope that this frank explanation will make it worth while for you to correct some of the misunderstandings regarding my country."

On paper bearing the gold-embossed crest of Cambodia and His Highness' personal heading, the following letter, written in French, under file number 1029/SPU, and dated "Phnom Penh, August 16, 1969," is here reproduced in its entirety.



SAMDECH PREAH
NORODOM SIHANOUK UPAYUVAREACH
CHEF DE L'ETAT DU CAMBODGE

"Dear Monsieur, I have read with interest the short and interesting study which you have devoted to my country in the July-August issue of American Opinion Magazine. I know that you conscientiously did your research with objectivity. Will you permit me, however, to offer some precisions concerning your information and comments, for your personal use and eventually for the edification of your readers.

"Let me first assure you that I receive without exception all the mail addressed to me. To get in touch with me it is not necessary to go through one or another of our diplomats. It is sufficient to write to the Chief of State of Cambodia, in Phnom Penh, as do hundreds of correspondents from abroad who are not always in accord with my policies. I read all of my mail and I always reply.

(Editor's note: Your correspondent had recommended Mr. Tes Suthya, in the Cambodian consulate in Hong Kong, because of this young diplomat's fluency in English and pleasant courtesy, in contrast to the hostility encountered by visitors to the Cambodian offices in New York, since the departure of Ambassador Nong Kimny, who is, as of last reports, now in New Delhi.)

I would like to make clear several points:

1. The population of my country approaches, and probably reaches at present, seven million people. We shelter

approximately 400,000 Vietnamese and 350,000 Chinese. As for our montagnards, they are not a minority group but completely integrated Khmers descended from the original occupants of the country. As one can see by the bas reliefs of the temple of Bayon, they have the same physical features as the inhabitants of Angkor of the ninth and tenth centuries.

"2. It is true that our frontiers are not everywhere guarded as well as we would wish. The fact is, they are long, particularly in the northeast, close to Laos and central Vietnam, and they pass through sparsely inhabited jungle regions where we are multiplying roads and trails for our own economic and strategic purposes. Our regular army with its 37,000 men and our provincial guards (of around 10,000) have three frontiers that might be called hot to patrol -- and our means do not permit us to enlarge these modest units which are supported entirely by our national budget.

"3. I would not deny that, particularly in recent years, there has been a 'traditional hostility' between the Khmers and the Vietnamese. The latter (and with reason) are regarded by my compatriots as 'swallowers of Khmer territory.' With the support of the more reasonable of my compatriots, I have tried to end a state of affairs which appears to many to be our inevitable destiny. History will bear out my claim, I believe, that I have tried for years, and in vain, to bring about a reconciliation with the Saigon Government. The latter has wanted us, on one hand, to range ourselves politically and militarily at their side. At the same time it has laid claims (which no power would dare support openly) to certain of our coastal islands and frontier villages.

"I finally proposed to the government of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, who say they desire the friendship of Cambodia, that they fix our common frontier permanently by solemnly renouncing their territorial claims, while we, on our part, would renounce our historic rights in Cochinchina, which had been Khmer territory and where 800,000 of our own race are still living. Hanoi and the FNL gave us the most official assurances that they would respect and recognize our territorial integrity along the existing borders. They no less officially engaged themselves to refrain from meddling in our internal affairs. Consequently, we now have, as far as the Vietnamese are concerned, a clear legal case. It remains to be seen if the assurances they gave us will be respected in the future.

"The war in Vietnam has created, as you know, conditions that are hardly conducive to respect of our frontiers by the belligerents. Vietnamese communist forces in relatively important numbers have infiltrated into our north-east and eastern provinces. We try to dislodge them, first by diplomacy and when that fails by military pressure. Whether or not they pull out when the war is over will be the test of the sincerity of engagements signed by the Vietnamese communists. Then we will know if 'the traditional hostility' between us and them has, or no longer has, reason for existing, and we ardently hope that it will not have.

"4. I thank you for having recognized that a 'flood of dishonest propaganda' swept the United States in 1958 when Saigon forces invaded our country in numbers and moved the frontier-markers in an attempt to justify the beginning of an annexation of territory. Certainly, the United States was perfectly aware of the truth but made not the slightest effort to stop their South Vietnamese protégés. (In fact, they did the contrary.) The United States ambassador in Phnom Penh informed us that arms and munitions furnished our armed forces by his country must not be used against any 'allied' nation, which was to say, South Vietnam. Permit me to point out that, on the other hand, neither the Soviet Union nor China ever stopped us from using war materiel they had sold us against our bands of communist rebels and eventually the (North) Vietnamese invaders, who are their allies.

"5. Here is a point of relative historical importance: Our rupture with the United States in May 1965 was not because of the nomination of Mr. Kidder as ambassador to Phnom Penh. We broke off relations after a long series of deliberate American aggressions by land and in the air along our frontiers which killed and wounded a number of our people. I had advised the United States some months before that relations would be broken the third time such an aggression occurred. Not until the fifth such 'clash' did I put my words into effect. Furthermore, let me add, the American weekly, NEWSWEEK, at this time published a vicious article pretending that the Queen, my mother, (who has lived in retirement since the death of her husband), was directing 'a string of brothels' in Phnom Penh. This was the drop of water which over-ran the vase.

"Today things have evolved to the extent that I am carrying on a friendly correspondence with Mr. Nixon. The United States has recognized and promised to respect not only our territorial integrity within our actual frontiers, but our sovereignty, our independence and our neutrality. Consequently, we have found it fitting to renew our diplomatic relations. And, because we are realistic and wish to have as many friends as possible, we have invited your President to render us an official visit on his next trip to Asia. A most cordial and friendly welcome will be accorded him.

"6. As for our relations with the Popular Republic of China, these were excellent for a time but were clouded by the excesses of Maoist propaganda beamed at our youth (which I quickly stopped.) Since then relations have become good again and will continue to be so as long as our Chinese friends continue -- as they do at present -- to refrain from meddling, or at least meddling too much, in our internal affairs. We are aware of the dynamism of Chinese communism and of its Asian ambitions. We do not pretend that we can escape it forever. But we shall try, for as long as possible, to hold foreign ideologies at a distance and to follow our road of nationalism and a Buddhist socialism in accordance with the will of the immense majority of our people.

"I must add, because this does not seem to necessarily follow, for American observers, that the fact of our renewing relations with the United States, which is not yet a reconciliation -- many scars will have to be healed before this can happen -- will in no way have any bearing, for us at least, on our future relations with China. Neutral as we are and desire to remain, our ardent hope is to be friendly with everybody, provided that is possible. Our dream is to be a sort of Far-East Switzerland. I say 'our dream' because we do not have any illusions, living as we do in this most torn-up continent. We know that neutrality is the least easy position to occupy, that it

demands the most sacrifices, that it will bring constant alarms and that it is the least understood. Do not ask me how many years -- or how many months -- this can go on. Heaven only knows.

"I thought these reflections, put on paper in haste, might interest you, along with what you read. Naturally, I give you permission to reproduce them or use them in any form you deem appropriate. The Americans have never had a real dialogue with us, to date, in spite of the fact that I have endeavored to leave no question unanswered.

"I do hope that this frank explanation will make it worthwhile for you to correct some of the misunderstandings regarding my country.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) NORODOM SIHANOUK"

A LOOK AT THE MAP. We may doubt the efficacy of a "Buddhist socialism." but Cambodia does not pretend to export it. The question is, could Prince Norodom, in his nation's interests, have done otherwise than as he has? In a strife-torn continent, bordered by more powerful, hostile nations, and under the shadow of ominous China, the position of a small country with Cambodia's resources is worse than precarious.

WHAT OF THE SCARS MENTIONED BY THE PRINCE? Of the villagers killed by American raids on areas where the Vietcong had taken refuge (or fired on passing planes for the deliberate purpose of drawing American bombs on innocent villagers), we know. American liberals who screamed to heaven when the French bombed an Algerian base in Tunisia in 1958 have been singularly silent about the raids and incursions into Cambodia, on which Phnom Penh has published a 133-page White Book. The reason for this discreet silence is probably the fact that the obvious way to immobilize the Vietcong would have been to hit their havens in North Vietnam.

INTELLIGENCE SERVICES tend to become little empires within a country through the extreme secrecy with which they are run, the absence of accountability and the loyalty of agents to each other. When such a service is formed by and around the sort of men who rose under Franklin D. Roosevelt, American involvement with dubious projects and protégés becomes inevitable. As distance from home increases, control over high-handed agents thins and disappears. Such agents made Indo-China (and later Vietnam) a testing ground for ideas as irresponsible as FDR's myth of "Good old Joe." That is why thousands of boys have died in Vietnam in a war they could have won.

Entrenched "liberals" saw to it that only agents of their thinking were hired, and those responsible for costly idiocies were shielded. Kenneth T. Ripley, who spent millions grooming the wrong protégés and destroying good men in Vietnam, is today in Paris with his CIA wife, who is an observer to peace negotiations which are taking the form of an American surrender. It was foreseeable that in the hands of such men only what has happened could happen.

Well might U. S. News & World Report of April 30, 1954, ask "Will G. I.'s fight in Indo-China?" So avidly did a group of Washington insiders want just this, they sent Colonel Edward Lansdale and a hand-picked team to Saigon in late 1950 to ask the French to let them, with America's vaster resources, take over operations in the high plateaus of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. An account of General de Lattre's ordering the Lansdale team kept out of the country may be found on page 744 of Lucien Bodard's book, "L'AVENTURE -- de Lattre et Les Viets." (Gallimard, Paris, \$6). In Cambodia, as in Vietnam, where CIA operators were picking up young men and sending them to American universities, the penchant of our unrestrained operators to sabotage governments they did not like and advance men of their choosing began to manifest itself.

THE SAM SARY AFFAIR. TIME Magazine of June 23, 1952, attacked a Cambodian named Son Ngoc Thanh, who had been Prime Minister of Cambodia under the Japanese. TIME of March 14, 1955, spoke of Son Ngoc Thanh as a "jungle exile" leading a left-wing Democratic Party. On November 21, 1958, Cambodia broke diplomatic relations with Thailand, charging that a plot was being fomented on Thai soil against Cambodia. On February 22, 1959, the (London) OBSERVER carried Dennis Bloodworth's story of the plot that failed:

The Son Ngoc Thanh, of whom TIME disapproved in 1952 and '55, had become the civilian leader in a plot in which American agents operating out of Saigon and Bangkok had a hand. Associated with him was Mr. Sam Sary, a former ambassador to Britain who had been recalled for allegedly hitting his housemaid. The military leader in the conspiracy was Dap Cchuan, commander of the region of Siem Reap, site of the famous ruins of Angkor Wat. Americans were told nothing of this affair. The (London) OBSERVER reported that large sums had been spent to buy officers in the Cambodian army and police, and that many plotters had been arrested along with compromising documents, but rebel troops were still massed on the Vietnamese border near sites where considerable quantities of arms had been buried and two clandestine anti-Government radios were broadcasting. According to papers seized, the Vietnamese consul-general in Phnom Penh had recruited Dap Cchuan, who personally took delivery of arms and gold flown in to him. America was charged with having engineered and financed the conspiracy for the purpose of deposing the monarchy and making Cambodia a Vietnam-type republic.

French reports described the raid on Dap Cchuan's quarters in Siem Reap, where two Vietnamese officers were seized with American radio equipment, papers, code books and a transfer of forty-three million Cambodian riels from the Vietnamese consul in Hong Kong. A translator employed by the U. S. Information Service office in Phnom Penh later stated that when he told his boss of Dap Cchuong's death our "information" chief exclaimed to his assistant, "Everything is lost!" After this incident relations with America were irretrievably poisoned. Reports of plots against the throne and to assassinate Prince Norodom Sihanouk followed in rapid succession. Eventually the Prince found himself fighting a two-front war.

"FREE KHMERS" ON ONE HAND AND COMMUNISTS ON THE OTHER. In a letter as frank as his August 16 communication, Prince Norodom Sihanouk wrote your correspondent on May 1, 1969, that, to him, the right of a people to decide its own destiny was sacred, and that the only condition he had ever posed to a reconciliation with America was that we recognize and respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within its actual frontiers. His Highness continued, "We are now fighting against a double rebellion inspired and directed from abroad: that of the so-called 'Free Khmer' movement, sheltered by Thailand and for a long time supported by certain American services, and that of the 'Red Khmers,' our local communists supported and armed by the Asian socialist camp. All that we want is to be the masters of our own destiny without foreign interference. Our hope is that the foreign influences at work in this region will end by neutralizing themselves and establishing an equilibrium as far as we are concerned, thereby permitting us to survive. That is the whole meaning of our diplomatic action."

The Prince's claim that while trying to put down the communists he has had to fight a revolt backed by us as well merits study. That he has tried to stamp out native Reds there is no doubt. Dennis Bloodworth described in the (London) OBSERVER of November 15, 1964, how a loyal Cambodian official, standing in a bomb-wrecked Cambodian village half a mile from the Vietnamese border, had exclaimed to him, "We kill any armed Vietnamese who crosses into our territory, whether he wears the uniform of Saigon or the black pajamas of the Vietcong."

U. S. News & World Report of May 17, 1965, observed that "when Buddhist priests wanted to demonstrate in sympathy with Vietnam's Buddhists last August, Sihanouk told them to stay in their temples." On January 15, 1968, the (London) Daily Telegraph reported that Cambodia had arrested the leaders of a Chinese network which had sent young "Red Khmers" out on motorcycles at night, distributing subversive tracts. What then of the "Free Khmers" our agents are accused of supporting, while refusing to help freedom uprisings in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, North Vietnam or Red China?

THE KHMERS SEREI. From the amount of evidence amassed, it seems clear that the Khmer Serei, or the "Free Khmers," are not a chimera. On November 27, 1963, an AP dispatch out of Saigon reported the capture of a Khmer Serei rebel named Preap Inn, in the Cambodian province of Takeo, which adjoins South Vietnam. Inn stated that he and fifty other American-trained and American-paid guerilla instructors had been sent into Cambodia to rally followers of Son Ngoc Thanh, who was then in Saigon and reported to be in contact with American diplomats, against the Cambodian monarchy. (Cabot Lodge was American ambassador to Saigon at the time.) Photographs of the political committee of the Khmer Serei and their base camp at Phnom Melai have been widely circulated. This camp, called "Angkorreachville" (Royal Capital), has been identified by Cambodian rebels who have rallied to the government with large supplies of arms as the future headquarters of a "Cambodian Liberation Front," destined to conduct military operations on Cambodian soil.

The trucking of Cambodian trees into Thailand has given rise to rumors that a private Thai company is behind Khmer Serei activity. Cambodians reply that private companies do not have the means, or the military equipment, for an operation of this importance, unless financed and backed by "American secret services," a term used to imply CIA. Another theory is that Americans, with Thai associates, may have set up the Khmer Serei movement in preparation for someday using the Chinese and North Vietnam-inspired revolt as justification for a Khmer Serei "war of liberation," which could end with large slices of Cambodia going to Thailand and Vietnam. Only a frank halt to all meddling can put a stop to such suspicions.

Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman insists that his country has no territorial ambitions in Cambodia and knows nothing of the activity that has led to the capture of Thai officers and military vehicles on Cambodian soil. This puts the whole thing back in the lap of CIA, which, since the days when Colonel Edward Lansdale was running an operation called "Sea Supply" in Bangkok, has been suspect. (The London ECONOMIST's "Confidential" report of March 19, 1959, mentioned suspicions of Lansdale in connection with the Dap Cchuan plot against the monarchy, though he was not in Asia at the time. The report was the more credible because of Lansdale's role in destroying the monarchy in South Vietnam.)

TO SUM IT UP: America has refused to halt the Red revolt in Cambodia by hitting it at its source, in North Vietnam, or letting the South Vietnamese do so. Why have we hit the North Vietnamese in Cambodia rather than in North Vietnam? Is it true that, while a native Red revolt threatened Prince Norodom Sihanouk, we set up another rebellion to strike from the rear? If so, why? Was fomenting of a Cambodian civil war and destruction of the Prince's government part of a deal which Americans who wanted out of Vietnam without victory were making? It is time some American leader gives Cambodia's charges an honest investigation.

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OUTER MONGOLIA -- Background to the Drama

Locked in the vast wastes of Central Asia is Outer Mongolia -- the ana-yurdu, the mother hearth, of the great Khans who once marched over the world's roof to the gates of Vienna.

Russia is to the north and west. To the south, beyond the Gobi Desert, lies China and in the east Manchuria. TIME of March 28, 1969, made its contribution to the wave of fright-peddling by reporting, as though it had already happened, the clash between Red China and Russia which the public has been told is likely to come. Contrary to Harrison Salisbury, out-and-out war is unlikely, despite reports that China is moving her nuclear installations to



Tibet, and that Russia is the West's friend against the sword-rattlers in Peking.

Sino-Russian squabbles there are, for the simple reason that both are stubborn, suspicious and endowed with egos that make permanent good relations with either impossible. Add the fact that Russia holds Outer Mongolia, an area of untapped resources three times the size of France. Peking considers that everything which China ever owned rightfully belongs to her. Tensions result, but let Russia deliver an ultimatum to America in the Mediterranean or China create an incident in Asia, where our treasonable Vietnam demonstrations are seen as proof that America is a dead lion, and in fifteen minutes the so-called Sino-Russian breach will close. Senator Fulbright should get it out of his head that his calls for good relations with Russia and China will ever bring either to be America's ally against the other.

THE STORY OF OUTER MONGOLIA. Had Philip Wylie, twenty-five years after writing "A Generation of Vipers," decided to do a book entitled "A Generation of Traitors," his heroes would be the crowd now calling for American surrender in Vietnam, on the specious argument that giving up the fight will bring us Russia's friendship, Red China's good will and an end to war. Yet, they were not the first to become convinced that a Russian-Chinese conflict which might be turned to our advantage is possible. The spiritual leader of the Mongols, the Living Buddha, in Ourga, prophesied half a century ago that peace or war and the fate of the world would be decided in Outer Mongolia. Learned elders of tribes whose grazing grounds had been kingdoms when Marco Polo went to what is now Peking, nodded their heads in agreement.

In 1961 Russia strengthened her anti-western vote in UN by pushing Outer Mongolia into the General Assembly and establishing Mongolian embassies in a number of western countries. 1966 was an even more important year. France sent an ambassador to Ulan Bator and America's Owen Lattimore so sold the American Left on Outer Mongolia that Mike Mansfield on May 9, 1966, urged that an American embassy be established in Ulan Bator, "as a listening post between China and the Soviet Union." What the princely Kalkas, who form a 70% majority and who hate the Russians as intensely as they do the Chinese, thought about all this, Montana's Senator Mansfield could not care less.

On April 18, 1966, Dean Rusk declared at a nationally televised hearing that Foreign Aid was essential to American policy. The definition of Foreign Aid as "money paid by poor people in rich nations to rich people in poor nations" had not yet become axiomatic, nor had Indira Gandhi bought her fifty-room castle in Italy with funds wrung from the American taxpayer. On the day of Dean Rusk's lofty announcement, Senator Mansfield told the Senate that either Japan (which is anti-American) or Burma (marxist!) would be ideal places for American negotiations with China, North Vietnam and "essential elements in South Vietnam." Russia continued to plant the idea that Mongolia is the perfect example of a country solving the problems of new nationhood by forging an alliance of local peasantry and Russia's working class against the tyrannies of imperialism and feudalism, and American universities took in communist professors by the hundreds to give the Red line substantiation.

THE MONGOLS. Sadder than the treatment of America's noble Redskin by far is the fate of the Mongolians whose ancestors followed the nine-yak-tail banner of the Great Khan and Tamerlane across the Yellow River, the Vistula, the Danube and the Euphrates to spread terror over Asia, Europe and the Middle East. By 1966, when Owen Lattimore and Mike Mansfield were spreading the Russian picture of idyllic Mongolia, the descendants of the Great Khans were in the last convulsions of their death agony as a people. Gone was the freedom of the old nomadic ways. Some, seeking escape in Buddhism's philosophy of the meaninglessness of this world's things, sought to build up merits for the next world by ceaselessly repeating the incantation, "Aum mani padmi him" -- the jewel is on the lotus. The spasm of 1921 was old Mongolia's last grasp for greatness, and it was as the dupe of a

foreigner's ambitions. Mongolia's Supreme Guide, Bogdo-Gueguen, the Holy Hutuktu of the city of Ourga, the Living Buddha, sat on the lotus throne at the time, as the temporary incarnation of Wisdom and divine Selflessness. Spring had come, and with it the three months of warmth when Mongolia is released from the merciless cold that grips the country for the rest of the year.

Into the Holy Hutuktu's presence came a Baltic officer of the Czar, fleeing before the Bolsheviks. This was the famous "Mad Baron," the Baron von Ungern Sternberg, who had retreated across Siberia with Admiral Kolchak, until Kolchak was handed over to the Reds by the French and British who had undertaken to guard his train on the exodus to Vladivostok. After Kolchak's execution Ungern-Sternberg gathered together stragglers from the wreckage of the White Russian Army and fell back on Outer Mongolia.

Mongolia and three other exterior provinces of China were able to shake off Peking rule during the Chinese upheaval of 1911, and in the ten years that followed, Outer Mongolia existed as an autonomous theocracy under His Holiness the Hutuktu Bogdo-Gueguen. But the threat of invasion by the Russians, who saw Outer Mongolia as a base for penetration into Asia, was ever-present. China regarded Outer Mongolia as a dissident province and bided her time. Her opportunity came when Czarist Russia began to founder. As the cold Mongolian winter of 1917 drew to a close, China over-ran the disputed province, but her control was not to last. The "Mad Baron," with his disciplined and experienced troops, drove out the Chinese. Ungern-Sternberg, modern as he was in the field of soldiering, was a strange character. Superstitious and filled with the spiritual mysticism of the Slavs, he bowed before the Holy Hutuktu, and Bogdo-Gueguen continued to rule Outer Mongolia through his hold on the baron, across whose mind flitted dark fantasies of the supernatural.

In September 1920 a nondescript delegation of five Mongols appeared before Lenin in Moscow. They were Sokhe-Bator, the printer who was to become Red Mongolia's national hero; Tchoibalsan, who had gone to a Russian school; Dansan, the minor official; and two lamas, Chardobadj and Bodo. After a tactic that Soviet Russia was to make famous, the hand-picked Mongols had been brought to Moscow to ask for "Russian aid." For the appeal to carry weight it was important that two lamas be in the group. By the time Ungern-Sternberg learned of the Russian-inspired request for help, Red armies had penetrated into Mongolia, and it was on receipt of this news that he hurried to kneel before the Living Buddha with hands joined over his forehead, that June day of 1921, to ask that His Holiness look into the future. Bogdo-Gueguen, squatting on a low throne, gave an order in Mongol and a crystal ball was placed before him. Three times he spread his hands over the ball and each time a fountain of blood surged up from within, covering its surface. He told the baron, "The passing of time is like flowers separated from leaves in a garland to which both are held in their respective places by the same invisible thread. In the first bath of blood into which the world was plunged, a new era came to the Mongol people. You assisted at its birth and you made them conscious of the unity of the great Mongol family. But your mission will soon be ended and when the end comes you will break forever the chain of reincarnation; you will go to merge with the primordial eternity, the Adhibuddha.

"After a whole generation has passed, a new wave of blood will cover the earth. The East and the West will be locked in conflict for the control of Mongolia and on this place the peace of the world will depend. Another generation will pass and a new cosmic cycle will open, that of Maitraiya, the Golden Messiah. The empires that fought for possession of Mongolia will be wiped out by a fire from heaven. Then the Blessed Buddha will reunite all the lands of the Mongols in a fold in His robe and deliver them from sorrow forever." The baron went out from that meeting with the feelings of a man whose fate had been sealed. Whether he might have defeated the approaching Reds is conjectural; in his mind the outcome had already been settled. A few weeks later the Red army took Ourga by assault. Ungern-Sternberg and most of his followers were massacred. The Hutuktu was deposed for having collaborated with the forces of "reaction" and in his place the Russians installed the Lama Bodo, the puppet who had gone to Lenin. This is how Russia took over Outer Mongolia, an area larger than the six Common Market countries of Western Europe.

Ourga, renamed Ulan-Bator-Cholo, City of the Red Hero, became capital of the most important of the four Mongol nations, three of which are under Russian domination. The Soviet Socialist Republic of Buryato-Mongolia, home of some 300,000 Buryats, is now part of Siberia. The autonomous Mongol Republic of Touva holds rich deposits of uranium and a sparse population of 200,000, with Kyzyl for its capital. To the south and separated by a great wall, punctuated by fortified towers, is China's Inner Mongolia, fourth member of the great Mongol family. For a century these four pockets of Mongol life have been the objects of Chinese and Russian intrigues. The passing of Nationalist power to the Communists in China did not make either Chinese or Russians forget the grudges of history. Under the Yuans a Mongol dynasty had dominated China, until they were deposed by the Mings and the Tsings. In the XIXth century the Russians subjugated and christianized the Kalmuks in the west and pushed on to the shores of Lake Baikal, annexing the territory of the Buryats in the east. Decadent China was too weak to do anything but accept the Czarist conquests.

With the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 came China's era of warlordism and pillaging generals. Vast China writhed like a sundered dragon, destroying herself and czarist Russia, on November 3, 1912, packaged Mongolia in a new map that was to drag the land of the Kalka princes into communism when the Russian Empire fell. By 1914 a colonizing horde of Russian traders, landless peasants and voracious adventurers had been planted in Outer Mongolia, to make Russia's claims permanent.

Hardly had Imperial Russia taken root when the Czar fell and Chinese soldiers returned to Outer Mongolia and Touva. In Moscow a Red commissar named Tchitcherine, in the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, favored renouncing Russian claims to Touva and recognizing the autonomy of Outer Mongolia within China's sphere of influence, but above him Russia's new masters were already preparing to follow the czarist policy of expansion. By one means or another -- diplomacy or carefully planned violence followed by appeals to Moscow for restoration of order -- the Chinese were again edged out.

Bodo, the lama, and Danzan, the minor official, who had gone to Moscow in 1920 to ask Lenin to deliver Mongolia from the "Mad Baron," made the mistake of collaborating with the Chinese during Peking's brief return to power. Soviet agents condemned both of them to death as "instruments of Chinese provocation."

In 1924 the old Hutuktu, the Supreme Pontiff of Mongolian Buddhism, died, and Moscow decreed that no new Hutuktu should be elected but that Outer Mongolia would become Russia's first Soviet Peoples' Republic. Only in Touva was there resistance to the Russian edict. Touva's prime minister, a devout Buddhist named Dondouk, resisted both Russian pressure and Chinese intrigues, and in 1926 groped for support by signing a treaty of perpetual friendship with Outer Mongolia. Two years later he proclaimed Buddhism the state religion. Then, suddenly, he mysteriously disappeared and Stalin moved to bring the Mongols to heel. Every Mongol suspected of cooperation with China was executed, the Mongol written language was replaced by the Latin alphabet and then by the Russian. Russian language courses became obligatory in schools and monasteries, all land was expropriated and herds became the property of state farms. Lamas were deprived of the right to vote, while a Mongol renegade named Yumzhagun Tsendenbal, who had been trained in Moscow and had married a Russian woman, took over the puppet state which Sokhe Bator and his successor, Tchoibalsan -- leaders of the 1920 delegation to Moscow -- had formed under Russian tutelage. It was the end of the dream of the Kalka princes to form a free and united Mongol kingdom. A ferocious drive was launched against religion, Mongol nationalism and all the old customs and traditions. Henceforth it was forbidden by law to recite or teach the epic poems of Genghis Khan which had first been printed in book form in 1715. In place of the great Kha Khan, Mongol children were given a new hero -- Peter the Great -- on the pretext that in 1701 he had been the first to promise to protect the Mongols against the Chinese.

Buryato-Mongolia became the scene of repressive Russification and expropriation as Ukrainians and Russians were moved into the country to set up collective farms and make the original inhabitants a minority. Beyond the horizon, however, a new danger was forming. Japanese militarism was on the rise and in 1931 Lieutenant-General Kenji Doihara, Japan's master of conquest by intrigue and negotiation, succeeded in planting the flag of the rising sun over Manchuria. Japan's Kwantung Army clique, the elite of the Japanese Army, sliced one morsel after another off the periphery of China. The Manchurian province of Hsingian was proclaimed an autonomous Mongol state; and in 1937 Prince Teh, claimant to the succession of Genghis Khan, was proclaimed ruler of Inner Mongolia, for which the Japs claimed Touva and Buryato-Mongolia as rightful possessions. Russia retaliated by ordering Ulan Bator and the government in Touva to sever relations with China and the Japanese puppet area. Over Outer Mongolia Stalin placed the most brutal and trusted Mongol in his service: Tchoibalsan, the old 1920 emissary to Moscow.

In the Dutch consulate in Nanking a beautiful young woman, married to a Dutch vice-consul, watched with horrified fascination the unfolding of events which the prophecy of His Holiness the Hutuktu Bogdo-Gueguen had predicted. She was the "Mad Baron's" daughter.

By mid-1937 Japan was on the march, step by step, so it seemed, toward a pre-ordained destiny -- the second surge of blood in the crystal ball of the Kutuktu. The Japanese Imperial High Command in Manchuria demanded the right to post military observers in Ulan Bator. Tchoibalsan rejected the request, whereupon Stalin made him a Marshal and propagandists spoke of him as a Mongol Stalin. Several times he wiped out over-extended Japanese columns trying to infiltrate Outer Mongolia. While protecting Siberia and the Kuznets oil fields from the Japs, he provided Russia with meat and furs. In April of 1945 he declared war on Japan and until August 15, when Hirohito's broadcast brought an end to hostilities, it was Tchoibalsan, the Mongol, who gave Stalin his most spectacular victories in the East.

On October 21, 1945, with the chills of approaching winter in the air, Tchoibalsan set up the plebiscite that rejected China's claims and gave Outer Mongolia the fiction of being a "free and sovereign" state, under the Russian-dictated constitution of June 30, 1940. In return, Stalin let him take over his native Buryato-Mongolia, as well as Touva, both of which Russia had annexed on August 17, 1944, and on January 26, 1952, Tchoibalsan died in Moscow, convinced that defeated Japan and crumbling China would never again menace Mongolia. The second blood bath of the world which the Holy Hutuktu had foreseen -- a generation after the first -- had come as foretold, bringing with it the frightening new weapon which wiped out Hiroshima. Tchoibalsan had long since ceased to believe in the mysteries of the lamas, but superstitious Mongols, in furtive talks among themselves, felt that this new weapon was the ball of fire from heaven which would come a generation after the second wave of blood and wipe out the empires which had contended for possession of Mongolia.

THE CHINESE THREAT DID NOT DISAPPEAR. As Chiang Kai-shek withdrew to Formosa, Mao Tse-tung installed himself in Peking and took up the claims of China's Emperors. Mao conceived a plan to establish a foothold in Mongolia and bore from within. Accordingly, in 1950 he opened an embassy in Ulan Bator and negotiated the sort of commercial and cultural ties which Senator Fulbright is urging to establish with Mongolia. Khrushchev's campaign of de-Stalinization touched off anti-Russian demonstrations in Outer Mongolia for a time, which Mao Tse-tung turned to his advantage, while denouncing de-Stalinization elsewhere. Mao the atheist professed respect for Buddhism and sympathy for Mongols devoted to their lamas. His objective was an alliance between Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia that would strengthen his grip over the whole, and overnight Peking began preaching a new doctrine of pan-mongolism that would unite the four Mongol families under Peking understood.

RUSSIA REACTED. Molotov, Stalin's most faithful servant, was sent to Ulan Bator as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to protect Russia's interests. Solemn young men in Washington's State Department nodded their heads and smiled condescendingly at anyone with ideas in contradiction to their own. They knew why Molotov had been sent to Outer Mongolia: he was in disgrace. The truth was, Moscow had sent her most cunning negotiator to play a double game -- to block Peking's inroads and at the same time preserve the fiction of Sino-Russian solidarity in the eyes of the world. His mission was important.

In Ulan Bator a puppet president named Sambou sat with Tsendenbal, the Prime Minister, but it was Molotov who

directed the purge of pro-Chinese Mongols of which the world was never told. Economic dependence on Russia was increased. Because collectivization had reduced Outer Mongolia's livestock from 23 million to 15 million, a decree had been introduced that permitted each Mongol to own 100 head of stock for himself. Molotov rescinded it and a new five-year plan, from 1958 to 1962 was inaugurated. Fearful of resurgent nationalism, Molotov moved native Buryat garrisons to Europe and put Siberians into Mongolia. Secret police swarmed over the three Russian-held territories, tracking down suspected sympathizers of Mao. In January 1962 when Touva became an autonomous Soviet Republic, formally integrated with the USSR, the first act of the new "republic" was to expel the Chinese commercial and cultural mission and repudiate Peking's claims to suzerainty. Russian technical and financial aid to Red China was abruptly cut and a bill tendered for aid Russia had granted during the war in Korea. Throughout the sixties socialists in the West continued to propagate the myth that the anti-communist struggle should be consigned to them. The Russian threat was minimized while Maoism gained a following by seizing upon every pretext, from war in Vietnam to the results of Negro shiftlessness, to stir up riots in the streets.

THE DEATH OF HO CHI MINH. On September 4 Hanoi announced the death of Ho Chi Minh, and preparations for the funeral that was to be a great social affair for the Communist world began. Senator Fulbright announced on September 10 that he had asked President Nixon to send an American representative. The petitioner could not have been more appropriate. The first GI to be taken out and executed by Ho's officers, purely and simply as a hostage, had been Sergeant Harold George Bennett, of Perryville, Arkansas, Senator Fulbright's home state. If Fulbright could have gone to Ho's funeral he could have had his picture taken shaking hands with Harold George Bennett's murderers.

The London Times of September 6 wrote of the funeral, "Kosygin meeting with Chou will be polite." On October 8 the same paper said of Mr. Kosygin's trip to China, "Visit to Peking Pays Off." The confrontation was over, and the border dispute would be waved away by that wonderful word, "negotiations." Two days after the optimistic Times story, London's conservative (and more reliable) Daily Telegraph of October 10 proclaimed, "Peking Renews Attack on Russia A Foreign Ministry document broadcast by Radio Peking insisted again that before any settlement could be achieved Russia must recognize formally that she grabbed Chinese territories in the last century by a series of unequal treaties imposed on China by the Czars."

This is the story of China's oft-reported confrontation with Moscow, which our Joe Krafts and our Galbraiths and Fulbrights use as an argument for giving Red China a forum in UN, as a step toward peace. On other occasions the same conflict is used to justify concessions to Russia to buy Russia's cooperation with the west and so save the world from war. Both arguments are specious. When the troubles come which failure to win in Vietnam make inevitable, both China and Russia, supported by Russian-brand communists, Maoists, revolutionaries and misguided liberals in our midst, will form a solid front. A few more years of suppression of patriotic protest, to the point that cowed Americans are powerless to prevent Reds such as Angela Davis from teaching our youth, and America will not have enough reliable boys of military age to stand guard over those likely to address appeals to Peking and Moscow for aid, much less enough to fight a war.

For the moment one thing that a patriot can do is clip the full-page petitions, news stories and letters-to-the-editor, in which those who "knew what to do" when Vietnam-moratorium organizer Sam Brown phoned them long distance, are named, or brazenly signed their names. In four years, when the inevitable has happened such a file will be invaluable. It will no longer be fashionable to sneer at return to good sense and call it a backlash. Too many will have been murdered by those who Senator Gene McCarthy's peace kids encouraged. By then Gene McCarthy type revolutionaries will have turned too many countries into Mongolias over which China's party and Russia's will dispute possession.

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1970 - A GLIMPSE BEHIND THE SCENE

On November 30, 1969, Ex-Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama told America over TV program "MEET THE PRESS" that we should end the war in Vietnam by winning. "What do you mean, win?" MEET THE PRESS moderator, Lawrence Spivak, bored in, for want of better sarcasm. Win means only one thing. Any school child knows the difference between win and lose, but by putting the question in the way he did Mr. Spivak hoped to plant the thought that the very proposition was ridiculous.

THIRTEEN MONTHS BEFORE, ON OCTOBER 27, 1968, Presidential candidate Richard Nixon told listeners on a similar program, "FACE THE NATION," that "America must end the war by negotiations." No one asked what he meant by negotiations. Mr. Nixon's public renunciation of victory was a pre-election loyalty oath of sorts to those who had long been at work preparing a sugar-coated surrender in Vietnam, regardless of what might happen later.

In LOOK Magazine of September 19, 1967, former Institute of Pacific Relations member and Kennedy-appointed ambassador to Japan, Edwin O. Reischauer, had asked, "What choice do we have in Vietnam?" -- and proceeded to argue that we had none.

ENTER THE REFUGEE FROM GERMANY WHOM AMERICA HAD TAKEN IN. Quietly at work in the wings as Mr. Reischauer spoke was a fellow member of the university Left, one Henry Alfred Kissinger, a Harvard professor who had participated in the Pugwash meetings of America's pro-Red millionaire Cyrus Eaton. It was as Heinz Kissinger that the Harvard professor and part-time Ford Foundation researcher came to America in 1938 at the age of 14. In 1943 he became an American and thereafter, as Nora Beloff, the leftwing political writer on Britain's ultra-leftist OBSERVER expressed it in a typical Beloff effusion, "Kissinger strove for importance as a theoretician of the use of power to achieve national objectives and is now in a position to translate theory into practice." (Objectives of the international Left are invariably cloaked as "national.")

At Cyrus Eaton's 1966 Pugwash Conference in Sopot, Poland, Kissinger met a French Red whose conviction that what is good for the international Left is good for the country, corresponded with his own. Thereafter the professor from Harvard and Herbert Marcovich, the microbiologist from the Sorbonne, where professors were building up a climate of revolution that was to erupt in May 1968, were to eventually work their way into the control room of America.

The links that bind alien professors who, on adopting leftism, consider themselves citizens of the world are interesting. A stranger walking into the FOREIGN POLICY

ASSOCIATION book center, in the Chase Manhattan Bank building across the avenue from the UN, will find a special section on Vietnam. Not a book in it can be considered pro-American or unbiased. An objective researcher studying the Vietnam material being pushed by the Foreign Policy Association will find that the works most prominently displayed are by an Australian communist named Wilfred Burchett who, since the days of the Korean armistice negotiations at Panmunjom, has militated with intense malevolence against the West and for Hanoi and North Korea.

While others worked behind the scenes or in universities, Burchett became communism's most important political agent in the Orient, an example of the new type of political indoctrinator made possible by communism's subjugation of journalism to ideology. At Panmunjom he helped fashion the communist line, phrase it in acceptable English and push it on western reporters. His works would not be featured by the Foreign Policy Association book center today to the exclusion of any conservative book if they were not approved by Mr. John J. McCloy and Mr. David Rockefeller, of the all-powerful Council on Foreign Relations, and Chase Manhattan Bank.

It is understandable that Wilfred Burchett's friend and collaborator in the University of Paris should be Herbert Marcovich, whose students were chanting, "Ho Ho Ho Ho chi Minh," and that through Cyrus Eaton, Marcovich should become a friend and collaborator of Henry Kissinger, a member of Mr. McCloy's and David Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations.

In early 1967 the Vietnam sellout camp reached a position of strength from which, as Nora Beloff put it, its key figures could begin to translate theory into practice. Once a Leftist is in, his next thought is to bring in friends. Accordingly, Marcovich brought in Raymond Aubrac, and presented him to Kissinger. Aubrac is the French director of U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization who in 1946 sheltered Ho chi Minh in his home and thereafter also became a friend of Wilfred Burchett. Analysed, the policy-forming chain in America, as regards Vietnam shaped up as follows: Kissinger began to translate theory into practice. Since Kissinger had no experience in Asian affairs, he selected two French friends of the enemy as his advisers. So, in reality, Marcovich and Aubrac, aliens and friends of the West's foes, became Johnson's and then Nixon's policy-shapers on Vietnam.

A short time after Marcovich introduced Aubrac to Kissinger the two Frenchmen were dispatched on a "peace" mission to Hanoi, the object of which was not peace but a surrender that Americans could be made to accept. In America a new line began to be heard: Vietnamization. We would hand the war over to the Vietnamese, giving them arms and ammunition to replace the support they would lose as we pull out. This is a step on the road to victory for Hanoi. Once out, the Americans calling for Vietnamization now will start crying that America is encouraging Vietnamese to kill one another. Arms for South must be cut off. Within our government officials powerful enough to decide who would get a trip to Vietnam and who would not were already at work to prevent the Vietnamese from taking an interest in the struggle.

The New York Times of November 22, 1964, reported that the State Department was sending Bill Crofut and Steve Addis on their second trip to Vietnam as "a sort of two-man musical Peace Corps." Asked what they were going to tell the Vietnamese, Mr. Crofut replied, "We don't want to get involved in any power struggle. We will tell them that when two elephants fight it is the grass that gets hurt."

WHAT EUROPEANS THOUGHT OF ALL THIS: The reaction of Frenchmen, who, theoretically, should be our allies, is ambivalent. They have no desire to see communism triumph over America, but it is hard to suppress a twinge of satisfaction at seeing Americans who were disinterested when their allies were on the receiving end suddenly awoken to find themselves being undermined by the Americans who backed Ho chi Minh in Indo-China and the Algerian Reds in North Africa. Men like David Schoenbrun, the former Paris bureau

chief for CBS, a De Gaulle sycophant, whom they heard, ad nauseam, over French radio and TV; and Irving Brown, the labor delegate who poured AFL-CIO money into Algerian coffers, that Algeria might become Russia's foothold in the Mediterranean and join the line-up against Israel. They had seen how Jay Lovestone, the former Secretary-General of the American Communist Party, operated in 1946 when leftists in Washington made him U. S. Intelligence chief in Paris! There were ponderous files on Lovestone's mustering of support for Algerian terrorists when AFL-CIO made him their man in U.N. When Monsieur Jacques Soustelle was Deputy-Prime Minister he published an official report on Lovestone's collaboration with a lady on East 57 Street, in New York, whose French son-in-law they knew to be working with communists and Algerian terrorists, while his wife was digging in, in the Paris office of Readers' Digest. That Algeria would go Red, join the league against Israel and bring about the fall of any government according America bases in North Africa, every good Frenchman knew, but they could not tell Americans that, for Mansfield and Senator Fulbright would have denounced them as dirty "colons."

In 1945 Ho chi Minh's followers in Saigon violated French women and drove stakes between their legs. Far from denying that such things happened, Dave Schoenbrun, wearing the Legion of Honor as a "friend of France," denounced those who opposed the atrocities. On page 22 of his book "VIETNAM - How We Got In, How to Get Out," Schoenbrun praised a Chinese warlord who later defected to the Reds, because in Northern Vietnam after V-J Day, "The Chinese, unlike (General) Gracey, had little interest in protecting French property or French wives."

Frenchmen bore it in silence when a Greek named Polyzoides wrote in the Los Angeles Times of June 28, 1959, "The Algerians at Bone did not die in vain." Of course they did not die in vain; Bone is a Russian submarine base today!

Today the same editors and TV networks who lauded murderers and smeared French patriots ten years ago are going, stage by stage, through the process French editors, commentators and government agencies passed through then. In 1966 Americans calling themselves idealists dared support the enemy. By 1969 they were attacking America's fighting men. A spurious "news agency," sprung up overnight and run by anti-war demonstrators could get a story denouncing American soldiers on front pages all over the country. Not an editor would have printed a report exposing the French Reds who made two trips to Hanoi in 1968 for Kissinger and Johnson if it had been put before them.

MEN WITH NAME VALUE DID THE GROUND-PREPARING. On May 7, 1967, U. S. Delegate to UN, Arthur Goldberg, proclaimed his loyalty to UN rather than America by broadcasting over nation-wide TV that "military victory is not our goal in Vietnam." (Arleen Abrahams quoted Mr. Goldberg in the Los Angeles Times of December 7, 1969, as saying, "While we were living in Washington, my wife singlehandedly promoted almost 20 causes." Among them, presumably, no-winism.)

On May 20, 1967, J. K. Galbraith was quoted by the San Francisco Chronicle as advocating recognition of Peking as a road to peace. To the university Left peace is always something to be purchased by ground-yielding on the part of America.

On October 30, 1967, a Robert Kowalski broadcast over NBC told America, "No responsible official has mentioned military victory, and this would be impossible anyway." Top military men of America and statesmen of every friendly country in Asia were saying that the war could be ended victoriously, and by conventional means, in two months, if our soldiers were permitted to win it. Again, it was Algeria all over again. To make a nation willing to accept defeat in a war than can be won, hostilities must be strung out long enough for lassitude at home to become the enemy's ally. Then traitors emerge as the enemy's partisans. To condition a nation for upheaval, nothing is so effective as imposing defeat on an army capable of victory. But to make even a war-

weary electorate accept surrender when victory is attainable they must be constantly reassured that no evil consequences will come of it. (TIME Magazine of October 24, 1969, quotes Roger Hilsman, our "ace" of Southeast Asian affairs, as saying, "concerning South Vietnam after U. S. withdrawal, I would be willing to make a small bet that the official Vietcong position will be one of no retribution." This, after the killing of everyone who fell into their hands during the Tet offensive of 1968, and the death of between 350,000 and half a million by massacre or in slave labor camps when the North was taken over in 1954.)

Less than a month after Kowalski's defeatist report, on November 21, 1967, UPI carried a plea by J. K. Galbraith, of Americans for Democratic Action, that we concede the countryside of South Vietnam to the Reds -- serve up hundreds of thousands of people to murderers on a platter.

"Elite group in U. S. asks bombing halt," American papers of January 18, 1968, wrote when hand-picked leftist professors met under the chairmanship of Roger Hilsman. Anyone opposing the move was not of the "elite." A month later, on February 13, 1968, papers carried an account of Professor Edwin Reischauer's TV broadcast that "the U. S. has lost the war." The university Left was determined that America was not going to win. On April 7, 1968, Reischauer made front pages again. 750 professors, billed as "top U. S. scholars," had met to sign a petition calling for a Saigon-Vietcong coalition. Professors indoctrinated students, then editors and TV chains helped indoctrinate the public. The same thing was going on in France where the stage was being prepared for a student revolt that would shake the country. Kissinger, through Marcovich and Aubrac, had a link with both Asia's and Europe's university-Left. There are no chains effectively linking patriots in America, much less spanning the Atlantic and the Pacific.

WHEN THE MAY 1968 UPHEAVAL BROKE IN FRANCE, Peking's official daily, NEW CHINA, called it "the fight of French students against a decadent, capitalistic system of education." Investigation later disclosed that the Chinese embassy in Berne, Switzerland, had transferred over two million dollars to agents in Paris, to make the student revolt a success. This is the China Mr. Reischauer wishes to make stronger.

From London a Red named Martin Levy sent Chris Gilmore, secretary general of the Radical Students' Alliance, to Paris to throw the weight of Britain's communist students behind the new student revolution. Gilmore and Levy, both communist party members, had organized the Radical Students' Alliance in February of 1967 under the name of "Coalition of Communist, Liberal, Labor and non-aligned bodies." Martin Levy outlined the aims of French and foreign students in a letter mailed to communist students in colleges of technology and education. The Daily Telegraph (London) on May 27, quoted him as writing that the immediate communist objective was to use the Paris outbreak as a generator of enthusiasm for a world-wide drive for recruits. The recruits would in turn speed up the process of organizing groups in universities that prohibit communist activity. "We shall achieve a situation where bans are removed, where students are able to influence their environment.....and are treated as adults with a weekly wage," Mr. Levy told his followers.

THE STUDENT REVOLT TOOK ON AN INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER. By accident or pre-arrangement, Professor Herbert Marcuse, of San Diego campus, was in Paris for a UNESCO Conference, which he left for more exciting action in the Sorbonne. With him was Jean-Paul Sartre, who presided over the farce of a war crimes trial against America in Denmark two years ago. (H. du B. Report, January, 1968) The Sorbonne revolution is an example of the efficiency with which organized and well-directed Reds were able to force anti-communist professors out and ease Red professors in, once the nation had been softened for revolution.

Monsieur Paul Dehème wrote in his Paris report of May 13, 1968, "in the Sorbonne affair there were few Frenchmen who were not accomplices by cowardice, calculation or demagoguery. The rest wanted only to avoid bucking the current. They closed their eyes to avoid seeing the Red flag and their ears to escape hearing the Internationale, though the stated aims of the trouble-makers left no doubt as to their objectives."

After the Hanoi delegation reached Paris, Professor Marcuse divided his time between Sorbonne anarchists in the day and America's enemies in the evening. When the costly month passed he returned to his classroom in California. Embarrassed French officials found that his followers had run up a \$4000 telephone bill for long distance calls from the Sorbonne to Cuba.

ON THE WORLD SCENE. The shuttling of Marcovich and Aubrac between Washington and Hanoi, with all the encouragement and intelligence-gathering opportunities they afforded the men who were killing American boys, was no secret. NEWSWEEK, of December 22, 1969, reported that "Kissinger was successful in performing short-term study missions in Vietnam for Lyndon Johnson and was able to establish direct contact, through a French friend, between the President and Ho chi Minh." This was not difficult when the loyalty of the French friends to Ho chi Minh was above question. Later the public was told that LBJ was using Kissinger's friends to carry peace feelers to Hanoi. But peace was not what these men were after. Peace was a euphemism for abandonment of the war, So what was described as peace-feelers were in reality tip-off missions to Hanoi as to how much faster we could be pushed and how long they would have to wait.

Kissinger, we are informed, was once a captain of U. S. Military Intelligence Reserve. Perhaps intelligence officers willing to place confidence in friends of Ho chi Minh and Wilfred Burchett are the answer to why we are where we are. Such glimpses as we get of the personal convictions of the man whom Nora Beloff describes as "now in a position to translate theory into practice," are not reassuring. Miss Beloff says that "initially, he saw the war as a justifiable use of limited power." If it was justifiable, why prolong it through use of limited power? "He is less troubled," Miss Beloff wrote, "by the turbulence of the left than by the threat of extremist and anti-intellectual backlash from the right."

Translated, Mr. Kissinger has no fear of the turbulent Left, for it is blackmailing Washington into doing what his pro-Hanoi friends recommend. What Mr. Kissinger fears is the wrath of an indignant nation against the self-appointed intellectual elite of which he is a member, when the debacle made inevitable by his brand of translation of theory into practice occurs. In a study written in 1968 Kissinger advanced the thesis that no state has the right to sacrifice its opportunities to its principles. Certainly, the acceptance of advisers known to be bound by friendship to leaders of states that miss no opportunity to harm America cannot be regarded as an opportunity for President Johnson or President Nixon to advance America's interests. Nor was it compatible with principles in the case of Presidents under oath to protect America.

Sometime in the weeks following the student revolt in France, French sources reported that at a meeting held in East Germany it was decided to launch a monster, nation-wide "moratorium" in America for peace in late 1969. Since no similar movement would be set afoot to apply pressure on Hanoi, its objective was not peace but American surrender.

1969 AND A NEW ADMINISTRATION. Some found it inexplicable that President Nixon should turn to the professor who said he would do everything possible to block "the California politician who had made his reputation in the witch-hunting Joe McCarthy school of public affairs." The reason Nixon made Kissinger his right-hand man, Nora Beloff told Britons (and Americans, in the Los Angeles Times of December 7, 1969) was that "Kissinger was the only serious intellectual the Republicans had"(!) Immediately thereafter, Mr. Marcovich and Mr. Aubrac were taken to the White House, to sell the new President

the policies they had sold to LBJ. The voters who elected Nixon still knew nothing of the two Frenchmen for whom Kissinger had opened the way to the President, but they knew something was wrong. There were rumblings, and machinery of which the three men are a part went into motion to head off protest.

The illusion that affairs are in good hands must be maintained. One of the main apprehensions of Mr. Kissinger, according to his associates, is that American withdrawal might be labeled a defeat. To avoid this, Marcovich and Aubrac were ordered to maintain constant contact with the enemy and remind him that if he takes too spectacular an advantage of the U. S. disengagement it might blow the works. And he must not try to take over the South while America is moving out. When we are gone it will be another matter, for, to quote Mr. Kissinger, "The United States cannot be held accountable for what happens after American troops leave." As he sees it, U. S. security will not be endangered by a communist takeover of South Vietnam after American forces are gone.

THE TIMETABLE. President Nixon has stated that the bulk of U. S. forces will be home by the end of 1971. On December 9, 1969, RFK's old aide, Frank Mankiewicz, delivered a speech before the Western States Advertising Agencies Association, in Los Angeles, in which he said, "To increase his share of the vote, Nixon will get out of Vietnam sideways and it is likely that the communists will take over South Vietnam by 1972." A week after Mankiewicz made his prediction Cyrus Eaton arrived in Hong Kong from Hanoi with his grandson, Fox Butterworth. What Eaton told Hong Kong newsmen can be laid only to senility or treason. "Hanoi leaders are hostile to Vietnamization of the war," said Mr. Kissinger's Pugwash host, "because they want to end the war, not have it changed to another form." Read: Americans have been conditioned to accept a pull-out. The next cry to be raised will be that we cut the South Vietnamese off from arms as we go.

After Mr. Marcovich and Mr. Aubrac returned from their Hanoi mission for President Nixon in 1969, Monsieur Jacques Soustelle, the French statesman who foresaw the trend affairs would take in the Mediterranean, made a trip to New York and was invited to lunch with the top men of the NEW YORK TIMES. They were all there - Reston, Ochs, Sulzberger. "We have decided that America is going to pull out of South Vietnam and that is what we are advocating," they told their guest. Shocked that the most powerful newspaper on earth should be flagrantly selling a policy demanded by unkempt juveniles in the streets, rather than reporting news and considering the likely consequences of every move, Mr. Soustelle asked, "----And afterwards?" "What do you mean-- afterwards!" the opinion-formers laughed in his face.

Your correspondent spent the month of November in Asia with Governor George C. Wallace, sounding political and military leaders. They feel as does Mr. Soustelle, that to end the war in Vietnam by anything less than victory will doom Asia and endanger America.

As long as "MEET THE PRESS" moderator, Lawrence Spivak, does not know the meaning of "win," and Presidential aide, Mr. Kissinger, feels that America cannot be held accountable for what happens after we leave Vietnam, the prospects for the decade ahead look exceedingly grim.

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DECADE OF ASSASSINATIONS

"1960 will go down in history as the year of decolonization," Mr. Jay Lovestone, AFL-CIO's lobbyist in the UN wrote to Mobitu Keita, the leader of communist Mali, in December of that year, in a letter calling on African nations to unite in support of Algerian independence "as a step towards world peace." The truth was, the Algerian war which Mr. Lovestone was backing was largely an assassination movement in which a communist-dominated and American-supported

minority strove by terrorism to create a surface impression of mass support. Since America approved and spent millions in encouraging revolutions by assassination in Algeria and elsewhere, it was inevitable that the practice should appear in America herself and that ultimately the 1960's should prove to be a decade of anything but steps toward peace

Of the assassinations of that decade, only a few made news.

FELIX MOUMIE, LEADER OF TERRORIST IN THE CAMEROUN, came first. Several million Swiss francs had just been deposited to his Geneva account, his luggage was at the airport and his Cameroun revolution was to start in a matter of days. The thallium Moumie was planning to use on a rival was slipped in his own glass, on October 15, 1960, and the communist-backed revolution that was being engineered from Cairo was off. (See H. du B. Reports, July-August 1963) No investigation was ever pushed.

SALAH BEN YOUSSEF, THE RIVAL OF BOURGUIBA OF TUNISIA, came next, on August 12, 1961. Nasser dreamed of bringing Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya into his United Arab Republic. Bourguiba, since AFL-CIO was behind him, saw himself as leader of North Africa. His former friend and associate, Salah Ben Youssef, was willing to be Nasser's puppet, so Nasser was backing Salah. In early 1961, however, Nasser decided that Bourguiba could not be toppled and decided to come to terms. Bourguiba's terms were: Salah Ben Youssef's head. On the morning of March 12, 1961, Salah and his wife were waiting in a Wiesbaden hotel for a message from two trusted lieutenants whom Salah had sent to Frankfurt at Nasser's request. At last the phone call came: Salah was to come at once and meet Nasser's emissary. Madame Salah waited in a cafe while her husband went to Room 53 in the Royal Hotel, which a Tunisian had rented that morning. Three hours later she grew tired of waiting and went to the hotel, where she found her husband dead.

Interpol established that Bourguiba's former private secretary, Zergaioun, accompanied by a hired killer named Ali Aourok, had flown to Frankfurt via Zurich to handle the job. The flights by which they returned to Tunisia were easily traced, but there was no point in trying to extradite assassins from a country on whose president's orders they were acting.

Salah ben Youssef was given a military funeral in Cairo, and on August 21 Bourguiba announced, "I realize now that President Nasser's intentions are good. I shall make a trip to Cairo to thank him personally for his support." Tunisian Information Minister Masmoudi announced, "Tunisia must become as anti-Semitic as Cairo if we are to reduce the growing influence of the Jewish community in our country. A few days later Tunisia signed a \$28 million trade pact with Russia. The assassination passed all but unnoticed in America, since AFL-CIO, CIA, our press and State Department were behind Bourguiba and

Hammarskjold was his friend.

NGO DINH DIEM AND NGO DINH NHU. In the course of the coup d'etat which ended the nine and a half year rule of the Ngo dinh family in Vietnam, President Diem and his brother, Nhu, were killed. The best account of what happened was given by General Tran van Don, now Senator Tran van Don, to the pro-Catholic weekly, MINUTE, of Paris (April 24, 1968)

"I followed Diem in the beginning," said General Don. "He was a patriot. He said he was going to give the country a national faith. After Dien Bien Phu that was what we needed. Originally the French army had given the Vietnamese army its base, its framework, its technical direction and its organization. For my part I saw no need of changing it. But Diem was negotiating for American aid to come directly into his hands, without any intermediaries. And the Americans were attaching conditions. They insisted that the Vietnamese army be reorganized along American lines under the direction of General "Iron Mike" O'Daniel.

"Diem agreed, standing firm only on his demand that he have 150,000 men under the flag instead of 80,000. Everything went along all right until 1959, when the terrorism started. We in the military saw quickly that the heavy American machine we had been given was not adapted to guerilla warfare. We wanted to start training special groups for self-defense, but Diem refused. As relations became strained between Catholics and non-Catholics, he saw the army as his army, the guarantee of his power. And even the government changed. Cut off from the people, isolated in the center of his family, he tolerated no discussion. He was an honest man, a tireless worker. Some considered him a saint. He sincerely thought that he was governing for the good of the people, but he accepted no advice. He permitted no change once he made a decision; he would hear no criticism. The prisons began to fill with the opposition, of which many were true anti-communists. The people suffered. The Vietcong found a climate favorable to their propaganda. Terrorist action, being badly countered by the army, began to increase dangerously. It was then we decided to act.

"It has often been said that the Americans were the instigators of the plot. This is not true. They knew a coup was coming, but they did not know when or where until Nov. 1, 1963, at 1:45 p. m., when I myself telephoned a CIA man in the American embassy. It was a long time before he forgave me. The death of Diem and Nhu was not an assassination but what agents call an operational error and what I call an accident of fate. Time was important and we sent the first armored car officer at hand to bring the president and his brother in. Against formal orders he killed Nhu in a fit of emotion -- members of his family had been tortured by Nhu's agents, and as a result he lost his head. In the ensuing melee Diem was killed. The airplane that was to take them into exile was already standing by." (The armored car commander, Captain Nung, was assassinated in turn by Nhu's henchmen.)

JOHN F. KENNEDY. Not since Roosevelt had an American president so outdone himself to court Russia or please her supporters in America. Before the inauguration Walt Rostow and Jerome Wiesner, in Moscow for a scientists' conference, delivered a message from Kennedy asking Krushchev to help the administration give the impression that a new era of Russian-American good will was dawning. And Krushchev went along: the bodies of Americans killed when an RB-47 was shot down 125 miles at sea were returned.

JFK, for his part, grounded Cuban-piloted planes that had been promised as air cover and let waves of desperate Cubans die or be taken prisoner on the beach at the Bay of Pigs. Then, in the fall of 1962, two weeks before a partial election, JFK waxed indignant over Russian missiles which many had known for months were being installed in Cuba. Krushchev, ever willing to help elect JFK's candidates, pretended to back down. In reality no Russian ship was stopped or boarded by our naval watch at sea, and reliable authorities state that no missiles left Cuba. Next it was JFK's turn. Krushchev wanted Britain disarmed. Though hard-pressed Britain had spent billions to build an

airfleet to carry Skybolt, her nuclear missile, JFK took Skybolt away from MacMillan in a meeting at Nassau. A few months later JFK signed the partial nuclear test-ban treaty which bound America without inconveniencing Russia. By November of 1963, however, an election year was ahead and the gifts-for-Russia period was over. Indignant Americans were demanding proof that JFK was their president. There was a way, however, by which Russia could gain a final windfall while the co-operative president was in: Never before had the police machinery of America been in the hands of a president's brother -- in this case an adoring younger brother with the vengeful mentality of a gangster. If the president were to be killed and the crime laid at the door of the American Right, the anti-communist organizations in America would be decapitated in a matter of days.

After the crime, British press magnate Lord Beaverbrook sent his granddaughter, Miss Jean Campbell, to Dallas to make an investigation. Jean reported that in early November a man answering to Oswald's description had gone to Mrs. Whitworth's gun shop, on the road to Irving, to have a telescopic sight affixed to a firearm which was not the gun that killed Kennedy. This convinced Miss Campbell that two guns had been used. With the man in question was a woman who appeared not to speak English. She was holding one child and leading another. They were brought to the gunshop by a man driving a 1958 or '59 model blue and white Mercury. Miss Campbell urged that Marina Oswald be asked if she were the woman who accompanied the two men to the gunshop, and if so, what became of the rifle they brought there that day. Also, who owned the blue and white Mercury.

Approximately 35 minutes after President Kennedy was shot, a man and woman drove up before General Edwin A. Walker's residence at 4011 Turtle Creek Blvd. in Dallas, in a 1958 or '59 blue and white Mercury. At the rear of the car and partially covering the license plate was a device for pulling a trailer or a boat. Driving the car was a stockily-built man who appeared to be in his thirties and about five feet six inches tall. While a woman waited in the car he ran up on General Walker's lawn and, shouting and gesticulating to attract attention, pulled up the American flag and threw it on the ground. It is unlikely that he was an indignant patriot. What is possible is that he may have been trying to create a disturbance to draw a crowd before the house of the man the Kennedy brothers had once tried to railroad into a mental institution. A commotion could have facilitated the escape of an assassin, on the other side of town.

Justice Warren never permitted anyone to ask Marina Oswald if she had accompanied her husband to Mrs. Whitworth's gunshop, and if so, who owned the blue and white Mercury in which they were riding. The tracing down of this man could have led to his identification as the individual who attempted to cause a disturbance in front of General Walker's home, with all the possibilities that such a lead might uncover. From Warren himself and broadcasts of Voice of America it had been intimated to the world that the crime had been inspired by the American Right. "Why should Russia want to encourage a plot to kill Kennedy?" a superficial public was led to ask. "Kennedy was Russia's friend."

It is fearful to think what would have happened to many good Americans had Oswald not been caught in a moving picture theater that day, which brings up the role of the moving picture theater in espionage. As a meeting place for agents the darkened theater is ideal: everyone has a reason for going there; no one pays attention to anyone else. What more natural than that Oswald, having successfully committed the killing without money, passport or papers in his pocket, should change clothes and proceed toward a moving picture theater to meet the contact who would be carrying money, passport and instructions? When his contact saw that the game was up it was natural that he should flee the scene.

Marina was never asked on what floor of what hospital her baby was born in Minsk. This could have disclosed whether or not she had received the VIP treatment accorded to men assigned to the Minsk assassination school. Undismayed, the Left continued to disclaim Oswald, and the Warren Committee did nothing to disprove their stand. Striking while the iron of emotion was at white heat, resourceful Democrats renamed parks, streets, capes, airports, libraries and hospitals after their man, and turned out coins bearing

his image. Kennedy's death was wrung of the last drop of political advantage. Few Americans dared lift a voice in protest. One woman columnist went so far as to wail that all Americans, herself included, were responsible for Kennedy's death. Thomas Buchanan, an American Red who for years had written for a French communist publication, came out with a book called "Who Killed Kennedy?" Overnight a spate of such books appeared, each advancing the thesis that Oswald did not kill Kennedy after all. Once that idea is accepted, the campaign will move from defense to attack and we may expect a flood of books to prove that Kennedy's death was the result of a right-wing plot.

LUMUMBA. Part of the phenomena of the sixties was the orgy of self-abasement among civilized nations, America included. Only a West seized with what Whitaker Chambers called the "death wish" could have accepted, much less exalted and fawned over the vicious scoundrel who came to rule over the formerly prosperous Belgian Congo, after 14 billion Belgian francs were transferred to him by the Russians. (H. du B. Reports, Sept. 1962) Great newspapers, television networks and the machinery of UN whirred to conceal or excuse Patrice Lumumba's incitement of mobs that murdered nuns, priests and white settlers to build up hatred of Moise Tshombe, the leader of still orderly Katanga. While cannibalism was practiced openly in Lumumba's Congo, the law firms of men high in American government scrambled for mining concessions, the value of which was contingent on Tshombe's destruction. (H. du B. Reports, March 1962)

Eventually Lumumba, the wild-eyed, hemp-smoking murderer whom Carl T. Rowan, America's Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had supported to the hilt, fell from power. On January 17, 1961, Kasavubu pushed Lumumba and his two lieutenants, Okito and M'Polo, into an AIR CONGO DC4, piloted by a Belgian named Bauwens, and headed them for Bakwanga. Guarding the three prisoners were Ferdinand Kazadi, whom Lumumba had once imprisoned, an enemy of Lumumba's named Mukamba, and eight giant Balubas whose plea to their own leader in Kasai had been, "Don't let the lumumbists eat us any more." While Bauwens piloted the plane, the eight Balubas, as was to be expected, went to work clubbing Lumumba and his associates with the butts of their rifles. Over Bakwanga the pilot learned that UN troops from Ghana were waiting to rescue his passengers, so he headed for Elisabethville, the capital of Katanga, and landed in time for his prisoners to die on Tshombe's hands. (H. du B. Reports, April 1964) The circumstances were commonly known, but with Roger Tubbe, the U. S. Ambassador to UN Organization in Geneva, stumping America in a drive to sell \$100 million worth of UN bonds to finance the destruction of Tshombe and his pro-Western government, it was expedient to picture Tshombe as the murderer. Chalk America up as an accomplice in the drive to frame Tshombe. Kasavubu was Lumumba's real murderer.

MEHDI BEN BARKA. Lester Velie in his book "LABOR - U. S. A.," gave American labor unions credit for restoring King Mohammed of Morocco to his throne. But as soon as the king returned from exile, Walter Reuther and the labor plotters meddling in foreign affairs switched from anti-colonialism to anti-feudalism and the king became their target. Their aim was to make a Reuther protege named Mehdi Ben Barka the first president of a Moroccan Republic. TIME Magazine began selling Ben Barka as assiduously as the Luce team had sold Bourguiba of Tunisia, and the campaign in no way abated after Ben Barka began setting up "National Liberation Front Conventions" in Cuba. By October 1965 joint American and communist support had made Ben Barka such a threat to the throne that General Oufkir, Defense Minister to the son of King Mohammad, gave his agents a free hand to kidnap and murder Ben Barka in Paris on October 29. If a researcher were to study the stories published by TIME Magazine on Ben Barka, it would become clear that American readers had been given a build-up to sell a man, as someone prepared to topple a king and replace him by a leftist politician. The king moved first.

NEXT CAME MOISE TSHOMBE. Algeria owes her existence to America and to the crusade against colonialism which CIA, U. S. State Department and American labor unions used as justification for inciting revolts in the colonies of our allies. (H. du B. Reports, February 1962) Today Algeria is training Black Panther guerillas, affording naval and

missile bases to Russia, training guerillas for Hanoi and groups for operations against Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, the Union of South Africa and Israel.

On July 1, 1967, a French gangster named François Bodenan lured Moise Tshombe aboard a chartered British plane and landed him in Algiers. Four months earlier a Mobutu-controlled court in the Congo had sentenced Tshombe to death in absentia. Immediately the intelligence services of Western Europe went into action. Suddenly, as though on a signal from mysterious higher-ups, the investigations stopped. French sources reported that a large sum of money had been delivered to Bodenan in Liechtenstein and implicated an American CIA officer in the Congo. An American was quoted as saying that his country had over half a billion dollars invested in the Mobutu government and had to protect her investment. British press stories quoted Bodenan as saying that he was working with an American in Paris named Davidson. This surprised many, as a man named Alfred E. Davidson heads the Paris office of George Ball's law firm. (See H. du B. Reports, June 1965) He teaches political science in the American College in Paris and organized Paris American "Artists and Writers for Johnson" in 1964. Mr. Frank Capell has named him in his HERALD OF FREEDOM as rejected at one time by the State Department because of the communist record of his father. On June 29, 1969, Algeria announced that Tshombe had died in prison. Due to the time lapse, the affair was treated as a kidnapping. Actually, it was an assassination.

MARTIN LUTHER KING. Whether the April 1969 shooting of Martin Luther King was planned by black militants seeking a martyr, James Earl Ray, who was sentenced for it, or others using Ray to cover their trail may never be known. Violent blacks used the crime as justification for a wave of burning and looting. In a manifestation of hypocrisy seldom equaled in history, America's leaders appeared at the funeral, each looking as though he had just lost his father. (Only Jacqueline Kennedy wore the fixed smile which years of habit had made second nature in the presence of photographers.)

While the myth of a Martin Luther King devoted to non-violence was hawked to the public, some remembered the dead pastor's trip to France in the early sixties sponsored by a committee headed by the Reverend Martin Sargent, of the American Church in Paris. King preached in the American Church at 65 Quai d'Orsay on a Sunday. Three days later the French Communist Party filled the vast Hall de la Mutualité to overflowing to hear him call for a "French Revolution in America with the tumbril in the streets." As in the case of Gus Hall's tirade against America in the same hall in 1966, the appeal to violence went unreported in the American press.

BOBBY KENNEDY. He was killed by Sirhan Sirhan in Los Angeles on the night of June 5, 1968. Sirhan's visible motives were simple: The Kennedy machine had whipped up hysterical mobs of youngsters at every stop. Though the demonstrators were too young to vote, the impression given was that an irresistible current was sweeping Robert Kennedy toward the White House. In Oregon the candidate had donned a yarmulka and stated in a synagogue that America should go to war if necessary to defend Israel. A short time later he was killed by the young Moslem whom a terrorist organization in Jordan claimed as one of their heroes. In America various theories were advanced. Psychiatrists presented their views; others talked of a plot with communist ramifications. The lead that should have been followed was avoided, for, to Jewish editors, CIA, State Department and just about every communications and government body it was equally embarrassing.

The first thing an uncompromised government would have done was to ascertain if there existed an organized Moslem association in America -- not Black Muslims, but an organization dedicated to pan-Islamic militancy. Had that question been asked, a shocking story of intrigue would have been exposed, which would have turned a merciless spotlight on the New York Times, the Washington Post, TIME Magazine, TV networks, senators, government agencies, Zionist organizations, oil magnates, international bankers, and left few members of the journalistic and university left untouched. For California, where Bobby Kennedy was killed, is also the seat of the JAMIAT AL ISLAM, an organization which investigative bodies should have started looking into long ago, in the light of Algeria's

importance as Russia's base in the Mediterranean, even before Bobby Kennedy's death.

Mr. Henry Taylor, the noted columnist, attempted to expose the activities of Ahmed Kamal, the head of Jamiat-al-Islam, in the early sixties, but so powerful were the shadowy figures behind him, Mr. Taylor was threatened with a law suit and forced to settle out of court. Briefly, Ahmed Kamal was born plain Cimmaron Hathaway, in America, but of Turkish extraction. He took a Turkish name and decided to devote his life to the forming of a world-wide Moslem movement. Prior to World War II he went to Turkestan. Arrested by the Japanese in North China, he succeeded in convincing them that he was not an American spy but a brother of the Turkomin whom they were courting. Accordingly, he and his wife were only interned. After V-J Day they traveled to Shanghai aboard the U. S. Army Transport LAVACA, and from there to America, where he published a book on the tribes of Turkestan.

American support of revolutionary movements in France's North African colonies -- Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria -- gave Kamal a chance to operate with official backing. Jamiat-al-Islam (Turkist for Organization of Islam) surfaced in San Francisco with a Mrs. Rauza L. Rogard as Secretary-Treasurer. Another official was listed as living in San Mateo, California. Through his Jamiat, Kamal aspired to become the protector and advancer of Islam. (H. du B. Reports, January 1962. The Algerian revolt gave him his big opportunity. Michael Clark in his book "Turmoil in Algeria," told of the handing over of vast sums of American dollars to Algerian agents in Switzerland. Oil executives were shaken down for contributions as proof of their pro-Arab sentiments. Kamal and Abdelkader Chanderli, the Algerian lobbyist in UN, conned Jewish leaders and editors into believing that a grateful free Algeria would be their friend in the making of peace with Nasser. While Chanderli was making a treaty with Cuba, the New York Times sent Joe Kraft to Algeria. CIA was reported to have accepted Kamal as their authority on Arab affairs, and Red-backed Arabs in and outside of Algeria looked to him as their political advisor.

Claude Paillat, on page 71 of his book "Secret Dossier of the Algerian War" writes of Kamal's turning over \$75,000 to Ferhat Abbas, Ben Bella and other Algerian terrorists in Geneva in 1955. Since AFL-CIO was also backing the terrorists, Kamal had the support and approval of their roving ambassador, Irving Brown, as he scurried from one country to another as arms purchaser, money courier, intelligence operator and Arab political advisor.

In November 1960 fifty two professors at M.I.T. and Brandeis, Boston and Harvard Universities signed a manifesto supporting the Algerian terrorists and encouraging insubordination and desertion in the Frency army. It foreshadowed a similar drive against America's stand in Vietnam some years later and led the Paris weedly, PERSPECTIVES DE LA SEMAINE, of July 28, 1962, to observe that Israel would have been wiser had she restrained the ardor of intellectuals who had made themselves the champions of the F.L.N. That Algeria, once free, would join the "holy war" against Israel and all things Jewish should have been clear to anyone. And that Kamal and the "Jamiat" he had set up in California might again incite expendable young Arab gunmen, just as they had done for years against pro-French Algerians with the complete approval of JFK and his brother, should have been equally predictable. It would have been contrary to their nature and everything they were dedicated to, had Kamal and the Jamiat failed to employ the methods of Algeria when a seemingly triumphant Bobby came out for support of Israel. The question is: Why did those Americans who throughout the fifties supplied an American Moslem organization with funds for the arming and support of gunmen, elect in 1968 to forget its existence?

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA SPREADS

An unexpected coup d'etat in Cambodia ousted Prince Norodom Sihanouk from his seemingly secure post of Chief of State, on March 18, 1970, and across America rolled a wave of optimism. People frustrated by their government's failure to win in Vietnam were told that the Cambodian swing to the Right was a victory for America and the West. Spirits soared, just as on June 1, 1959, when U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT proclaimed that things were "looking up" in Burma, Laos and Thailand, and that communism was "on the run."

Henry Luce III, in his "LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER," in TIME Magazine of March 30, 1970, inferred that TIME had the jump on events and would be coming through with the news. "Fortunately," wrote Mr. Luce, "TIME had placed a thoroughly experienced newsman in Cambodia two days before. He was T. D.

Allman, normally stationed in Vientiane, Laos, but who had moved to Phnom Penh in the wake of anti-communist riots." Mr. Luce added that from the vital communications center, Bangkok, "bureau chief David Greenway was acting as quarterback for Allman and filing from his own extensive knowledge of Southeast Asia."

Thoroughly experienced TIME's find, the young Mr. Allman, may be, but whether he is a newsman or propagandist is open to question. An Allman report to the New York Times News Service (reprinted in the European HERALD TRIBUNE of Sept. 29, 1969) stated that a Central Intelligence contingent of more than 300 was operating in Laos and U. S. military involvement was increasing in another "limited war" in Southeast Asia. He took pains to emphasize B-52 bombings of the Ho chi Minh trail, the inability of Laotians to "fight battles on their own successfully," and the involvement of over 1000 American citizens, not including the crews and support units of bombing missions. The time lags between such stories and Senator Fulbright's use of the figures as arguments against American aid for anti-communist leaders led some to wonder if Mr. Allman is not also serving as the Arkansas senator's bird-dog. An example of the reporting it is now TIME's good fortune to offer:

GOVERNOR GEORGE C. WALLACE'S VISIT TO LAOS. Governor Wallace was due to arrive in Vientiane on November 21 for talks arranged long in advance with Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Laotian Prime Minister. With an eye to undermining these talks and downgrading the visitor in racially conscious Asia, Mr. Allman wrote in the Bangkok Post of November 20, "George C. Wallace, America's chief spokesman for segregation of the races, tomorrow will add Laos to his schedule of Asian stopovers. But no appointments or briefings so far have been arranged to help the former Alabama Governor during his four-day fact-finding tour of Laos, because the U. S. Embassy here is following an official hands-off policy laid down by the State Department."

The ambiguous term "reliable sources" was given as basis for the story young Allman had obviously made up. His Royal Highness Prince Khamming, brother of the King and Royal Laotian ambassador to Thailand, unable to fly because of a heart condition, had left Bangkok by train the night before with a view to meeting Governor Wallace in

Vientiane. Counsellor Ouan Snith and Secretary Mixay Sayasouk of the Laotian embassy saw the Wallace party off at the Bangkok airport. Officials from the American embassy and the Laotian government met the Governor and his group on arrival in Vientiane. That night they dined with the American ambassador. Both the embassy and the Laotian government put automobiles at their disposal for their round of meetings and for the audience with Prince Souvanna Phouma. No correction was ever made by Mr. Allman. Confronted with the indisputable facts and asked why he had written an untrue story without making any effort to verify his statements, Mr. Allman replied to your correspondent, "I don't know what your position is, but I am a liberal." It was more a declaration of war than an excuse.

Early in March 1970 a report hit the news services that Mr. T. D. Allman had led an American and a French journalist on a trek into the Laotian jungle to discover and expose a secret American base. It was at a time when Senator Fulbright was narrowing America's field of action by denouncing any action as a plan to involve America in future trouble. Was Mr. Allman's jungle march made in the interests of journalism or the ideology which he and Senator Fulbright admittedly espouse? Whatever the answer, a disturbing fact remains: The Bangkok Post, as a weapon in the adonoidal young liberal's personal political war, was comparatively harmless. With TIME at his disposal Mr. Allman acquires heavy artillery and the American public stands to lose.

Let us take a look at the Southeast Asia picture as it is.

LAOS, AS 1969 DREW TO A CLOSE. Prince Souvanna Phouma was frank in his conversation with Governor Wallace, and it is no betrayal of confidence to report what he said. He saw the third-party presidential candidate as a means of putting his desperate plight before the American public.

"At this moment half of my country has been occupied," he stated. "We are at war. As it becomes increasingly clear that America is going to pull out of South Vietnam, Chinese engineers are stepping up completion of a military highway through Laos and branching off into Thailand, in preparation for the take-over of our two countries. I called in the representative of the Peking government and asked him why Chinese were building that road. He denied its existence. When he was confronted with the fact that some 20,000 Chinese are in Laos, working on the military highway and aiding the communist Pathet Lao, he replied, 'These are deserters and we have no power over them.' By mid-1970 there will be 50,000 such 'deserters' in Laos, and we anticipate 70,000 by the end of 1970."

Since the meeting with the Prince, a full-scale communist drive has taken place in Laos. The Royal Lao Army has been badly mauled. Luang Prabang, the royal capital, has been cut off from the administrative capital in Vientiane by all but air travel and the strategic Plain of Jars has repeatedly changed hands. True to enemy expectations, Senator Fulbright moved in Washington to cut off military support for the hard-pressed government forces.

THE COUP D'ETAT IN CAMBODIA. Prince Norodom Sihanouk Varman (his name means "the lion-hearted protected by Buddha") was in France, being treated by the doctor he has periodically visited for some years, when he learned that the communist embassies had been sacked by demonstrators in Phnom Penh on March 11. At first his intention was to return to Phnom Penh. Then came warnings that something bigger was afoot. On March 18, in Moscow in the House of Reception, he learned that the Cambodian Council of the Kingdom and National Assembly, institutions which has given him 95% of their votes in previous referendums, had voted to strip him of power. Out of Phnom Penh, over Radio Khmer, a woman's voice announced his fall. Happy to have a "victory" to report, the American press, which had played a role in imposing no-winism as a policy in Vietnam, hailed the ousting of Prince Norodom Sihanouk as a bound ahead for our

side. This view Americans for the most part accepted. It will rebound against us if we let those who elected to throw in with us fall.

Marshall Green, in his office as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, was more than cautious. A dove on Vietnam and anxious to reduce American military presence in Asia, he was wary of saying anything definite. The truth is, the Cambodian coup put the Nixon administration against the wall. Had we wanted Norodom Sihanouk to be with us and save the lives of thousands of American boys by helping cut the flow of materiel down the Cambodian section of the Ho chi Minh Trail, all we would have had to do was show that we intended to win, and then order our eager beaver agents to treat him decently. (See H. du B. Reports, October 1969) We did not, so the Prince followed the policy he had perfected as a young man at the end of World War II.

He was an 18-year-old student in the French Chasseloup Lyceum in Saigon in 1941 when the throne of Cambodia became vacant. Admiral Decoux, then Governor-General of Indo-China, approved his accession to the throne. Three years later the Japanese massacred the French in some outposts and arrested them in others, and the young king learned the art of trimming his sails to the wind of the moment. He learned it so well that at the end of the war anti-Japanese Cambodians accused him of having sold out his country. "To whom could I sell it out?" he asked. "The French were locked up and the Japanese already had it." By playing one power against another with infinite Asiatic skill, he managed to survive and keep Cambodia out of the years of war with Ho chi Minh which followed. He used the French to regain the three provinces that had been seized by Thailand, and the threat of joining Ho chi Minh to gain independence from France in 1953. With the Geneva Accords a year later, Cambodian independence was formally confirmed.

Faced with anarchy caused by a dozen contending political factions in the National Assembly, he abdicated in favor of his mother and used the weight of his royal prestige to bring all the parties save the communist to heel. He called his party the Sangkum and made himself a constitutional Chief-of-State. In external politics he also changed tack according to the winds. As the East-West conflict flared higher, he followed a pattern of neutralism which consisted of being on good terms with both sides if possible and, when impossible, preserving good relations with the more dangerous. The Chinese-backed Reds were the more dangerous, so Sihanouk acted accordingly. A government that would make a nation accept defeat in a winnable war has only to drag the conflict on long enough for good citizens to become weary. When the good are weary, traitors come out of the woodwork and, if there are enough of them, politicians of the Fulbright-Gene McCarthy ilk will take up their cause. This is what happened in America and it could not fail to affect the decisions of a man like Sihanouk.

THE LESSON OF LAOS. In 1958 Prince Souvanna Phouma, the Laotian Prime Minister, tried to work out a modus vivendi with his country's Reds, the Pathet Lao, led by his half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong. So, in August 1958, a former Prime Minister named Phoui Sananikone toppled him for being too neutralist. The situation was deteriorating in South Vietnam and fears were rising. In December 1959 General Phoumi Nosavan, bolstered by assurances that his relative, the powerful Thai Prime Minister, Sarit Thanarath, would stand by him and that he would have American support, seized power in a military coup. He and the army felt that Sananikone was not anti-communist enough and decided to take over. To their surprise, America pulled the props out from under them. Jim Lucas wrote in the New York World Telegram and Sun of December 29, 1959, "Laos Coup faced loss of U. S. funds." General Nosavan and the army were told to step down or U. S. support would be cut off.

TIME OF January 18, 1960, headed its story on the affair, "LAOS, THE PRICE OF PEACE."

Forgotten was the fact that Prince Souvana Phouma had been charged with being too neutralist when he sought to negotiate with his half-brother. The commanders of the Laotian Army wanted to make an open stand with the West, TIME reported, "...but U.S. policy-makers saw little profit in trying to make a free world bastion out of an isolated jungle nation." Read: America was offering Laos to the Reds, on a platter, in a move of appeasement more shocking than anything Prince Souvanna Phouma had contemplated. The situation went from bad to worse.

Still the belief that Washington policy-makers were anti-communist persisted, and in late 1960 another leader to whom history has certainly not given proper recognition was led into compromising himself by taking a stand with us. This was Prince Boun Oum of Champassak, a fighter who had learned warfare in the French Foreign Legion.

Boun Oum was born heir to the throne of Champassak, a once powerful kingdom in the southwest of Laos, or Lane Xang, Land of a Million Elephants, as it is called. When independent Laos was formed, Boun Oum was persuaded to put Champassak under the rule of the Laotian ruler in Luang Prabang. In return he was given the title of Inspector-General of the Kingdom. Beyond doubt there was CIA intrigue in the plan to persuade Prince Boun Oum to re-enter politics in 1960 and risk his life and career on the promise of American backing against the Reds.

We supported him for two years, then let him fall. Wherever there was fighting he continued to appear. No front was too dangerous or too uncomfortable. In March 1969 he contracted malaria in the war zone and was flown to Bangkok for treatment. Today he is in the thick of things, back in Laos. In the meantime, throughout Asia the situation continued to grow worse and confidence in America to decline.

THE FATAL WEAKNESS IN PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK'S POLICY. Hanoi is the front for Peking. Red China, violent and deaf to all reason, is the power Asiatics must reckon with. And the weakness in the theory of neutrality in Asia is that no nation can be neutral when, geographically and politically, it is at the core of a fight to the death between two ideologies, with the proponents of one void of reason or honor.

Sihanouk named one avenue in Phnom Penh after Mao Tse-tung and another after Kennedy, but it was impossible to conceal the fact that the Vietcong were installing routes, bases, hospitals and supply points in the north and the east of his country. Since there was nothing he could do about it, for a time he denied their existence. To him, America was the CIA, and as a result of plots against Cambodian territory, the government and his person, he hated CIA with a passion. (See H. du B. Reports, October 1969) In July 1969 he entered his own film, "STORM OVER ANGKOR," in the Moscow film festival, a story of the Cambodian Army and State Security Service triumphing over a CIA-backed plot to overthrow the monarchy.

It was in May 1965 that the Prince had broken off diplomatic relations with the United States. Those who maintained contact with him and tried to analyze his actions felt that he did so under pressure from Hanoi, which America's failure to apply pressure on Hanoi made inevitable. From time to time came declarations that he would take Cambodia into the communist camp, if necessary, to assure his country's independence from the American imperialists. By early 1969, however, Hanoi's "partisans" (Leftist professors, students, senators and peace groups) were riding high in America and Hanoi overplayed her hand. Under the code name "Vesuvius" an American co-operative operation was launched to supply the Prince with actual figures and locations of communist units in his country. Overnight he changed tack again and expressed the hope that America would remain in Asia as long as possible.

He announced that Americans would be accorded the right of hot pursuit and in March 1969 began openly objecting to the presence of Hanoi and Vietcong bases. His

blasts at America became less strident and on April 16, 1969, President Nixon attempted to restore good relations by stating that the United States "would respect the sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia within her present frontiers." The declaration did not specifically endorse Cambodia's definition of said borders, so Sihanouk regarded the statement as an evasion and an impasse arose. Sihanouk-watchers knew why. The gestures of friendship between Phnom Penh and Washington had brought a warning from Hanoi.

Vietcong units attacked Cambodian forces in Svay Cieng Province, adjacent to Vietnam, and Sihanouk ordered interim Prime Minister, General Long Nom, to inform Hanoi and Vietcong ambassadors that he would tolerate no further disturbances. On May 23, 1969, the Prince declared that he saw the communist activity as an effort to force Cambodia to join the American camp, thus providing a pretext for massive intervention, to "liberate" the country.

Daily the balancing act became more difficult. On July 1, 1969, the Prince informed the Cambodian National Assembly that he would resign as Chief of State and retain only his position as head of the Sangkum Party. Party leaders begged him to reconsider, which he did. But he brought into his cabinet two political adversaries, General Lon Nol and Prince Sisowath Sirik Matik, thereby saddling the opposition with the unsolvable problems which geography, Red perfidy and American no-winism had created.

Your correspondent talked at length with Prince Sirik Matik in Hong Kong, on November 7, 1969. Prince Sirik was Acting Prime Minister and Director of the National Cabinet at the time. With him was Mr. Seng Bun Korn, Director-General of the national bank and head of the Ministry of Planning. The two men were friendly, anxious to know what America's future policies might be and who was making the decisions concerning Southeast Asia.

Though Prince Norodom Sihanouk himself had moved closer to America in recent months and had restored diplomatic relations, there was no ambassador in Phnom Penh at the time of the coup. American affairs were being handled by a charge d'affaires, the 49-year-old Lloyd M. Rives. A more unwise choice of representative would be hard to find. Rives had been a vice-consul in Hanoi in 1952 when American liberals in Foreign Service and State Department were imposing the decisions and men that brought us to our present all-time low in Asia. Not only did Rives remain a blind supporter to the end of the American-imposed government in Saigon which poisoned our relations with Cambodia in 1958, but he missed no opportunity to knife any honest authority who warned where our policies were leading.

In 1953 and '54 he was in Laos. From there he moved to Guatemala before being assigned to our Paris embassy in 1957, at a time when American support for the Algerian terrorists was sabotaging our relations with France. (No American editor, TV commentator or official had the courage to observe when Jewish organizations recently demonstrated against President Pompidou and his wife that the same groups were supporting the Arabs when the French were fighting them a few years ago.)

After his Paris assignment, Rives moved into African affairs, where knowledgeable observers charge him with playing a major role in events that led to the ousting of the pro-Western Abbe Fulbert Youlou in the Brazzaville Congo, and the fall of that area into the Red camp. So much for America's information sources and diplomatic representation in Cambodia at the critical moment of Cambodia's change of power.

CAMBODIAN REACTION TO PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK'S REMOVAL: The army, the intellectuals and the elite of the capital took their stand with the new government. One by one, around the world, Cambodia's diplomats stood up to be counted. In his embassy at

No. 2 Nassim Road, in Singapore, at the heart of Red intrigue to dominate the Malay Straits, Cambodian Ambassador Chuop Hell courageously announced that what had happened in Phnom Penh was not a right-wing coup d'etat but a legal change of government. In New York, Cambodia's delegate to UN, Ambassador Huot Sambath, announced that he was remaining loyal to Sihanouk. In Bangkok, which is Cambodia's link with the West, Cambodian interests are represented by increasingly pro-communist Indian officials, interested in selling visas to visit the ruins of Angkor Wat but little more.

RED REACTION WAS NOT LONG IN COMING. The speed with which Peking and Hanoi swung into action surprised the West. Broadcasting from Peking in a fit of rage, Sihanouk claimed that he had given all possible support to the Vietcong and Hanoi, and now demanded their help against "imperialism, neo-colonialism and fascism" in return. The tragedy of the situation is that the new Lon Nol government cannot hope to hold out against a Red-directed counter-revolution if the enemy is determined to push it through. Only the Americans can save General Lon Nol and Prince Sirik Matik. And Hanoi knows that Nixon is not going to face a hostile Senate whipped up by the Fulbright coalition. It would appear that inoffensive Cambodia is due to go under. Our failure to act will be further proof to leaders elsewhere of the folly of taking a stand with America. For this reason the Cambodian coup which was hailed as a victory for our side, is, barring a miracle, likely to prove another nail in the coffin of American prestige.

MEANWHILE, PLANS FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM CONTINUE. In the little that has been told the American people about the two French Reds serving as Kissinger's advisors and intermediaries with Hanoi, several facts are significant. One is the glaring slanting in the book "The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam," written by David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory, the Washington correspondents for the Los Angeles Times. This book was published by Random House, which, along with the Hertz Corporation, is owned by Radio Corporation of America. In it the L. A. Times men admit that the idea for the Aubrac-Marcovich mission came from the two Frenchmen themselves and not from any American official. Then the men on whom Californians depend for their Washington news go on to tell how Aubrac could not sleep because of the war in Vietnam, but they neglect to inform their readers that Aubrac is not the real name of Mr. Kissinger's "authority on Southeast Asia," but an alias taken on during the war then he and his wife, Lucie, were in a communist resistance network.

The authors describe Aubrac (known to his French comrades as Samuel) as provisional ruler of the Marseille region after the allied liberation, and boast that he "freed Vietnamese laborers from inhuman treatment in concentration camps." They do not add that Aubrac, alias Samuel, was too Red even for De Gaulle and was discharged from his job as Commissaire for the Marseille region because of his high-handed nationalisations of private firms and the inhuman way he conducted his purges.

A series of jobs followed, including a short period with COMBAT, the French daily, from each of which Mr. Kissinger's Vietnam specialist, (and, as such, President Nixon's) was sacked because of his communist connections and actions. At last he found his niche in UN and moved into the Rome office of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, where his chief was an Indian Red recruited in New Delhi. It was this Indian who gave Aubrac his secret leave of absence for the negotiating missions he went on with his friend, Herbert Marcovich, for Mr. Kissinger, first under Johnson through 1967 and '68 and then under Nixon in 1969.

Events are moving so rapidly in Southeast Asia, anything may happen before this report, delayed by mail strikes in America and airport control strikes on both sides of the Atlantic, reaches the reader.

Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent