



MY LAI - THE REALITY, ITS EXPLOITERS, THE RESULTS

Gene McCarthyism was rampant, Senator Birch Bayh saw in the campaign to get Lieutenant Calley and discredit the army a wave that would carry him upward. On April 7 over CBS he rejoiced that Lieutenant Calley had been found guilty by a court of his peers - six career officers hanging on desperately until retirement with the mass media of America clamoring for army blood. Calley, said the senator from Indiana, must pay the penalty for murdering defenseless women and children. Thus My Lai became a milestone in the drive to make America militarily weak.

What defenseless women and children? What sort of men set up the "get Calley" campaign, and why? For an answer to these questions, start with the position taken by the enemy himself.

HANOI AND PEKING. "The revolutionary army must live among the people like a fish in water," is the proclaimed principle of Mao Tse-tung and Hanoi's General Vo Nguyen Giap. Both herded men of military age into revolutionary armies, then eliminated those likely to be less helpful to the army than water to a fish. Only villagers willing to serve as auxiliaries to the army remained. Out of Hanoi has come an ocean of printed matter boasting of the bravery and dedication of women, young girls and children as mortar-firers, grenade-carriers and snipers.

Little girls sniping from behind bushes adorned Hanoi's hate-sheet, "STRUGGLE," of March 1, 1970. The August 1969 issue of "VIETNAM," published in Hanoi, showed a young girl "attacking the enemy along highway 4." On the same page, a photo of a twelve-year-old girl aiming a bazooka. On page nine a picture of little girl guerrillas under review by their woman commander. Such publications abound. They were never used as exhibits for the defense. Across America thousands of returned G.I.s told of comrades killed while handing out candy to youngsters, by some toddler coming up with a grenade. TIME sneered at the idea of "American soldiers cringing before infants" in its issue of January 25, 1971, but the reality remained.

When the French were in Indo-China an officers was credited with saying "a Vietminh is any dead Vietnamese." By 1968 through the distortions of Birch Bayh-type politicians & dishonest media, any sniper killed by an American had become an innocent civilian. Yet, Associated Press reported on August 30 of that year that since Oct. 1967 children ranging from 8 to 15 were being taken north for training.

To plant guilt in the American mind a well-financed machine of treason took shape. RITA - Resistance Inside The Army - enjoined American draftees not to desert but to destroy the army from within. In France a RITA bureau, run by a New England deserter, an Indianan and two Texans, flooded American bases abroad with an instruction sheet called ACT. Circulation was handled by Jean-Paul Sartre, the French Red currently calling on his followers to "organize around French policemen and their families a curtain of hate." Anti-American organizations spanned the globe, often manned by Americans in government or recently out of the army. They were in place and ready when Lieutenant Calley's platoon entered My Lai on March 16, 1968.

SONG MY VILLAGE, POPULATION ABOUT 2000, WAS THE OBJECTIVE. It was typical "safe water" area for the "fish." It was in Quang Nai Province. One of its six hamlets

was called My Lai. The enemy's murderous Tet offensive had just collapsed. The 48th Vietcong battalion, protected by a screen of village observers, informers and ambushers was regrouping in the area. Orders were to dislodge the some 280 survivors of the 48th. On March 15, Captain Ernest Medina, of C Company, First Battalion, 20th U. S. Infantry, briefed Lieutenant Calley's Platoon.

The following morning a 15-minute artillery barrage let the enemy know a mop-up party was coming. Accordingly, the Vietcong 48th faded into the brush, leaving old men, women and youngsters, regarded as expendable, to cover their flight. Platoon commander William Calley, Jr. 25, with a colored sergeant named David Mitchell led the force that descended from helicopters and entered My Lai village. In a previous ambush the platoon had lost 18 men who had not seen and shot in time. Later, rumors were to have it that trouble-makers had purposely been planted in the platoon by higher-ups preparing a case that could be used for pull-out. If demoralization of American forces was the objective, the operation was successful.

THE MEN THAT ENTERED MY LAI. What were they like? How many of the colored G.I.s were out to "get Whitey" and how many whites were out to get their officers? From Haeberle, "combat photographer," who turned in worthless black and white film to his superiors while preparing to do business in horror shots, in color, for himself, down to the last witness for the prosecution, the men who appeared against Calley would provide excellent material for a book.

Ronald Haeberle testified in the second day of the court-martial which charged Calley with killing 102 Vietnamese civilians. Yes, he took a series of both black and white and color pictures, but he regarded the color pictures as his own. Later he sold eight of them to the Cleveland Plain Dealer. LIFE Magazine paid him \$10,000 and the German scandal weekly, STERN, paid him \$7,000, for others. He admitted that the pictures he turned in to the army were "quite innocuous," and that at the time he said nothing about the atrocities he claimed to have witnessed. It was brought out that he got out of most of his military training because of what he called his "other work." In sum, Haeberle accumulated color pictures of mangled bodies but held them up his sleeve until anti-war "plants" inside Fort Benning and the Pentagon turned loose the pack. The chronology of the build-up of the My Lai affair goes something like this:

MARCH 29, 1969: Anti-war agitator Ronald Lee Ridenhour, 23, from Arizona, sent 30 mimeographed copies of a 2,000-word letter to President Nixon and left-wing men in government, Senate and House. Copies for Senators Kennedy, Gene McCarthy and William Fulbright, the men most likely to use his ammunition, he sent registered. Ridenhour was not at My Lai himself but malcontents had been providing him with information.

Through the summer of 1969 stories were co-ordinated and the ground prepared.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1969. An infiltrator inside Fort Benning phoned Charles Black, associate editor and military writer on the Columbus (Georgia) Inquirer, that a lieutenant was being investigated on charges of killing Vietnamese civilians. America has no way of knowing who phoned Black or how deeply the informant was involved in the anti-war movement. Black gave the story front page coverage under a double column headline and the drive was on.

MID-OCTOBER, 1969: A leftist who had burrowed his way into the Pentagon leaked the My Lai story to an anti-war propagandist named Seymour Hersh. Presumably, the infiltrator in the Pentagon is still there. How did Hersh string his line into the Pentagon? The answer is, AP helped him. Seasoned men on AP must have known Hersh was an anti-war activist. Yet, after graduating from University of Chicago, AP assigned Hersh to cover the Pentagon in 1966. He made his contacts. Everywhere anti-war revolutionaries were being shoved into sensitive posts with the aid of faceless friends. In June 1967 AP cut a Hersh article on biological warfare from 10,000 words to 1,700.

Hersh quit in a huff and sold his material to NEW REPUBLIC and NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE. He followed with a book, "Chemical and Biological Warfare - America's Hidden Arsenal." That America had acted to counter Russia's similar hidden arsenal against which there are no Seymour Hershes the new breed of revolutionary out to disarm the West never admits. Allied with Hersh in the subversive movement was 23-year-old David Obst, who had been a Chinese studies major at Berkeley. Through the New Hampshire primaries Hersh was press secretary for Gene McCarthy. Obst had been in the forefront of the pro-enemy McCarthy team. At the time of the Pentagon leak to Hersh, Obst was peddling anti-American stories, passed to him by servicemen inside the army, to West Coast newspapers on paper headed "Dispatch News Service." Without connivance inside newspaper offices the launching of a new news agency by an unknown is impossible. Obst encountered no difficulty. His was a small but going concern when Hersh received the tip-off from his Pentagon informer and went to the Stern Family Fund for money.

The Fund was founded by Edith Rosenwald Stern and her husband, Edgar, brother of Alfred Stern, the spy who fled to Moscow with his wife, Martha Dodd, daughter of FDR's pre-war ambassador to Berlin. Within the Fund organization is an office for digging up dirt on American anti-communists. It is called the Investigative Journalism Section, and was personally funded by Philip M. Stern, a supporter of the Communist-run Moratorium operation, the New Mobilization drive and the clamor for the destruction of files on student revolutionaries. Handling the money in Philip Stern's tax-free intelligence service for the enemy is James Boyd, who turned copies of Senator Thomas Dodd's files over to Drew Pearson for a smear campaign to ruin the senator. Boyd told Hersh to track down his story, i.e., anti-army witnesses, and the Fund would pick up the tab.

Hersh started by going to see Calley in Fort Benning. The search for anti-officer soldiers and anti-"Whitey" colored G.I.s out to get the army, with the added inducement of being paid for their interviews, led Hersh on a 42,000-mile quest back and forth across America. When the resulting account, garnered only from witnesses favorable to the thesis Hersh was out to sell, was put together, Obst sent it to some 45 papers with a Dispatch News Service by-line to make it look business-like.

NOVEMBER 12, 1969: The Detroit News featured a story by Washington correspondent T. F. Ter Horst, headlined, "Were 109 Viet Civilians Murdered?" The paper then proceeded to reply in the affirmative.

NOVEMBER 13, 1969: Hersh's account of My Lai hit front-pages. Thirty-six of the papers approached paid \$100 for the story. Obst and Hersh rented a 3-room suite in Washington's National Press Club Building with the money, took on four staffers in Washington and stringers in Japan, Indonesia, England and Vietnam. With reverberations of the My Lai bomb still rumbling the boys prepared to sell a series of interviews with Hanoi leaders written by Richard Barnet, a co-director of the pro-Hanoi "Institute for Policy Studies." Thus Hanoi was given another forum in America.

NOVEMBER 14, 1969: The New York Times published its sensational report on My Lai. It, in turn, went out over NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE lines to local papers across America and the great dailies of Europe.

NOVEMBER 15, 1969: One month after the October 15 Moratorium March in Washington, came the anti-war march in Washington and other cities. This was the event the news-leaks and frenzied atrocity-story drive had been timed to swell.

NOVEMBER 20, 1969: Haeberle got eight shots of what he claimed was the massacre at My Lai in the Left-slanted CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER and left immediately thereafter with a friend on the paper, to make hay while they could from a Gotham Hotel suite in New York. The deals with LIFE and STERN magazine followed. Leftist congressmen were put on the scent and by late November Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor was

flashing Haeberle's slides on a screen in what NEWSWEEK, of December 8, 1969, called "the walnut-panelled committee room on Capitol Hill" while congressmen "watched in stunned silence." NEWSWEEK made the most of it, under the heading, "THE KILLINGS AT SONG MY - A single incident in a brutal war shocks American conscience." Said NEWSWEEK, "Anti-war groups (were) unexpectedly furnished with potential ammunition."

NOVEMBER 24, 1969: Major-General Orwin C. Talbott announced at Fort Benning that Lieutenant Calley would be given a general court-martial. Papers heralded it as army admission of Calley's guilt. That night Hersh brought up his heavy artillery. He produced Private Paul David Meadlo, of Terre Haute, Indiana, to be interviewed by Mike Wallace over CBS. Hersh collected \$10,000 from CBS for the performance; Meadlo got a trip to New York and a chance to be seen on nation-wide TV. "Meadlo's vivid appearance on the CBS program," wrote NEWSWEEK of December 8, 1969, "persuaded many Americans that what they had read in newspapers about the massacre was indeed true."

The timing of the entire sequence of events was set with exquisite attention to detail. The Los Angeles Times of December 11 wrote in retrospect of the CBS interview, "Hersh's Meadlo story was in the papers the next day. The Meadlo appearance seemed to be the catalyst to public interest. A CBS news spokesman said the letters and phone calls we received after it 'were one of the biggest responses we ever had.'" Considering the minute preparations involved, it is possible the great response which CBS was to use for the rating on which future programs would be planned was not spontaneous. The day after Meadlo's sensational broadcast, 22-year-old former private Richard Pendleton went to the editor of the Richmond (California) Independent, said he was at My Lai and wanted to lodge charges against the officers who commanded Calley. Eager to sell papers and be noticed by the leftist giants in Los Angeles and the East, the editor splashed Pendleton's story on page one.

Having been already found guilty by the press and House and Senate leftists, Calley was brought before a court-martial panel headed by 53-year-old Colonel Clifford Ford, who had never served in Vietnam, and the big show was under way. Some of the newsmen present looked and reasoned like members of the Manson family. NEWSWEEK'S scraggly-bearded Stephan Leshner approved of panel-member Major Walter D. Kinnard's rejection of Calley's statement that he had followed orders. Said Kinnard, according to Leshner, "If you worked for me and I told you to go out and steal a car, would you do it?" Where is the parallel between being told to steal a car and being ordered to clear out a hamlet which the enemy boasts is occupied by un-uniformed auxiliaries? And what does a request from a boss in civil life have to do with orders in an army at war? As we have said before, witnesses for the prosecution would make material for a shocking book.

THE WITNESSES: Nothing they said disproved the theory that Calley's platoon might have been made up of handpicked trouble-makers. HERBERT CARTER, a colored boy from Texas with a bad record of demotions and a self-inflicted wound, had already told newsmen he would give them something more sensational if they would pay him. Questioned as to the ethics of his proposition, he replied with an obscenity. (Newsweek, Dec. 22, 1969)

CHARLES WEST, 22, colored, from Chicago, did not see Calley shoot anyone but said Captain Medina told them to destroy everything in the village. ROBERT EARL MAPLES appeared with an Afro haircut to testify against the lieutenant. DENIS L. CONTI, a white highschool drop-out who was being treated for a venereal disease at the time of My Lai, according to the New York Times of Dec. 7, 1970, left his truck-driving job in New Jersey to help convict his lieutenant. VERNADO SIMPSON, 22, colored, from Mississippi, wanted to implicate officers above Calley. Much of the testimony was contradictory. Some of the most damaging was given by a staff sergeant named Dennis R. Vasquez who wanted to get higher officers also. At first Meadlo refused to testify. He was reminded that his "nauseous details" on Mike Wallace's TV show had started the

trial going and told to testify or be arrested. At last, on the promise that nothing he said would be held against him, Meadlo took the stand and with his testimony the prosecution rested its case. (TIME, Jan. 25, 1971) Calley was sentenced to life at hard labor. The press was jubilant.

REACTION OF THE MEDIA. All phone lines to Atlanta's ABC radio station, WRMG, were jammed the morning the Calley verdict was announced. A woman known as Mickey had got herself a job on WRMG's call-in program. It gave her a microphone on the air and Mickey used it to push her own hair-brained or leftist-dictated ideas. Those protesting Calley's sentence were given short shrift. Mickey called on her listeners to flood President Nixon with letters and telegrams demanding that we pull out of Vietnam, at once. There was no mention of asking Hanoi to pull out of the South. What Mickey was pressing for was a massive write-in plebiscite that would present sell-out-in-Vietnam to the President as the nation's will. A patriot using a job on radio or TV to advance his views would not last a week. Count the radio and TV stations in America. Multiply Atlanta, Georgia's, ignorant, biased Mickey by the result for an idea of the magnitude of the miracle which occurred when over 80,000 messages protesting Calley's sentence poured in to the White House despite the blanket of pro-enemy propaganda that covered the nation.

LEFTISTS POLITICIANS REMAINED ATTUNED TO THE MEDIA. Mayor Sam Yorty, of Los Angeles, had the courage to point out to Senator Muskie that his pronouncements on the issues were "unclear and confusing, with the exception of your adamant determination to force our government to accede to the Communists' demands that we guarantee them our complete withdrawal from Southeast Asia by a certain date not far in the future, irrespective of either the consequences, the circumstances existing at the announced time, or Communist actions in the interim." Indiana's Senator Birch Bayh, sometimes referred to as the Kennedy parrot, delivered the April 7 attack against Calley we have mentioned. South Dakota's George McGovern, who knows less about no subject on earth than he does about Vietnam, stuck to his contention that My Lai is proof that the war in Vietnam has brutalized America. To McGovern, Vietnam is responsible for the rising crime rate in America, not permissive courts. Teddy Kennedy was as Teddy Kennedy.

Still, the public sensed that there was more in the Left's My Lai witch hunt than met the eye in print and on TV screens. Faced with the wave of indignation from the public President Nixon released the condemned lieutenant from his stockade. Birch Bayh charged the President with playing politics, in a five-page statement read at a hastily convoked press conference where the senator was playing politics for all he was worth. Captain Aubrey Daniel III, 29 years old, conducted the prosecution. William Millinship pointed out in the leftist London OBSERVER, of November 22, 1970, that through the trial Daniel "had been methodically trying to build up in the minds of the jury the overwhelming conviction that the alleged massacre did in fact take place, that there was no fighting, only killing." A shocked French vice-consul recently returned from Danang exclaimed, "That's the war of every day! The enemy does not fight pitched battles. When the Americans advance the enemy disappears, leaving women, children and old men to shoot Americans in the back." Millinship's OBSERVER article on the fight for Calley's acquittal was topped by a picture of Professor Herbert Marcuse declaring, "Counter-revolution has begun; the Left is divided." Such was not the case; the Left was very much together.

The Indianapolis News, of April 7, 1971, ran a page-wide headline: "Americans Pick Strange Heroes - A Mass Murderer," over an anti-Calley story by William Grieder from the Washington Post. Captain Daniel wrote an open letter to President Nixon with copies going to five anti-victory senators, including Muskie, McGovern and Javits. America's leftist senators, biased media and Captain Daniel continued to hammer nails in the coffin of the American army. Senator Gerald P. Nye, with Alger Hiss as his legal assistant, did likewise on the eve of world Warr II. With the Calley verdict came an announcement from Washington that the draft is on its way out; America will have an all-volunteer army. After the Calley affair, who but an infiltrator in search of

free training would volunteer for military service? The dust had not settled at Fort Benning when the next phase - the drive against J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI - was stepped up. There were not enough soldiers charged with throwing fragmentation grenades at their officers to go around, so leftist lawyers began dangling before relatives of "My Lai victims" prospects of an easy windfall to be gained by suing America. It remained for the London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, of April 11, 1971, to issue a forthright though brutal admission of the low estate to which subversion and permissiveness have brought America and the army she relies on for defense.

BLEEDING HEART OF AMERICA was the title of the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH article by Peregrine Worsthorne. His theme: "It may well be that President Thieu heard the news of accelerated American troop withdrawals in Vietnam with more relief than concern. For some months it has been a moot point whether the presence of such a vast array of American troops is more a curse than a blessing." Wrote Worsthorne, "After all, to have to fight a war with a demoralized giant hanging round one's neck is a bit of a handicap. Earlier on American ground forces were certainly crucial in preventing South Vietnamese defeat. But it is perfectly possible today that they are standing in the way of victory.....Once upon a time American soldiers were necessary to put backbone in the South Vietnamese army. Today the American forces have no backbone even for themselves. Drug-saturated, mutinous, defeatist, incompetent, they constitute more a threat to the security of South Vietnam than do the Vietcong. In every truth, they are the enemy within.... The American ground troops have practically ceased to fight, since President Nixon dare not risk casualties. As a factor in the military balance, therefore, they are negligible. As a factor in the moral balance, however, they are horribly central, since as long as they are there legions of American reporters swamp the land spreading the virus of their own pessimism. They are the relevant American presence in South Vietnam today. The army has ceased, in any relevant sense, to promote victory. But the American press has not ceased to promote defeat."

Mr. Worsthorne pointed out that enough damage was done to the enemy by the South Vietnamese in the Laos operation to make it significantly worthwhile, but he added, "This has nothing to do with the reality of war itself. It has to do with the reality of American politics. Instead, therefore, of the Laos operation playing a part in building up South Vietnamese morale - as it should by all the rules of war - it has had the opposite effect, since everything that happens in Vietnam becomes infected by the hysteria of American public opinion... The position today, in short, is exactly the opposite of what it used to be. Then it was the proud and confident American giant propping up a weak-kneed, gutless South Vietnamese pygmy. Today it is a proud and confident pygmy being weighed down by the weak-kneed, butless giant...So long as they (the Americans) are there, attracting in their wake that lethal legion of camp followers, the American press, the South Vietnamese cannot hope to prevail. America's bleeding heart is a hemorrhage which no small country can be expected to survive." Worsthorne's editorial page story ran to some 80 square inches. It is bitter for an American to swallow. But it is a true picture of the situation which those who find it bitter permitted to develop.

The road that brought us to this point we know: State Department seized direction from the Pentagon and made no-winism a policy. Send soldiers into a no-win war which is winnable and morale is finished. With morale gone, they smoke grass. Give TV encouragement at home to subversives who call policemen pigs and urge followers to kill them and subversives in Vietnam are going to throw fragmentation grenades at their officers. Americans should not need Mr. Worsthorne to tell them who is responsible.

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CEYLON: A LESSON FOR AMERICANS

CEYLON

In the stillness of the tropic night, on April 5, 1971, howling youths cut down policemen manning isolated posts throughout Ceylon, seized weapons and moved on to kill at leisure others on their blacklist. The story of how young revolutionaries employed in local and state government offices permitted the isolated bands to obtain their initial arms is something Americans should mull over, at a time when fair-employment-practices laws open civil service offices and private enterprise to members of minority groups calling openly for revolution.

An English tea-planter who begged that his name not be printed told how the rebels obtained guns from him and other planters in the same district, in the Times of London of May 4, 1971. The story went:

"The district was controlled by the rebels for three weeks until they were cleared by air bombing. The planter said that a group of 11 rebels, led by a man in his early twenties, had driven to his bungalow in the tea estate in a car. Their leader carried a shotgun in his hand. Six teenagers in the group wore sarongs and dark shirts, and carried swords and knives tucked into their waistbands. They were all polite.

"The planter said the group's leader 'knew exactly what my salary was, what perks I got, how many rooms my house had and other details of my personal life.' He said he was not envious of me but asked if I thought it fair to live in such luxury while my servants and the workers of the plantation lived in squalor. The rebel then explained to me the policy and aims of the People's Liberation Front. He said that the plantation economy was imperialist, and also harboured an alien labour force. Therefore Ceylon must eradicate this economy, liquidate the labour force, and return to a village economy based on rice cultivation. He said the older generation had allowed this to happen, had created unemployment for the youth, and the country must now be run by the youth...

"Then another young man whom I took to be second in command, spoke in English and asked me how many guns I had in the bungalow. I was beginning to say that I had not any when he pulled out a paper and read out the licence numbers of the guns in my possession and told me the exact amount of cartridges I had bought. He asked me politely to bring them out and said that if I refused he would reluctantly have to search the bungalow. I handed over my three shotguns and three dozen cartridges. My wife had been shielding the gold chain round her neck. The leader of the rebels smiled and said: 'We are not after your money or jewels. Not yet. We have other things to finish off first.' They drove away in my car and theirs.

"Two days later he (the planter) received an anonymous telephone call saying that his name had been given to the police and the Army authorities as one of those who had helped the rebels. 'I was told I was caught between two fires and it was suggested I get away from the district,' the planter said. 'I took the hint and my family and I walked all the way to Colombo. It took us two days.' All estate superintendents, numbering more than 800 and managing 597,490 acres of tea and 674,539 acres of rubber, have now been asked by the Government to surrender their guns."

BEHIND THE TEENAGERS WHO KNEW WHO HAD GUNS AND HOW MANY were mature advisers. Weathermen, Black Panthers and other assorted terrorists, many of them given new prestige and arrogance by the pseudo-political labels they have adopted, sit in local gun-registration offices, utility centers and communications jobs in America, as their counterparts did in Ceylon. In Ceylon files had been compiled on the revolutionaries, but those in the files elected Madame Bandaranaike to office as Prime Minister. Security officers were accused of repression and fascist methods. The files were ignored or destroyed and diplomatic relations with North Korea established.



PEOPLE'S  
CHINESE  
REPUBLIC

RED CHINA ENTERS THE PICTURE. Using North Koreans as a front China remained uncompromised in the background. What happened in Ceylon followed a familiar pattern. In Asia, Africa, Europe and Central and South America North Koreans formed espionage networks, taught kidnapping and preached revolutionary warfare. In March 1971 the Mexican government captured guerrillas who had been trained in Pyongyang. The program had been going on since 1968. George Habbash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was in Pyongyang when his followers hijacked Swiss, American and British planes on September 6, 1970.

Neither Chinese nor North Korean diplomatic bases exist in America, so young Americans, immature and conditioned by leftist professors, were encouraged to go to the source of advanced revolutionary knowledge: Peking, Hanoi and Cuba. Out of campuses flowed treasonable papers, described as "underground" to satisfy the new student yearning for conspiracy. In a matter of a few years a new pressure force evolved.

Prior to Roosevelt, political machines elected candidates committed to the machine's policies. Under Roosevelt organized labor emerged as a policy-deciding force with its own attaches in embassies abroad, conducting diplomacy and making force alliances with native unions, often against their government and ours.

As leftist professors took over colleges and universities, professor-indoctrinated students became veritable political armies. Law and order enforcement officers had no right to touch them, they were told, because they were students. Jeering, shouting obscenities and, more often than not, destroying property, they took to the streets. If they carried Vietcong flags, a dishonest press called them demonstrators for peace and against war. Treason, presented as a protest against war, became idealism. Pro-enemy hippies, high-school dropouts and university disrupters were lauded as bearers of the truth, misunderstood because of a generation gap. In 1970 they sent a delegation to Hanoi to negotiate a peace treaty, which gave the enemy all he asked for and which anti-America students plan to make America accept.

Slanted mass-circulation papers and magazines called for acceptance of defeat in Vietnam under ingenious and disarming names. NEWSWEEK of December 21, 1970, charged that Nixon was renewing the fighting after having been "elected on a pledge not to seek a military solution to the war" -- leftist journalese for victory. In word-twisting as smooth as corn-and-shell operators ever used on a yokel, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, in the New York Times of January 4, 1971, praised the virtues of "peace without victory" -- which is double talk for defeat.

In this climate of dishonesty on the part of the press, permissiveness on the part of the government and treason among our professor-indoctrinated young, there was no reason why Peking should not admit a selected group of potential collaborators. All that was lacking was the excuse. The opportunity came when as ideal a pack of prospective dupes and/or traitors as Mao could ask for went to the World Table Tennis Championship Tournament in Nagoya, Japan, in early April.



PINGPONG AND DIPLOMACY WERE JOINED. The Chinese were masters at both. The Americans took 16th place in table tennis and at diplomacy threw the game. Norman Webster, of the Toronto Globe and Mail, wrote in the Paris Herald Tribune of April 12 that 19-year-old Glenn Cowan, a long-haired hippy from Santa Monica sporting a red headband, deserved credit for the invitation. "At Nagoya," said Webster, "he worked hard to make friends with China's top player, Chuang Tse-tung." Graham Steenhoven, leader of the U. S. Delegation, gained the confidence of the Chinese delegate by giving him a Kennedy half-dollar. "It made clear our attitude was one of friendship." he said. Reading this tripe was like watching a re-run of an old film. In my mind I went back twenty-nine years and saw similar Americans in that same China, give the same signals to watchful Japanese on the lookout for those willing to collaborate. Thus the Peking door opened for a few Americans whose compliance had been assured and some friendly press men to quote them.

"HOW THE GREAT WALL CAME TUMBLING DOWN" was the way London's liberal Sunday Times of May 2 was to explain the admission of fifteen Americans -- players, officials and wives. No wall came down. An old French maxim states, "When a chateau falls it is because a traitor opens the gate from within." China was letting in fifteen political recruiters of gate-openers at home.

Tears of emotion streamed down the face of Geraldine Resek, wife of 29-year-old Errol Resek, as she entered China, "past out-stretched welcoming hands and tables laden with sumptuous banquets." The description is by Tim Boggan, lately a teacher of English at Long Island University, now a China authority. On leaving, Geraldine wept again, "because she was leaving so many friends behind." (Chinese drown nightly trying to swim to Hong Kong, to get out of the country Geraldine was crying about leaving.)

Wearing blue denim overalls, and a large Mao badge, 19-year-old John Tannehill, son of a Gallipolis, Ohio, editor, declared himself a Maoist and said he would like to stay there. When he left he said, "I'd like to go back to America and teach Mao's thoughts." He will.

"No attempt was made to educate the Americans by pro-communist or anti-American propaganda," said George Braithwaite, the only negro on the team, after being fed, flattered and guided through rooms filled with Mao's works in various languages, copies of the Peking Review and signs saying "Help Yourself," while an amplifier blared "The East is Red." On their way through Canton they were shown a play in which "girls marched in unison, using guns, while others brandished swords or banners," wrote Norman Webster. Ideal innocent civilians for Birch Bayh and Bill Fulbright to weep over if a future Lieutenant Calley has to fire on them someday in self-defense.

Alan Hydes, a 22-year-old member of the British team, was invited to stay an extra week. He was filled with admiration as he watched "five-year-old children in primary schools being taught to bayonet effigies of American soldiers as part of their lessons." (London Daily Telegraph, May 1, 1971) "It was a most incredible sight," he said, "to see children of that age indoctrinated to protect their homeland with the seriousness of adults." Talk sense, Mr. Hydes. Those children were not being indoctrinated to protect their country; they were being indoctrinated to kill Americans. And if an American were to have to shoot one of them, Britain's Educational Broadcasting Information Service would broadcast a communist-slanted documentary of it, to be discussed by students in British schools, "as a contribution to general education in humane studies," as it did of the Calley trial, on May 17, 1971.

The myth of China's new sweetness was still being inflated by the press when China returned to form. On April 29 an anti-communist branch of France's security services rescued a drugged Chinese official whom bully boys from the Peking embassy were trying to shanghai aboard a plane for home. A rough and tumble fight ensued at Orly Airport. (A few days later, under threats from Peking, French police got the poor

man off their hands and on his way to the paradise of John Tannehill and Mrs. Resek.) Five days after the airport row, Radio Peking was accusing America of trying to use the table tennis visit "to extricate herself from her isolated position at home and abroad." Very few bothered to ask whether it was Nixon who had started courting Peking or if Peking had made overtures to America; and, whoever did it, when the flirtation began.

CHRONOLOGY OF A SENSELESS COURTSHIP: Henry Brandon is the Washington correspondent for Lord Thompson's London Sunday Times. Lord Thompson owns 56 American newspapers, acquired with the aid of JFK's brother-in-law, Prince Radziwill. The last was bought from Senator Fulbright. Brandon, friend of the Kennedys and an old-time purveyor of American news with a leftist slant, is worth studying. On May 2, 1971, Brandon told readers of the Sunday Times, "It was on February 1, his twelfth day in office, that he (President Nixon) instructed Dr. Henry Kissinger to explore all possibilities of reopening relations with Communist China, which he now carefully refers to as the People's Republic of China."

Kissinger's line to Peking was excellent. Two French Reds, whom he had met as a veteran of Cyrus Eaton's Pugwash Conferences, had served as emissaries to Hanoi for him when Johnson was using the Harvard professor's services. They were a UN Food and Agriculture official known as Raymond Aubrac (real name Samuel) and a professor named Herbert Marcovitch. There was no way of knowing what the two friends of Ho Chi Minh really passed on to Hanoi for Johnson or to Peking for Nixon, what they advised the enemy to hold out for, or what either enemy confided to them, but the flow of American courtship notes had started.

On August 2, 1969, President Nixon visited Nicolae Ceausescu, the Rumanian dictator, in Bucharest. The Rumanians were brought into the game. Until then U. S. Ambassador Stoessel had been conducting negotiations with Red Chinese Ambassador Yao Kwang in the Mysliwiki Palace, in Warsaw. The meetings were suddenly broken off, we were told, by Peking. Secretly, they recommenced, behind closed doors of the Rumanian Embassy in Warsaw. No official communique was issued.

The Paris weekly, VALEURS ACTUELLES, of March 15, reported that China's new ambassador to Denmark had stopped off in Paris for talks with his old acquaintance, U. S. Ambassador Arthur K. Watson. While leading the Americans on, Peking kept Hanoi assured that the crushing of America was her aim. On Friday, March 5, a seven-man Chinese delegation headed by Chou En-lai himself arrived secretly in Hanoi to promise the hard-pressed North Vietnamese that China would not hesitate before any sacrifice in her determination to aid the Indochinese people in their march to final victory over the American imperialists. China's bottomless resources and startling new scientific, nuclear and cosmic successes were at Hanoi's disposal, North Vietnam's leaders were told.

Nixon, for his part, in his state of the world message, continued to express hope that "China would play a constructive role in the family of nations," and that "honorable relations" would ensue. Officers in the Pentagon watched with a jaundiced eye as Peking put out feelers for the purchase of a hundred Boeing 707's and a number of DC 8's, with plans for training ten thousand pilots and mechanics. American trucks and parts were being purchased through Italy for transport over the military highways China is pushing toward the south. There are various explanations as to why the February 1, 1969, Presidential order to Dr. Kissinger bore fruit when it did. One factor, of course, was the ideal material at hand in the Americans who made up the U. S. team at Nagoya. A sounder explanation was advanced by veteran Asia reporter Dennis Bloodworth in the London Observer of April 13, 1971. (Bloodworth remembered that a Chinese official took an ax to a British Bobby in Portland Place, and that hate-filled mobs had wrecked the British embassy in Peking.) "The Chinese leaders are pragmatic and flexible," he reasoned, "always clear about their priorities of the

moment. In their eyes this evidently seemed the right moment to present a sympathetic image to the discontented and crisis-weary millions in America who had the power to trim presidential policy until it fitted Chinese aims."

While gushing over Red China's sudden transformation, the American press began its build-up of the coming anti-war demonstration in Washington as something no "in" citizen on the idealistic side of the generation gap could afford to miss. Again the truth was concealed.

THE ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATOR: In America, Britain, Canada and Sweden American groups have long been openly working for victory for the enemy while posing as opponents of war and for peace. Without the collusion of the press this deception could never have been perpetrated. On April 26, 1971, the International Herald Tribune (Paris, published with the New York Times and the Washington Post) in its story on the recent anti-war demonstrations in Washington, showed a long-haired "protester" waving a Vietcong flag from the top of a "peace monument" in front of the Capitol Building. Why a Vietcong flag if it was an "anti-war march?" Aren't the Vietcong at war also? No mass circulation paper or TV commentator, for all the space allotted to "demonstrators" carrying Vietcong flags over the past five years, has been honest enough to face the fact that when obstreperous youngsters wave the enemy's flag they are not protesting against war but staging a treasonable call to arms against America.

Two days after the Herald-Tribune gave front-page space to the Vietcong flag waver above a dishonest caption, Hanoi delegate Duong dinh Thao announced in Paris that Americans are fighting in the ranks of the NLF in Vietnam. At this RITA, the sinister "Resistance Inside the Army" movement, appeared in its true colors with no comment from the press. The RITA organization in Paris was set up in the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) quarters, at 114 rue de Vaugirard, by a New Englander named Richard Perrin and three fellow deserters, Philip Wagner of California and two Texans, Cornell Hiselman and George Wuerth. RITA publishes a subversive sheet called ACT, which is distributed at U. S. bases in Europe with as its mailing address the post office box of the French Red, Jean Paul Sartre.

On May 3, 1971, the Herald Tribune carried a letter signed "RITA - ACT," offering to make a bet with anyone who thinks a lot more GI's will not be "fighting in the ranks of the NLF a year from now if Nixon doesn't admit he is licked." Read: Surrender now, Mr. President, or more of us anti-war demonstrators will throw off our masks and openly wage war for the enemy.

When the French were fighting a communist-backed revolt in Algeria, Mao Tse-tung had a talk with Mr. Ferhat Abbas, who had been named President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in order to give the cut-throats a facade of respectability while their communist supporters in France demoralized the army. Said Mao, "It is in making the soldier doubt the justice of his cause and the bewildered miss the opportunities that pass that a commander assures for himself all the chances of success."

A French writer named David Rousset wrote a book, "The Meaning of Our Combat," on the Algerian war. Said he, "Chinese staliniens seek to wring out of the accused an authentic admission of his crime. Which is to say, and this is the essential, one must bring the pretended guilty one to live in a state of guilt. It is necessary to create in him out of whole cloth a sentiment of culpability. Only a real feeling of culpability can break his moral and intellectual resistance and produce a mentally empty being, politically submissive."

This is what subversive professors, leftist politicians and our press and TV have helped the enemy achieve in America. It is significant that the drive to destroy the American army from within has not gone unobserved in Europe. While American reviewers

hailed the film "SOLDIER BLUE" as a belated recognition of the bestiality of soldiers, Mr. Michel Droit published a commentary in the May 17, 1971, issue of the Paris daily FIGARO which should be put before every American. Questioning the intentions of those who produce and praise such films, he wrote,

"Is 'SOLDIER BLUE' only the belated and praiseworthy confession of a crime that weighed heavily on America's conscience? Isn't it rather part of a subversive political movement whose methodical development we witness every day on the other side of the Atlantic? The allusion to the My Lai massacre is quite clear. Hence, what was it intended to make crystal-clear, if not the American Army's innate taste for practicing genocide on colored people? And above all, what is it intended to inspire in the American people, if not shame for their Army, by persuading them that the reasons for this shame go back a long way? Yet this Army gave the American people some pride by its behavior in 1941-1945. What is intended is an operation in national demoralization and civil dissolution, cleverly conceived and fiendishly orchestrated in order that the end of the war in Vietnam - which everyone desires - be only a beginning...."

To our readers: Please note our new editorial and business address. Mrs. Rutherford has moved our permanent circulation and business department to St. George, Utah, where she will make a fulltime job of helping to produce a better H. du B. REPORT.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



Mansfield

A SENATOR MANSFIELD PRIMER, FOR BEGINNERS

Senator Mansfield is the majority leader in the United States Senate. He is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a supporter of the United Nations and in the forefront of a group that has worked consistently toward the disarmament of the United States and an accommodation with Red China.

A challenge to the West is in the making. It is in Algeria and the Mediterranean. The follow-up punch will come from China. Senator Mansfield played a role in making Algeria a Russian base. At the same time he was proud to be called the architect of our policy in Vietnam. First he embroiled us there. Conflict followed, and he made no-winism our objective. No-winism prolonged the war, destroyed army morale, spread revolution at home, and showed America to enemies and allies alike as a paper tiger. This accomplished, Mansfield called for our turning tail and running. Each step only hastened the crisis he professes to fear. Let us start with a study of his stand vis-à-vis Algeria.

"MANSFIELD FOR HELPING END ALGERIAN CONFLICT" went the headlines on February 6, 1958. It was in the name of peace. The day before, the senator told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "The U. S. should intervene to help in bringing the Algerian conflict to a close." (His argument for letting Vietnam sink is that America cannot be policeman for the world.) The call for intervention in the French war in Algeria was to give victory to the Algerian FLN, but in the name of anti-communism. The senator's theme: "North Africa represents for the Free World what may be its last hope of arresting the Soviet-Egyptian infiltration into the whole of the once-dark continent." Save for the inference that Africa is no longer dark, the statement was correct. The statement was correct. The Free World's last hope did lie in North Africa, which Mike Mansfield's every word and act helped open to the Soviet-Egyptian penetration he professed to oppose.

To lull the non-Moslems who were being sold out, Mike added, "A commonwealth status for Algeria, after the British model, could be a solution." While he was speaking, a letter was being written which President Eisenhower was to sign for Robert Murphy to carry to France. It was an ultimatum telling the French to negotiate and quit fighting. French Reds and socialists backing the Algerians used it to strengthen their drive for surrender.

THE RESULTS WERE SPECTACULAR. No-winism triumphed. Murphy's arrival in Paris in April 1958 with Ike's letter toppled the Fourth Republic. De Gaulle rode into power, tore the heart out of the French army and signed an accord with the Algerian FLN along lines Mansfield had proposed. Then began the massacres, the abducting of European women into Algerian brothels, Russian implantation, and the flight of every Algerian who could get out.

All pretense of cooperation with the West ended. 200,000 men were offered to Nasser for the war against Israel and the plot for a Red revolution in Libya began. A few years after Mike got the French out of Algeria, de Gaulle ran American NATO forces out of France and the next play was Mansfield's: to pull them out of Europe. Mike's proteges in Algiers were by then training guerrillas for war against Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa. Over night the revolution in Libya was successful. Out

went British and American airbases. No pro-Western pocket must remain to threaten Algeria's flank or rear when the confrontation comes.

Today Russian missiles face Europe from Algeria's mountain ranges. Russian ships outweighing American naval vessels in tonnage work out of Algerian ports. More guerrilla groups have been added to those preparing for war against the white pockets in the South. Cubans, Black Panthers, Canadian terrorists, Brazilians, Uruguayans and Palestinians undergo Algerian training to lead revolutions at home. The "American office" in Algiers which supports Eldridge Cleaver's revolutionary movement is run by enemies of the West whom State Department, CIA, AFL-CIO and various foundations brought to America for educations at the tax-payer's expense.

The Montana senator with as deceptive an avuncular air as Ho chi Minh not only played a major role in making Algeria the revolution capital of the world; the thread of his activities runs through every Western setback elsewhere. Each move was sold as a move to prevent communism. Each led to a communist advance. To get an idea of Mike Mansfield's thinking and integrity, let us go back to January 1956, over two years before his call for "American intervention" in Algeria, and study "Reprieve in Vietnam," which the senator wrote for HARPER'S. (It is hard to imagine that this was written by the man who declared on Lawrence Spivak's TV program, MEET THE PRESS, on March 28, 1971, "One Vietnam is one too many.... We have done more than our share for that nation.") An interesting biographical note, which Mike either wrote or approved, accompanied his HARPER'S article.

AS HE SAW HIMSELF. His "first-hand reports from Indo-China did carry great weight in shaping American policy," the reader was told. Mike speaks no French, so in getting information he was aided by Frank Valeo, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee secretary referred to by Evans and Novak on January 21, 1966, as "Mansfield's assistant and alter ego." Frank was an excellent poser of loaded questions in a French roughly described as pidgin. "His (Mansfield's) steady support has been largely responsible for keeping Diem's government afloat," went the biographical sketch, entitled "Diem's Godfather." (In June 1969 Mike wrote in the FOREIGN AFFAIRS QUARTERLY, organ of the Council on Foreign Relations, "South Vietnamese must be told that American troops are not in Vietnam to support President Thieu." Thieu had committed the crime of wanting to win.) The HARPER'S biographical note added, "His forecast of what is likely to happen there (in Vietnam) is one of the most cheerful reports on foreign affairs that we have been able to publish in many months." (Only a fool or a traitor could have seen anything cheerful ahead in the Vietnam Mike was helping to split asunder.)

Of the Geneva Conference of 1954, Mansfield wrote that France, Britain, Russia and Red China - with the U. S. looking on - devised a formula for ending the war. He did not mention that the formula was cooked up by Walt Whitman Rostow, of M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies, in April 1954, and presented to Eisenhower's special assistant on psychological warfare (C. D. Jackson), Allen Dulles, and other top officials from State Department and CIA, who used America's weight to get our allies to accept it. "The Reds believe they have a winner in Ho chi Minh," Mike boasted, "but they do not know for how long. Diem can afford to wait; Ho cannot." (Drivel. All Ho had to do was sit tight. When no-winism and a defeatist press had created sufficient war-weariness in America, Mike Mansfield raised a cry for the boys to come home.)

Mike told how he met Vietnam's future president at a luncheon given by Justice Douglas in early 1953. And thereafter, he said, our policy in Vietnam has supported not merely anti-communism but also Ngo dinh Diem. (Mansfield, the anti-communist seems a strange pose.) As a result of "our policy" (meaning his) Mike added, "Where we are doing the least the prospects of success are the best." (The truth was, where we were meddling the most our prospects of success were nil, unless ultimate Red takeover was what Mike had in mind.) Those who opposed Mike's plans in Saigon the senator sneered

at as "colonial hacks and French colons." General Hinh, the experienced Vietnamese Chief of Staff, had to be ousted because, Mike explained, he would only listen to the French Expeditionary Corps or the Emperor. (The Emperor was the legal Head of State, to whom both General Hinh and Mike's "godson" had pledged their loyalty.)

The next triumph the senator hailed, after Colonel Lansdale and his team in the U. S. embassy ran out General Hinh in the fall of 1954, was the crushing of the Binh Xuyen private army, which protected Saigon and Cholon against Red terrorists, and the armies of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects, which defended the countryside. Mike called the Binh Xuyen a corrupt and lawless organized brotherhood, "at once the principal enforcer and principal breaker of the law in Saigon and Cholon." (Our senate authority should know that there was no law in Indo-China against gambling, which supported this army instead of sticking our taxpayers with its keep.)

Quick to denounce religious discrimination at home, Mike sneered at the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects as armed bands supported by subsidies from Saigon and extractions from peasants whose villages they held in a state of terror. (Of these sects, with over four million devoted followers in villages that really knew terror when Mike's proteges opened them to the Reds, our Montanan knew nothing. A politician to the bone, he twisted donations to religious groups into extortion.) A word on these sects and the Binh Xuyen army which Mike hated.

SECT ARMIES AND THE BINH XUYEN. They were ruthless, efficient, and, since they were Asians, they did not know what the word "non-combattant" means. Because they were anti-communist, they were needed. The slogan "People's army, People's war" is not peculiar to Hanoi or Peking. In Asia the enemy of any member of the family is the enemy of the whole. Asians have a gift for turning the enemy's weaknesses, including Western notions of humanity, against himself. In an Asian struggle the battlefield is everywhere. Little boys playing beside a road or on a sidewalk are lookouts, spies, messengers and ideal planters of bombs. Old women weaving baskets, wandering beggars and girls holding babies may be where they are to give signals, receive messages, carry a gun or keep watch. Their organizational base is Asia's secret society, in which faceless agents recognize each other by signs and passwords.

All Asian struggles use these methods. General Le van Vien, of the Binh Xuyen, and the leaders of the two sects used them more efficiently than the Reds. The enemy ideology was communism, the ideology of the Binh Xuyen was loyalty to their chief and to the emperor, and after that hatred of the Reds. The sects had the added binding force of religion. Mike hailed the destruction of all three groups as a victory for democracy. How they were crushed is a story of leftist intrigue in Washington against anti-communists who would have saved the lives of American boys.

Mike assured his readers that the two sects were nothing but "exploiters of the inhabitants in return for protection, mystical quasi-religious services and anti-communism." Protection, religious services, though Mike Mansfield thought them "quasi," and anti-communism filled a great need in the lives of the mystical Asiatics Mike is now deserting. How Mike and the other spoilers made a hollow shell out of three Vietnamese areas they claimed to be bolstering is an interesting story.

THE THREE-PRONGED ATTACK. Ambassador Lawton Collins flew home in April 1955 to beg Washington not to destroy the sect armies and the Binh Xuyen while the communist threat remained. One of his underlings, enamoured of Madame Nhu, undercut him from the rear. He wired his friends in State Department not to listen to the ambassador. General "Iron-Mike" O'Daniel, Congressman Walter Judd admitted in Washington a year later, rushed to the Prime Minister's palace and "egged" him into crushing the Binh Xuyen and the Hoa Hao army, which could not be bought off, while Ambassador Lawton Collins and the French military commander "were out of the country and could not do anything to prevent it." A Pearl Harbor-type sneak attack followed in which American

arms were used to cut up the most effective protectors of the country against the Reds. In HARPER'S, after stating that the groups destroyed were nothing but anti-communists and quasi-religious mystics, Mike lied by writing that they had started the bloodshed.

Protection of the operation in the Senate was provided by Mansfield and Frank Valeo. Valeo's arm-twisting, to wring the answers he wanted out of the inexperienced Vietnamese deputy ambassador who had been rushed to Washington would have done credit to a shyster attorney. Andrew J. Glass later described Valeo in the New York Herald Tribune of August 15, 1965, as "an expert on Southeast Asia and also the majority leader's closest confidant." Mansfield was then trying to install his protege, who succeeded Bobby Baker, in the \$27,500 a year job of Secretary of the Senate. While General O'Daniel was "egging" the Vietnamese Prime Minister into killing off the forces the country needed most, Allen Dulles' man, Colonel Edward Lansdale, tried bribing them and branded anyone who would not go along as a puppet of the colonialists.

For all Mansfield's charges of corruption, General Le van Vien and the Binh Xuyen could not be bought. To the last they were faithful to the Emperor. So the fight was on. An obscure Vietnamese colonel got his general's stars by turning American-provided firepower against the Binh Xuyen and the Hoa Hao, with "Iron Mike" and Lansdale doing the advising. There was no nonsense about innocent women, children and old men being massacred when it came to killing Vietnamese whom Mike Mansfield wanted out of the way.

The man who became a general by doing the dirty work was Duong van Minh, who later engineered the coup d'etat of November 1, 1963. "Big Minh," as he is called is now receiving American backing as the neutralist candidate in the coming Vietnamese elections, favorable to the coalition government which has Mike Mansfield's blessing. The hope is that, if we will install a coalition government, the Vietcong and Hanoi will let us go quietly and, as Henry Kissinger put it, wait a reasonable time before taking over.

Mansfield wrote of the senseless destruction of forces which buttressed Vietnam, only that the country "lost the prop of several thousand armed mercenaries in the conflict with the communists." With them out of the way, the tearing-down process moved on to the objective those handling the American meddling had in mind all the time: the throne.

VIETNAM'S EMPEROR. Mansfield's blatantly dishonest explanation of how and why Bao Dai was deposed provides an inkling of what America must have been given on the Senate floor and in its Foreign Relations Committee. Mike wrote that the Emperor's "key role in the conspiracy to overthrow Diem was the last straw." There was no conspiracy: Bao Dai had made Diem his prime minister in June 1954, and at the swearing-in told him, "Integrate the sects into a national community; unite the country that is left to us."

The new appointee replied, "If Your Majesty ever has cause to be dissatisfied with my administration of the nation's affairs, Your Majesty has but to say the word and I will step down." Ten months later, instead of uniting the country, the prime minister was tearing it to pieces, and Bao Dai asked him to resign. Mansfield and the State Department and Michigan State University team jumped in to overthrow the throne. This was where the conspiracy was.

A rigged plebiscite deposed the Emperor. This left no one with power to tell Mansfield's and Justice Douglas protege to step down. By a bit of hocus-pocus the prime minister was made president. Mike and the American press were jubilant. The people had "a government which would derive its power primarily from them," Mike gushed in HARPER'S. The people couldn't have known less what was going on. Years later many of them thought the descendant of Annam's emperors still reigned in Hue.



Everything the mass circulation media have given the public on His Majesty Bao Dai, like Mansfield's self-serving drivel in HARPER'S, was written by men who never knew the man they were axing. A few, such as David Schoenbrun of CBS, obtained interviews by pretending to be sympathetic, then wrote articles in which they knifed him. Mansfield made no effort to establish a relationship of frankness and learn the Emperor's thoughts on Vietnam's problems. When the throne was destroyed fragmentation resulted because only the man on the throne was above the regional, racial and religious hatreds dividing the national family. Our best allies, the Montagnards, were the Emperor's personal wards whom he protected against the lowlanders. Without him the catalyst was gone.

Now that South Vietnam is almost down the drain and Mike Mansfield, on MEET THE PRESS TV program of March 28, 1971, has closed the books with a terse statement, "We have done more than our share for that nation," it is time to itemize the Senator's account with Vietnam and with the West. The balance, in Vietnam and everywhere else leaves our senate majority leader in the Red. Let us take a look at some of the senator's legacies to history.

MANSFIELD: A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY - February 24, 1963: Mike begins to ease out from under. No longer is liquidating the opposition a march toward democracy. After three days in Saigon he told the Senate the pace toward democracy was much too slow. September 1, 1965: Mike is for peace. UP calls him "an Asian expert in his own right." Mike declares, "From announcements by Moscow and Peking it would appear that negotiations to end the conflict are feasible, so far as Hanoi is concerned." He added, "They should start by a security amnesty." (North Vietnam massacred over a million people after the 1954 negotiated peace.)

January 1966: Mike makes another report, described in the N. Y. Herald Tribune of March 14, 1966, as a pessimistic one which "made peace respectable." (For peace, read surrender.) In Mansfield's HARPER'S report the enemy had been on the run. In his Jan. 1966 report to the senate Mike brandished the spectre of an "open-ended war," where whatever pressure the U. S. might bring against the enemy would be met by equal communist pressure. The solution: Quit and get out. It was an argument against victory.

April 24, 1967 (Los Angeles Times): Mike calls on America to prevent pilots from attacking Mig bases - i.e., defending themselves - because it would escalate the war and make it more difficult to start negotiations.

March 30, 1968, Washington: There will be no real peace until the U. S. and China "come to some sort of a settlement," said Mike. The man posing as an anti-communist in 1955 was pleading Peking's cause. August 8, 1969, Washington: Russia was known to be developing a second system of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's). China had test-fired her first ones, Mansfield opposed the deployment of a Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system to protect America.

September 9, 1968, Washington: Mike calls for "a Saigon government willing to settle for peace with control of less than the entire country of South Vietnam." Attempts to create in South Vietnam a situation of security and control for the Saigon government could involve us for years, he said, adding, "It would take a new approach to get results." He suggested a bombing halt, a cease-fire, then negotiations between Saigon and the NLF.

June 1969, Foreign Affairs Quarterly: Mansfield calls for total withdrawal of U. S. combat forces from Vietnam by the end of 1970, regardless of what the enemy does or does not do, and informs South Vietnam that American troops are not there to support President Thieu. A candidate willing to open the door to the Reds, in return for a short term as President of Vietnam, was being sought.

July 3, 1970, Washington: The New York Times reported, "Senator Mike Mansfield, D., Montana, served notice that the Senate will not be dissuaded from its efforts to end the war in Southeast Asia as long as Americans are dying in this misbegotten situation in Vietnam."

April 20, 1971, Washington: Senator Mansfield: "So many things are coming out of Vietnam that bode ill for the American people - fragging (killing of officers by their soldiers), drugs, disease, casualties well beyond 350,000 and loss of treasure that could well be spent at home. The only solution is the total dissolution of our Vietnam involvement." - the involvement he had helped bring about.

May 1971: Mansfield calls for withdrawal of 50% of U. S. Nato forces from Europe while the Soviet threat in the Mediterranean grows daily. Mike's argument for cutting defenses when they should be strengthened is economy. There is no Mansfield drive against foreign aid, the peace corps, America paying 30% of the costs of UN and 25% of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, or a tightening of social welfare. The man who made Vietnam a hollow shell for the Reds in 1955, in the name of anti-communism, and called for American intervention on behalf of the Algerians, as a move against Russia and Egypt, labors to disarm the West, as America's sole formula for saving money. An informed Montana electorate would question, at least, his judgment.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor

SENSATIONALISM A LA NEW YORK TIMES

"Read all about it."

THE SUBJECT: THE PENTAGON PAPERS. 2.5 million words, 3,000 pages of analysis and 4,000 pages of documents. 47 volumes in all. Secretary of Defense McNamara ordered the study in 1967. Why? "A friend of McNamara's said he was trying to create an official record." (TIME, June 28, 1971)

Thirty-six men were assigned to the job. Other hand-picked "experts" came in, "wrote about their specialties" (LIFE, July 2, 1971) and went their way. Their identities were concealed lest naming them would hurt their careers, we are told. They cannot be called to an accounting.

Of the 36 permanent members seven have been named to date. "One of the scholars called in to help guide the project was

"SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, London"

Henry Kissinger," according to TIME, June 28. His authority on Vietnam: Raymond Aubrac, the friend of Ho Chi Minh whom he used as an emissary to Hanoi in early 1968. None of the seven members named inspires confidence in the project or the offices that have employed them. More on them later.

THE NEW YORK TIMES through its satellite papers flooded America with self-serving editorials on the public's "right to know." The public has no right to know the names and records of the men who worked on the McNamara study.

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, of London, wrote on June 19, "Since the Pentagon documents were too long for a newspaper to print fully, there was all the more need for a scrupulously impartial presentation." This the New York Times failed to give.

Why? The reasons were many. Sensationalism, to boost circulation, was one. "A ferocious bloody battle took place between Timesman Loeb and editors Rosenthal and Reston," reported Newsweek, June 28. The Times' chief legal adviser, James Goodale, advised that if the paper decided to publish the filched documents it should be done in a single edition. "The disadvantage of Goodale's proposal," said Newsweek, "was that the Times would get less of a circulation boost from a single effort than it could by stretching the story out for a week."

The drive to discredit government - the government New York Times helped put in office - entered in. Its purpose: to force withdrawal from Vietnam NOW. The Pentagon papers, distorted, misrepresented and shaped to New York Times ends, were a blow to America's solar plexus. There were follow-up punches: In the issue which launched the yellow journalism series in right-to-know garb was an Averell Harriman - Clark Clifford declaration, "There would be no problem in getting American prisoners released from North Vietnam if the United States set a firm withdrawal date." (Ask them if this will include Sergeant George Harold Bennet, of Perryville, Arkansas. His captors took him outside Hanoi and executed him in early 1965)

Favorable quotes were dug up to prove that the "domino theory" is not valid, that the public has nothing to fear by opting for what Cyrus Sulzberger (New York Times, January 3, 1971) calls "Peace without victory." By the time the public is disabused

it will be too late.

WHO GAVE THE NEW YORK TIMES THE AMMUNITION IT WANTED? The answer: 40-year-old Daniel Ellsberg. He looks like an aging hippy. He is said to have been influenced by his wife, yet he worked on some of the most secret projects in America! His scattering of restricted material to leftist editors and congressmen is called a leak. It is part of a pattern of American treason. The My Lai scandal designed to undermine the military, i.e., defense, was touched off by an infiltrator in Fort Benning, another in the Pentagon and a photographer in the army. Says TIME (June 28) "He (Ellsberg) would have made an excellent Jesuit. He had a marked capacity for excess." "Unlike the others, he was a man driven," wrote Joe Kraft (New York Times, July 4). Kraft in 1959 received the award of the Overseas Press Club of New York for New York Times articles favoring the Algerian terrorists.

"The leak to the New York Times was something of a political crime passionel. The perpetrator must have been brimming with such passionate feeling against the war that he was willing to incur almost any risk in order to convince Congress and the public of his burning cause," wrote Henry Brandon in Lord Thompson's left-leaning SUNDAY TIMES, of London, on June 20. (Lord Thompson owns 56 newspapers in America.) "His aim was to provide raw material for future historians and to enable future governments to learn from the mistakes made," Brandon added.

As a student at Harvard, Ellsberg worked on the Crimson, the student publication once edited by another McNamara-sheltered security risk, Adam Yarmolinsky. In 1959 Ellsberg entered the Rand Corporation. From Rand he moved to the Pentagon as special assistant to John McNaughton, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security, and from the Pentagon to Vietnam under the most disastrous agent America ever placed in a position for fomenting trouble, Major General Edward Lansdale. In 1954 Lansdale saw the dirty colonialists as the threat to Vietnam, never the Communists. He ruined the Vietnamese Army by sowing insubordination in order to get rid of General Hinh, the Chief of Staff. He then masterminded the destruction of the Binh Xuyen army which protected Saigon and its axis of roads. He brought about the crushing of the Cao Dai sect which protected Tay Ninh and the Hoa Hao sect which defended the rice markets on the Mekong. It was a game, and anyone who opposed Lansdale's "team" was crushed. Without a word of the suffering, the killings and the American losses that resulted, William Touhy wrote off the senseless arrogance with a single line in the Los Angeles Times in early 1967. Said Touhy, Lansdale changed his mind. After the harm had been done and everyone who tried to save the pieces had been torn to shreds. Lansdale returned to Saigon in the mid-60s, Ellsberg with him. He bungled again and was recalled in '67. Ellsberg went to the Pentagon and from there to the Center of International Studies (CENIS) in Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

WHAT IS CENIS? William J. Gill, in "THE ORDEAL OF OTTO OTEPKA," tells how CENIS was set up with government money to do research for CIA and provide employment for such men as Walt Rostow and Harold R. Isaacs who, under normal procedures, would never have been granted security clearances. The point to remember is that Rand Corporation was the springboard from which Ellsberg rose upward into posts which gave him his opportunity for harm.

WHAT IS RAND CORPORATION? Rand was organized in 1948 as an independent, non-profit, research organization in Santa Monica, California. For the first ten years it worked exclusively for the airforce and the Atomic Energy Commission, primarily on new weapon systems. Considering the sort of men known to have entered, Rand, their ideological leanings and the absence of any outrage against Ellsberg's distribution of classified material to leftist newspapers one shudders at the thought of this bunch working on the projects they handled. During World War II a Soviet spy ring called the Red Orchestra penetrated the top ranks of the German General Staff and among those hanged when it was exposed was the Berlin correspondent of the New York

Times. To an organization able to circumvent Hitler's security measures, Rand would be child's play. Virtually all Rand employees have security clearance to consult the Corporation's vast files of classified documents but employees are not checked every day. "The Rand security system," an official stated, "depends a great deal on trust. There is no procedure for reviewing clearances. "If there is no real cause to look into it, no overt attempt is made to track a man and update his clearance." (Steven V. Roberts, New York Times, July 3, 1971)

Since 1958 the Corporation has taken on other clients but the Federal government still provides 86 per cent of its \$27 million annual budget. Three quarters of the budget comes from the Defense Department for work dealing with American security. There are about 500 members at the Santa Monica office with assignments ranging from computer science to physics and sociology. Here new methods of arms control are studied and Soviet moves in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean appraised. Other sprawling offices are situated in Washington and New York.

Mr. Jan Butler is Rand's chief security-control officer in Santa Monica but there are realms over which Mr. Butler has no control, namely the mind of the man cramming material into the whirring computers. And the answer that comes out of the computer can only be as valid as the material that goes into it. Here America must depend on the judgment of those who select the humans who feed the computer. Rand publications which your correspondent has studied give copious footnotes and listings of sources used by think-tank whiz-kids attempting to reduce guerrilla warfare and global intrigue to a mathematical equation. But a glaring flaw is evident: the bias reflected in the selecting, and the absence of actual knowledge.

For the first time, in the Ellsberg case, the question is brought into the open as to what sort of men feed the computers and who hires them. As far back as October, 1969, Ellsberg and five of his friends in Rand wrote a letter to the New York Times urging unilateral withdrawal of American forces from Southeast Asia. They have stated that they wrote to the Times only after "repeated attempts to influence policy through channels had failed." Read: Years before Ellsberg threw off the mask he and other Rand members were trying, through channels and without, to impose acceptance of Hanoi's demands. Questioned by a Federal Grand Jury, Anthony J. Russo, of Rand Corporation, was loyal to Ellsberg rather than America. Though promised immunity, he refused to talk.

Less than a decade ago the Kennedy brothers, with the approval of the American news media, attempted to railroad an anti-Communist general (General Edwin Walker) into a mental institute on a dishonest press report and a certificate signed by a doctor who never examined him. Today the same media makes the unbalanced purveyor of classified documents a hero. Joe Kraft expressed admiration for Ellsberg in the New York Times of June 30. "No one connected with Vietnam brings to bear on the problem more formidable equipment than the purveyor of the Pentagon Papers," wrote Kraft. (Your correspondent's experience in Indo-China dates back to May 1937) But Kraft adds, "I came to doubt his (Ellsberg's) judgments profoundly." Their first meeting was when Kraft went to the Pentagon to try to sell the idea of installing a regime in Saigon with which the Reds would negotiate, i.e. a transitional government to span the period between our departure and the Red take-over.

The second meeting took place in Saigon when Ellsberg was working for Lansdale. In early 1968 a third meeting took place at Teddy Kennedy's, according to Kraft. Kraft drove Ellsberg back to town while Ellsberg peered through the rear window to see if they were being followed by the FBI. The last meeting was in Washington at Kraft's home with Ellsberg talking "obsessively of America's guilt and the need to cleanse the national soul."

How did a character like this get into Rand, which has been sold to the public as

a beehive of mental giants making America great?

TIME (June 28) says Ellsberg entered Rand because he was a protege of Rand's president, Henry Rowen. How did a man with no better judgment than Rowen's get to head a think-tank where America's very existence is at stake, and is Rowen still there?

Let us look at the other Pentagon papers authors whose names we know.

THE McNAMARA TEAM OF HISTORIANS. An honest press or some conscientious congressmen could have a hey-day if the names of the entire panel of history compilers were known, that is, if those we have are indicative.

Leslie H. Gelb, 35, now with Brookings Institution, another government supported think-tank, headed the project. He was 9 when the OSS team sent to train Ho chi Minh's officer cadre parachuted into Indo-China and started the murderous movement of which Gelb is now an authority. Of the Pentagon project, Gelb says, "The result was not so much a documentary history as a history based on documents." What kind of double talk is this?

He says the documents were "checked and rechecked with antlike diligence." (New York Times, June 22, 1971) He then adds with all the innocence in the world that "documents covering the history of American involvement before 1961 were lost or not kept, but records were bountiful from that year on." In other words, records covering the years when Lansdale and his team were running out Vietnam's chief of staff, crushing the anti-Communist Binh Xuyen, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao armies, deposing Vietnam's emperor, frustrating Vietnamese attempts to throw off the American-imposed government and helping rig elections -- all records on these years were "lost or not kept."

Yet Neil Sheehan wrote in the New York Times of June 13, "The Pentagon study traces three decades of the growing United States role in Indo-China." The truth is, it traces the six years between '61 and '67, the years favorable to the Left's thesis.

Of the "bountiful" records, TIME of June 28 reported that researchers were not permitted to browse freely but had to specify what they wanted. The whiz-kids were given what they asked for, if it did not go back further than six years.

The photographs available of the five men known to us would fascinate a physiognomist. Gelb has a look of serious meanness as he peers smugly through black-framed glasses. His statements provide an insight into his character. If we do not talk about the humiliation of defeat, "there will be less trauma over withdrawal," he says. (TIME, June 28, 1971) This is a contradiction of the public's right to know. He is telling us, if we do not tell the public what is going to happen there will be less anguish afterwards. The same magazine quotes him as saying that "the President must take the risk of re-educating the public and congressional opinion about Communism," -- i.e., reassuring them that this threat talk is nonsense. Gelb wrote the analytic section of the papers in question.

The others? There is Melvin Gurtov. His long hair brings to mind Spengler's dire prediction of a decadent West in which good taste is supplanted by fads and bizarreries. Gurtov was 16 when Lansdale and his friends decided to make Vietnam a republic. He admits that he was "strongly against the war four years ago while working on the Pentagon papers," which is to say he was strongly against winning it. Yet, he maintains, "This was a skillful and honest appraisal by a group of competent scholars." Gurtov resigned from Rand on June 30 to become a political science professor at University of California, Riverside campus, after five years as Rand's research specialist on China and Southeast Asia. He charges that "The U.S. continues to have as its primary objective a military victory."

David Lawrence stated in US NEWS & WORLD REPORT of Nov. 17, 1969 and July 5, 1971, that political pressures which catered to pacifist elements prevented America from saving lives by using the military means necessary to attain victory.

Pentagon paper writer Hans Heymann, Jr., 51, was born in Germany. Since 1950 he has been with Rand. That is all the public knows of him.

Richard Moorsteed, 44, has worked with the Defense Department and State as an "authority" on Soviet affairs. He is now with Rand.

Morton Halperin, now with Brookings, was Gelb's chief in International Security Affairs. (A Halperin headed OSS' section of Latin-American affairs during World War II and turned out to be a Russian spy. Secrecy surrounding think-tank "scholars" has prevented our finding out if there is any relation between the two.)

Last of the known seven is Colonel Paul F. Gorman, 43. All that has been divulged on him is that he was with the U. S. delegation to the peace talks in Paris from '68 to '70 and that he is now in Vietnam.

Beyond this, nothing. Twenty-nine faceless think-tankers and an unknown number of specialists kept anonymous to protect their careers. No voice has been raised which suggests that they are anything but so many Ellsbergs. Now for a look at those selected to interpret them.

THE NEW YORK TIMES TEAM. Mr. A. O. Rosenthal, managing editor of the New York Times, stated on June 17, (Washington Post), "The staff had been unified as never before by a common pride in the series of articles that has rocked the present and former policy-makers in Washington."

Considering the men whom the Times sequestered in a New York hotel room to prepare a Times version of the filched papers this is understandable. On June 16, the Times flooded its satellite papers throughout America -- papers which take the New York Times News Service -- with an editorial and two feature stories designed to whip up public opinion against censorship, as the government moved to halt publication of the stolen classified documents. A typical Times survey assured readers that America's allies were not alarmed. The contrary was the truth. Greatest casualty abroad was confidence in America's Pentagon civilians and think-tank activists. Our mass media came out no better.

Number four man on the New York Times team of writers was Fox Butterfield. To establish an impeccable scholarly background for him, NEWSWEEK (June 28) told its readers Fox Butterfield is the son of Lyman Butterfield, curator of the Charles Adams papers at Harvard. The New York Times gave nothing. Who cares a hoot about Lyman Butterfield? The important fact is that Fox Butterfield is the grandson of Cyrus Eaton, that he spent eight days in Hanoi with Eaton in December 1969, made a plea for unilateral withdrawal when he came out and has always been an apologist for Hanoi and Peking. (On July 10 the TIMES published a long letter from Cyrus Eaton in support of his grandson.)

Fox Butterfield states in his July 5 New York Times story that Lansdale was the model of Graham Greene's "QUIET AMERICAN." Butterfield was showing his ignorance. Pyle, in the "QUIET AMERICAN" was a composite figure drawn from an American agent named McKay, whom the French expelled in '50 or '51 charged with furnishing the explosive for a bomb thrown into a crowded gathering, and Gene Gregory, an eager-beaver who later made a fortune running a propaganda paper for Diem while doing import-export on the side.

Lansdale's biography in the Times of July 5 says he was an "Airforce officer from

1947 to '63; political officer, South Vietnam, 1954-'56." Pretty brief, that. His Majesty Bao Dai told your correspondent, "When I met Lansdale he was with Ho chi Minh. I was a prisoner; he (Lansdale) was there by choice." In 1951 Marshal de Lattre de Tassigny barred Lansdale from the country. These are things the public also has a right to know.

Page one of the Times of July 1 refers to CIA agent Lucien Conein as Lodge's "indispensable man" in Vietnam at the time of the coup d'etat against Diem. Conein, the Times states, "landed in Vietnam in 1944 by parachute for OSS." But the first OSS team admittedly dropped in Vietnam was sent to Ho chi Minh in June 1945, a year later. In 1944 a group of Americans got General Chang Fa-kwei to release Ho chi Minh from prison by changing his name. (He was listed as Nguyen ai Quoc). If the Times statement is correct, Conein then must have been one of the Americans who arranged Ho's release and secretly accompanied him into Indo-China to show the fence-sitters that America was behind him. Then this is the date of American involvement in Indo-China, not the period of the "Truman administration's decision to give military aid to France in its colonial war against the Communist-led Viet Minh," as the Times informs us, still fighting colonialism rather than communism.

THE DECEIVING OF THE PUBLIC ABOUT VIETNAM HAS BEEN SHOCKING. But no one has been more guilty than the New York Times. One deception was in presenting Walt Rostow and his ilk as hawks. The inference was that they wanted to win. There were no hawks among the government's tame civilians, only men forcing a holding operation on the army while they waged a political war at home. This was never understood abroad. The SUNDAY TELEGRAPH of London on July 20 still felt that U. S. wanted victory. David Lawrence in his US NEWS & WORLD REPORT editorial of July 5 recognized that the State Department through the Secretary of State and the Ambassador in Saigon was running the war, and Mr. Lawrence questioned the origins of no-winism. On June 20 the SUNDAY TIMES of London, praised George Ball for wanting a "compromise solution" instead of victory and the question was partially answered. Behind Mr. Ball loomed the shadow of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Another 47 volumes could be written on the edited story of the Pentagon's incomplete documents and the anonymous men who had a hand in both. One thing is indisputable. They provided an excellent smoke screen for Dr. Kissinger's meeting with pro-Red contacts in Paris and the trip to Peking which followed, a trip which led an Asian official to ask, "What does Washington mean by 'old friend'?" To the Red Chinese, Henry Kissinger came as a supplicant. What a shame he did not say, "You have a man named Downey and perhaps other American aviators who have been in your prisons since the Korean War, why don't you let them go home with me?"

Readers are urged to send copies of this report to their editors and congressmen.

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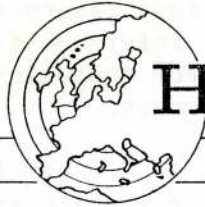
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THE DOLLAR - "LYNCH-PIN OF THE WORLD CURRENCY SYSTEM"



A wag wrote in the Daily Telegraph of London, "If you can keep your head when all about you are losing theirs - then you just haven't heard the news yet." The news referred to was President Nixon's August 15 announcement of measures to heal the ailing dollar. Briefly, divided into three parts, they may be summed up:

TO COPE WITH ADVERSE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: Convertibility of the dollar into gold or other reserve assets suspended. A 10% surcharge (for how long unstated) on imports except oil, gasoline and some other raw materials. Foreign aid cut by 10%.

TO HALT INFLATION: Prices, wages and dividends frozen for 90 days. A "Cost of Living Council" will seek to achieve stability when that period ends. Federal spending to be cut by \$4,700 million. Civil service pay raises postponed and government employment cut by 5% (some 23,000 American civilians were in government offices abroad in 1970).

TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY: Repeal of the 7% excise tax on American cars. The \$50 personal income tax allowance scheduled for January 1, 1973, moved forward a year. New tax changes to encourage research and development spending. Proposal of a new law granting a 10% "job development credit" for new investment, over the coming year.

FOREIGN REACTION WAS IMMEDIATE. The Japanese who had barred foreign imports and investments, while charging high prices for goods sold at home in order to subsidize low-price sales in America, cried to high heaven. A more sober view of the crisis came from Mr. George Bolton, President of the Bank of London and South America, Ltd., in THE TIMES of London, of August 19. Wrote Mr. Bolton, "Western Europe, led by France, during recent years, has witnessed the gradual degeneration of the American financial system with an attitude of ineffable superiority, lecturing America on the evils of inflation and pointing to the higher wisdom of western European economic management.... But the inevitable is happening and the dollar, the lynch-pin of the world currency system, is clearly going to give way under the accumulated strain....The greatest weakness of democratic governments is that they cannot anticipate a crisis, and the edge of the abyss has to be reached before they can act. When democratic governments unite, as in the European Economic Community (EEC), inaction before a crisis is inevitable, as six paralytics leaning on each other do not make one healthy man."

Mr. Bolton pointed out that even the wartime Bretton Woods agreement, which set up the International Monetary Fund (IMF), required two years of preparation, "though only two men of power and influence in their own countries, Maynard Keynes and Harry White, had to agree on a joint plan." That Harry Dexter White conveniently died on the eve of his impending arrest as a Soviet agent, Mr. Bolton neglected to mention.

Offstage, as the crisis halted exchange operations around the world, were two opposing schools: Those who wish to demonetize the role of gold in the international monetary system, and those who hold that gold is to money what the system of weights and measures is to solids and liquids. Let us look at the metal over which the traditionalists and economic revolutionaries are struggling.

GOLD is still the basis of international monetary reserves and credit. The traditional means of net settlement and a point of reference for the value of all national currencies. It is not just a pretty metal. For centuries it has served as the governor for controlling the fluctuations of money.

THE GOLD RESERVE ACT of 1937 obligated America to redeem in gold at \$35 per ounce, the dollars held by foreign banks. America's gold reserves in Fort Knox dwindled as foreign dollar holders periodically presented their excess paper and demanded gold. While the \$35-per-ounce price held in America, France pegged her franc at 160 milligrams of fine gold. From about 1954 onward the U. S. began running a more or less large deficit in its balance of payments. This is to say that for most of that period America had a deficit caused by a larger outflow of capital than the surplus which the United States had on current account.

During the presidential election campaign of 1964 a raid to cash in dollars for gold appeared imminent. It could hurt Johnson and help Goldwater. In ten days, from September 7 to 17, the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, parent bank of PARIBAS Corporation in New York, and the bank through which Soviet transfers for political activity in Western Europe are handled, purchased \$70 million in American paper. The reason: To tide the dollar over a low spell when a rush might imperil Johnson's election. In effect, it was a Soviet loan to Johnson until Goldwater was out of the way. It added \$70 million to Russia's dollar holdings in Paris and brought the dollar balance in Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas up to \$1,960,000,000.

In September 1968 Mr. Henry Fowler, then Secretary of the Treasury, proposed to demonetize gold and replace it with the dollar. For a decade financial columns written by liberal economists had been preparing for this by telling Americans that gold was not worth anything, anyway, except as a metal for filling teeth and making jewelry. It was a drive to get the squanderers of America's national treasure off the hook, before the day when the vaults in Fort Knox would be empty. It would also put America at the mercy of the regimented have-nots in United Nations. Fowler's proposal failed and dollars continued to pour into Europe and Japan, while cheap foreign goods continued to be sucked into America by surging consumer demand. It is one of the oldest laws of economics that when two countries with fixed rates of exchange have unequal rates of inflation, the capital of the country with high prices will flow to the country whose prices are low. There are two remedies for this:

One is to impede the flow of capital, as is practiced in France and Britain. The other is to change the rate of exchange. This, temporarily, brings prices and salaries back to a common level and removes the cause for the flight of capital -- until rabble-rousing union leaders in the devaluing country use the readjustment as justification for a wage hike which puts the situation where it was before.

In 1969 West Germany sold \$500 million worth of gold to America in order to keep reserves in Fort Knox above the \$10,000 million mark. A year later the Germans still held more than enough dollars to clean out Fort Knox and the Deutschmark was developing into a reserve currency, an exposed status previously held by the dollar and the pound sterling.

WHAT IS A RESERVE CURRENCY? A reserve currency is a national currency held in substantial amounts in the reserves of other countries. This automatically happens when a national currency is considered "strong," which is to say, proof against devaluation, and in plentiful supply. Foreign central banks tuck it into their reserves. Financial markets follow by employing it as a "vehicle currency," in other words, they use it outside their frontiers to finance trade and as a medium of long-term lending and borrowing.

The pound's role as a reserve currency was a result of empire. Years of balance of

payment deficits contributed to a further buildup of pound sterling reserves abroad. As confidence in the pound weakened, the world turned to dollars. British labor and socialist governments hastened the process by pricing Britain out of the world markets. As British exports fell off, Japanese and German exports surged into the world market through customer demand.

Dollars became the reserve and vehicle currency of the world. American foreign aid and tier upon tier of swollen agencies played a part in building up dollar reserves in Swiss and German banks. Exorbitant demands by American labor led to a flight of American companies abroad. Oil refining, automobiles, chemical plants and engineering corporations made for England; Zenith, Admiral, Ford-Philco and RCA shifted TV production to Formosa. Warwick Electronics left Illinois for Mexico. General Instruments dismissed 3,000 workers in New England and raised its labor force in Formosa to 7,200.

Japan, with her restrictions against foreign investments, barred the way to American companies but took over manufacture of their products under licence. Gradually the American market for radios, tape recorders, cassettes and motorcycles went to foreign firms or American firms established abroad. While U. S. manufacturers faced loss of volume, labor unions periodically increased their demands.

Though a government crackdown on the wage spiral had long been in order, Johnson promised labor a closed shop in 1964, in return for the labor vote. Labor spent a minimum of \$10.7 million in America's 1970 mid-term elections. Considering labor's political power, chances that Nixon will halt inflation by freezing wages over a long period are remote. True, his timing of the August 15 clampdown on wages and prices was perfect. In many cases management had just signed a new round of labor agreements but had not yet had time to pass a price-hike on to the consumer. Labor leaders, nevertheless, rose up in arms. Socialist policies and labor unions in politics forced an almost bankrupt Britain to devalue the pound on November 18, 1967. The same forces were at work in America, while foreign aid to have-not, will-not, do-not nations constituted a hemorrhage which leftist senators refused to stop. Mid-August brought Washington to the brink which the Wilson government in Britain faced in November 1967.

But there are two ways of devaluating a currency. One is to lower the value of the of the nation's money by raising the price of gold in which the money is measured. The other is to stand pat and obstruct imports until other nations raise the value of their currencies. Nixon opted for the latter because, with the 1972 elections in the offing, he dared not lower the value of the dollar by the conventional method. What he was doing was to tell the electorate that everyone was out of step by America. The Financial Times (London) of August 24 reached 'way out and suggested that America's refusal to raise the price of gold in relation to the dollar was because she did not want to enrich Russia and South Africa.

As confidence in the dollar tumbled, the rush to change dollars for marks gathered momentum, and West German bankers faced with dread the possibility that they might find themselves, in some future crisis, in the position America is in today, with vast sums of redeemable marks abroad. Japan and Germany stood firmly together for as long as they could, hoping that America would raise the price of gold. The 1934 Gold Reserve Act, they pointed out, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to buy or sell gold at any price he chose, therefore no act of Congress was necessary. Nixon continued to sit tight. The trouble was, there was a political angle to the dollar crisis, as well as a financial one. Here the International Monetary Fund (IMF) enters in.

THE IMF IS THE FINANCIAL ARM OF THE UNITED NATIONS, a sort of central supra-national bank in which the central banks of 106 countries have deposited funds in gold and their own currencies, thereby gaining for themselves special drawing rights which permit them to make withdrawals or obtain loans for settling their obligations

in time of crisis. The IMF oversees the supply of gold and currencies, and increases UN's political power over hold-out nations by a form of majority-approved blackmail when one of the hold-out nations is in trouble. Through it, all financial crises work to the advantage of UN. September 21 was set as the date for an IMF meeting to hammer out a common policy.

When Nixon minimized the role of gold on August 15, he played into the hands of those for whom a united Europe within UN is a crusading ideal. To the UN one-worlders, a common monetary system in the West is a means of humbling America and downgrading the importance of nations in general. They would have America relinquish physical possession of her gold reserves and turn them over to an international banking system under UN which would handle payments between its members. The Common Market Commission is also out to extend its power and authority by launching its own currency to replace the dollar in international trade.

While Nixon and the Japanese and Germans faced each other, sober economists in Europe predicted that there might be an upping of the yen by 15%, the mark by 13.4%, the Canadian dollar by 12%, the pound sterling and the French franc by 7.3% and several lesser currencies by 5 or 5.5% before the showdown was over. At month's end the pound, the guilder, the lira, the Belgian franc and even the hitherto adamant yen were floating, the latter at 5.2% above its former value. Even the French franc was floating on the unofficial market, but the results fell far short of what Nixon regarded as necessary to cure the dollar.

If Nixon, facing an election year, dared not devalue, the leaders called upon to reevaluate their currencies upward were no better off. Whether they yielded or risked a damaging recession, it would hurt them politically at home. Bound to suffer, regardless of who talked, were the investors in millions of dollars worth of dollar-pegged Common Market bonds issued by the European Investment Bank, the supranational central bank of the Common Market Six, which hopes, out of the present confusion, to float its own "Euro" money to replace the dollar. Formulating other conflicting plans on the sidelines were members of what is called the "CLUB OF TEN." Behind its closed doors the final battle will eventually be fought.

THE CLUB OF TEN is an exclusive group composed of financial ministers and governors of central banks of the IMF's ten leading industrial powers: Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States, with Switzerland sitting in as a permanent observer. Here representatives of France, Germany and Japan prepared to plead their case when the Ten meet under the chairmanship of Canadian finance minister, Mr. Benson, presumably in Ottawa. Helpless passengers aboard the world financial ship as it weathered the storm were the holders of Eurodollars.

EURODOLLARS are dollars that are in Europe. In the early '50s, Russia and China began depositing dollars in banks in Europe (rather than New York). Dollar deposits mounted, and the dollar replaced Britain's pound as what the economist Schumpeter once described as "the light cavalry of finance, moving quickly to fill gaps wherever needed." It was universally accepted that the dollar was as good as gold, hence rose a demand for dollars as a medium of international exchange.

Eurodollar bonds, purchased with American dollars, increased the flood of dollars on the European market. During the 1960s scores of U. S. banks set up branches in England to attract Eurodollar deposits, which the banks re-loaned in America. German marks were scarce under the German austerity program aimed at halting inflation. Germans got around it by borrowing Eurodollars and changing them into marks. But such dollars still remained abroad, floating, representing a debt owed to foreigners - sort of promissory notes which the foreigner could turn in for gold or his own currency.

America tried to keep the flight of dollars down by hiking interest rates at home. It encouraged the borrowing of Eurodollars abroad. U. S. companies in Europe began investing profits in Eurodollar bonds, which bore high interest. Private Americans jumped to get in on it. The way to buy Eurodollar bonds was to open a Swiss account. Dollar deposits in Switzerland and Germany do not pay interest, but Swiss banks were ready to buy Eurodollar bonds for their clients. American authorities reacted by ordering private citizens to disclose every interest in a bank or other financial account in a foreign country. At the top of Page 2 of the federal income tax form for 1970 was the question, "Did you, at any time during the taxable year, have an interest in or signature or other authority over a bank, securities or other financial account in a foreign country?"

The excuse given was that such information would provide incriminating evidence against Mafia members, gangsters and large-scale tax evaders. Actually, it was another move, such as Roosevelt's law prohibiting Americans from owning gold, to prevent the citizen from hedging against financial disaster. It made him a captive aboard a sinking ship. Soviet Russia, on coming into power, made possession of a foreign bank account a capital offense. Hitler used the same procedure to prevent German Jews from getting their money out of Germany.

Of course, the flow of capital was not entirely from America to other countries. There were Europeans ready to gamble by incurring long-term loans for takeovers in America in hopes of paying off later in devalued dollars. Lord Thompson's acquisition of 56 newspapers in the United States we have mentioned before. British insurance firms and holders of great blocks of city property invaded the U. S.

The financial section of the (London) Sunday Times, of August 15, 1971, carried a story on the wheelings and dealings of a British operator named Jimmy Goldsmith who, in partnership with a certain Baron Alexis de Gunsburg, had built up an international financial empire known as SOCIETE GENERAL OCCIDENTALE, a sprawling holding company which included an Algerian tram corporation that had changed itself into the high-sounding name of "Union des Participations." A subsidiary company, GENERALE OCCIDENTALE FONCIERE, brought with it a Paris bank, which was renamed Banque Occidentale. The two operators had already acquired the small but dignified Van Embden Bank in Rotterdam, which they changed to OCCIDENTAL BANK, Californians and depositors in Cleveland have probably never been told that under Goldsmith-Gunsburg direction these two hitherto unknown banks have the UNION BANK of Los Angeles (assets \$2,500 million) and the CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK, of Cleveland (\$1,253 million) as 10% partners.

In December 1970 the Goldsmith-Gunsburg holding company with its tentacles in Los Angeles and Cleveland combined with the Communist BANK HANDLOWY to form an East-West trade bank called CENTROFIN, in Vienna, while Eurodollars were still redeemable in gold and in demand by the communist bloc. This is only an example.

In the melée of recriminations against America as August drew to a close, little was heard of those who had profited while the dollar declined. Even more strident than the Japanese were the indigent Africans.

THE SO-CALLED "DEVELOPING NATIONS:" Known as nations with rising expectations, from their habit of hiking demands. Most had achieved independence through American support. After independence, handouts wrung from the American tax-payer were converted to gold or stashed away in the name of the man at the top, in some Swiss bank. At home most of these leaders condemned the system that enriched them as an American conspiracy to force the rest of the world to finance an unjust war in Vietnam and American imperialism elsewhere. The hate attack had its effect. Africans could not be expected to understand that it was the rest of the world's appetite for dollars and its interest in perpetuating undervalued exchange rates against the dollar which maintained our deficit, not the war in Vietnam, or overseas investment.

For that matter, the ignorance of the American public in matters pertaining to high finance would perhaps justify a glossary of terms.

CONVERTIBILITY: The possibility of converting one money into another or into gold. Since 1958 most of the developed countries in the West have agreed to convertibility among themselves. The dollar was convertible to gold by the central banks of foreign countries but not by American citizens.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: The overall operations of all sorts, commercial and financial, between a given country and the rest of the world. A deficit exists when spending abroad is greater than receipts. If receipts are greater than outflow, the balance is favorable.

GOLD EXCHANGE STANDARD: A monetary system instituted in Genoa in 1922 by which countries recognized the pound sterling and the American dollar as reserve currencies or monies for international payments with the same value as gold.

RATE OF EXCHANGE: Value of money in relation to the dollar. The wartime Bretton Woods agreement stipulated that the rate should be fixed and that each country should take action on the market to maintain its money at the stipulated rate.

FLOATING RATE OF EXCHANGE: The rate of exchange, instead of being permanently fixed, is permitted to fluctuate from day to date according to the law of offer and demand.

DEVALUATION: Lowering of the value of a money in relation to the monies of foreign countries.

REVALUATION: Augmentation of the value of money in relation to other monies.

IN ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD a Russian-type election with only one man in the running was about to take place, mainly because in 1955 America, with the approval of the New York Times - Nay, they even campaigned for it - had deposed Vietnam's traditional Emperor.

Monsieur Paul Dehème, publisher of an excellent Paris daily newsletter contemplated the writings of James Reston, Vice President of the New York Times, on our moves in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, and wrote, "What surprises me, what frightens me, with the Americans, is the lack of conscience with which, to advance personal internal political objectives, they harm the interests of the country -- and even seem to rejoice over prospects of the worst....It is not a North Vietnamese who writes - and it may not even be true - that the U. S. ambassador in Saigon tried to buy first Minh and then Ky to try to get them to remain candidates in the election: it is an American. This is not opposition, it is national suicide. Democracy pushed to this point becomes the worst of regimes; in any case, a regime which paralyzes all initiative against totalitarian countries."

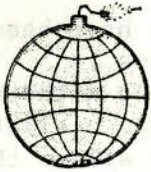
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### RUSSIAN SEA-MIGHT: GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY ON A GLOBAL SCALE

Britain's expulsion of 105 Russians for espionage was not a sudden action, brought about by the defection of KGB officer Oleg Lyalin. The storm had been brewing since the Conservative Government returned to power, and negotiations with a higher KGB kingpin (not Lyalin) had been going on for months. When the deal was concluded the defector, with his mass of information on Russian agents in Britain, France, Belgium, West Germany and the United States, passed to the British camp. The British moved at once, before the Red networks could scramble for cover. Twenty-seven Soviet officials had been expelled from Britain since 1960. Almost as many others left when tipped off that they had been detected, and forty espionage agents listed as diplomats or trade experts were denied visas. Russian spy activity increased after 1968, in step with the crash program to build up Russia's five-ocean navy. In 1970 French counter-espionage services intercepted over 73,500 Russian radio messages to spies in Western Europe.

On December 3, 1970, Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home complained to Russia's Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, of the scale and flagrancy of Russian operations, even to trying to send back a spy whom the British had previously uncovered and expelled. Gromyko never replied. Each time a Russian spy was caught Moscow screamed about "provocation by British agents." On August 4, 1971, Sir Alec wrote Gromyko again, mentioning the long list of serious cases known to both of them and pointing out that Russia seemed to be taking the line that smooth relations with Russia could continue only as long as Britain permitted Russian spies to work unhampered. Again no reply.

The conclusion Sir Alec reached: Gromyko dares not risk an argument with the KGB. Russian trade organizations do not come under the Foreign Office. They are the domain of KGB head Yuri Andropov, 57, candidate member of the supreme ruling Politburo and higher than either Gromyko or Defense Minister Marshal Grechko. Sixty-two year old Pyotr Ivashutin, head of the GRU, the Soviet General Staff intelligence section, runs his own lines in league with Andropov. Both outweigh diplomats and even the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The defector who was higher than Lyalin has not been named. Fragments of information abound: He was in position to know how well-informed the KGB is about other defectors, therefore plans for his future protection had to meet with his approval. One unconfirmed report has it that his wife and family were spirited out of Russia before he would take the fatal step. We know of the Russian agents expelled from Britain. So far nothing has been printed of the some 900 KGB agents neutralized in West Germany by the mysterious defector's exposure of their networks. Paris, after London the most important haven for Russian diplomatic and commercial delegations, has been discreet. The more important question is how many British, French, West German and even American nationals, some in high places, will be arrested?

When Kim Philby, the man who had climbed to the top of British Intel and even helped to set up CIA, fled to Russia, American writers and officials accused the British of being lax, for not investigating Philby in spite of many warnings. But the same Americans shielded every American whom defectors or security men had named as Soviet agents. Bobby Kennedy, Dean Rusk and John Reilly "framed" Otto Otepka for wanting to

do what Britain was criticized for failing to do in the case of Philby. (See "The Ordeal of Otto Otepka" by William J. Gill.) Monsieur Jean Rochet, French Counter-intelligence chief, stated, "There exists a domain of espionage, perhaps the most delicate one, where the most spectacular initiatives take place: the penetration of the machine of government." Such was the position of the Western camp as newspaper readers awaited further developments.

ABOVE THE TABLE AND UNDER. All the moves of Russian diplomacy for months have been directed toward one end: a "Security Conference" with the West. The theme is "Peace"; the idea, withdrawal of forces on the continent. The forces to be withdrawn: American. In the case of the Mediterranean Sea we can eventually expect an ultimatum to Washington, accompanied by pleas (made under Russian threats) from our allies that we go home, that Russia considers our presence a threat to peace. It would be a new phase of the campaign which has its slogan, "When all the world is Red, there will be no more war."

As the spy crisis approached, Brezhnev was in the Crimea, in his shirt sleeves with Willy Brandt.

At sea Russia's five-ocean navy had long been alarming the experts. In France the alerting of the public started with a major story in PARIS MATCH, the most widely-circulated weekly in the country, on August 14, 1971.

GENERAL SEJNA, THE CZECH. PARIS MATCH devoted four and a half pages to an interview with General Sejna, the first Secretary of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party within the Defense Ministry, who defected in 1968. All of Sejna's warnings were resurrected. Russian plans against the West were spread out. Readers were told that until 1963 military planning in the communist countries was defensive, because massive retaliation was the proclaimed policy of America. In the autumn of 1963 Kennedy and his whiz kids dropped it for "flexible response." America declared that, whatever happened, she would never strike the first blow.

Overnight the Russians changed their plans. Defense Minister Marshal Malinovsky told the army, "We have a new strategy. I have created a special command for strategic units. In case of war we must face three possibilities. One: Surprise attack from the West in full force. To meet it we must increase our espionage. Second possibility: We would attack first....This would be by far the most to our advantage. The third: We might attack simultaneously....America has ruled out possibilities one and three; therefore, Russia has only to concentrate on strategy for number two....Warsaw Pact forces are on a perpetual war footing. We can launch an offensive in ten minutes."

His main points followed: Czechs and East Germans would attack first. Russia would remain in reserve for the invasion of France. West Germany would fall in three days, France in two. Food ration tickets for Western Europe, declared the Czech general, were already printed.

At the time of Kennedy's renunciation of massive retaliation, nine Russian spy rings were in operation in France, according to Sejna. Prague is, after Moscow, the center of espionage planning and "intoxication," from which such networks are directed.

Two weeks after the PARIS MATCH story another weekly, MINUTE, warned the public in an article on Russia's plan to invade Western Europe. MINUTE reminded its readers that on July 4, 1963, Kennedy awarded the Freedom Medal to Jean Monnet, the "insider" who fathered the Common Market. But Monnet, according to the New York Times of November 13, 1968, with the Russian build-up in full swing, told James Reston, "Moscow really wants an understanding and an accommodation with Washington....Soviet leaders invaded Czechoslovakia in order to protect their western flank, not to threaten Western Europe." He continued, "They are not acting out of ideology but for their own security....They are raising the threat of Soviet power, not to endanger Western Europe but to force serious conversations with Europe and the United States, to protect their western



frontier...The present trend of Soviet policy is not a menace to the security of the West but rather an opportunity to negotiate new security arrangements between Russia and the Western allies." While Monnet spouted drivel and the New York Times circulated it, Russian preparations to paralyze Western Europe and sabotage the West's industries and public services were worse than alarming. The picture defense ministries studied was at odds with everything Monnet and Reston preached.

IN NORTHWEST EUROPE: 100,000 men undergo long-distance operations training. 500 surface vessels and a fleet of 182 classic submarines backed by Russia's growing nuclear submarine fleet are ready to support them. The role of the Russian navy is to grip Europe in a stranglehold. Northern units, reinforced from Murmansk, patrol a line extending to Iceland and the Faroe Islands, making the Norwegian sea a Russian lake. The Mediterranean is becoming one.

Amphibious operations against Norway, Sweden or Denmark would take off from the Baltic or the Kola Peninsula. Pressure on Denmark is constant. Two years ago Soviet warships were rarely seen west of Bornholm unless on their way from Murmansk to the Mediterranean. Today Russian patrols are permanent off the Danish shores of the Skaggerak and the Kattegat. An operation from the North Atlantic would be accompanied by naval moves in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Thus Europe would be encircled by sea while Red land forces overrun the continent from the east. The plan is to deprive the Occident of its sea lanes. The job of the Red Atlantic fleet is to cut Europe off from America, Europe's only source of oil in the case of a conflict.

A LOOK AT THE MEDITERRANEAN. The Montreux Convention of 1936 restricted the passage of Russian warships through the Turkish Straits. So, submarines from the Northern fleet enter the Mediterranean via Gibraltar and, once there, are lost. Between 13 and 20 prowl the sea between Gibraltar and Suez. The uneven nature of the sea-bed, the so-called "salinity barriers" and Soviet trailing of NATO vessels make tracking of Soviet subs extremely difficult. The anti-sub helicopter carrier Moskva and the helicopter carrier Leningrad top a Russian fleet that has numbered as high as sixty-one. Guided missile cruisers, destroyers and tenders are supplied by Soviet merchantmen from NATO ports. Vice-Admiral Isaac C. Kidd told guests at a luncheon in Monte Carlo on September 11 that the Russian fleet is new, ultra-modern and manned by well-trained men. He was not overstating.

Only 1% of the Russian units in the Mediterranean are over 20 years old. Until early 1971 American air supremacy was assured by Phantom F-4s carried by two American carriers and believed to be tops in the air. Today MIG 23s, known as "Foxbats" and Sukoi 11s, both superior to the Phantoms, have joined the two squadrons of YU-16 medium bombers based in Egypt. The MIG 23 flies at mach 3, as against the Phantom's mach 2.5, and can attain 80,000 feet as against the Phantom's 70,000. It is armed with missiles and a downward-scanning radar. Built into its fuselage is a place for a nuclear weapon. The Sukoi-11 carries radar-homing or infra-red homing missiles and outflies the Sukoi-7, 105 of which already patrol the Suez.

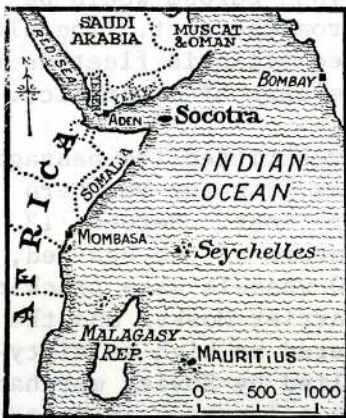
NATO can no longer count on Malta. Thinly-populated North Africa would be hostile. Ship for ship, Russia outnumbers the U. S. Sixth Fleet. American supremacy in firepower is more than compensated by missile fields in Egypt and Algeria. (The Algerians received American support in their fight against France, on the argument that if we did not help them Russia would. We helped them for Russia.)

A European observer has estimated that unless a drastic move is made, in two years the United States will not dare send an aircraft into the eastern Mediterranean. In Cyprus, a rabid, Turk-hating Makarios threatens to call in the Russians if the island's Turkish region remains attached to Turkey.

Of the West's quoted leaders, only former German Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss

has had the courage to dispute Jean Monnet, the one-worlder who leads the fight for a supra-national government over Western Europe. Strauss said, in April 1971, "The Russians have achieved superiority rather than parity in most nuclear weapons and are moving toward a first-strike capability. There is clearest evidence that the Soviet Union is extending its influence in continual conflict with the United States. The growth of Soviet naval power is a revolutionary change with sinister implications east of Suez."

The available facts, when assembled, make a frightening picture. America and Russia are working for the reopening of Suez - Russia for the purpose of moving her Black Sea fleet into the Mediterranean or her Mediterranean fleet into the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. At Port Sudan, on the Red Sea, Russia has constructed a supply base and missile depot. Such preparations surpass anything explainable by the Israeli-Egyptian conflict. Russia already controls the entrance to the Red Sea at Bab-el-Mendeb. Soviet technicians prepare to take over and run the Suez Canal when it is opened. The Red Sea, entered in the east at Bab-el-Mendeb and in the west at Suez, will be a Russian Cove. Beyond the Red Sea is the Indian Ocean, the gateway to Singapore and the East.



THE INDIAN OCEAN. Russian warships appeared here in 1968. Since then the build-up has been constant. The choke-point of the Indian Ocean in the Far East is the Malacca Straits. In 1970 90% of Japan's oil from the Persian Gulf, which Russia covets, passed through the Malacca Straits. The bottleneck between the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea is Aden, which dominates the passage between Africa and Arabia, and is now under a Russian harbor-master. Off Aden is the Isle of Socotra. Here Russia has established a garrison of Naval Infantry, equipped with landing craft copied after the American.

A powerful radio station in Socotra links the new Soviet land-base and airstrip with naval units around the world, thus realizing the dream of the Czars: a military presence on the ground, far beyond the frontiers of Russia. Socotra is served by Alligator-class landing ships, capable of carrying troops, 2,400 tons of stores and tarpaulin-covered trucks or missiles on deck.

Should a political upheaval take place in one of the oil-producing countries on the Persian Gulf, Russia stands ready to exploit it. Since the Western powers have no strategic forces in the area, the Russian buildup cannot be required for defense. Added to the conventional naval vessels is Russia's ever-present "fishing fleet," enjoying agreements with India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Mauritius, Somalia, Iraq, Kuwait, the United Arab Republic and the Sudan.

With Suez closed, three-fifths of Europe's oil imports and a third of Britain's overseas trade have to round the South African cape now patrolled by Russian warships and ocean-going submarines. The American Navy, out-gunned, out-numbered and out of date vis-à-vis Russia, cannot rule the waves in place of Great Britain; Russia is seizing that role. Since the Cape of South Africa is the third gateway to the Indian Ocean, subversive action in America and Britain is aimed at preventing the sale of defensive weapons or naval vessels to South Africa.

As Russia moved into India's islands, including Andaman and Nicobar, and set up permanent bases in Indian ports to coordinate activities with the hundreds of military advisers and experts in India, Indira Gandhi grew increasingly petulant about British presence. Hampered as Britain now is, and too over-extended to watch Soviet naval movements in the Indian Ocean, her hard-worked fleet has the further disadvantage of furor whipped up by British leftists and Soviet-orchestrated nations

in UN. Renewal of relations with Rhodesia would permit Britain to use the Mozambique ports of Laurencu Marques and Beira. Agitators stir up a storm on the racial issue if this is suggested. India leads in any movement harmful to the West. To date she has received over \$90 billion in American aid.

On the horizon is the lengthening shadow of Red China, which the press writes off as inconsequential, if not something to be thankful for, as a counter-weight to the Russians.

RED CHINA. Peking is already entrenched in Zambia and Tanzania. Coolies working to introduce rice culture for permanent Chinese colonization equal the number of Chinese workmen on the Tanzam railway project. Mao's agents sponsored a revolt in a remote part of Muscat. Peking's order for over \$50 million worth of Trident airliners from Britain and the frenzied buying of ships (six recently from the Union Castle Line) are not unrelated to China's scramble to get into areas where the West is pulling out. Kuwait is Peking's greatest importer in the Arab world. In the Sudan China has sup-  
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planted Russia.

Li Peh-sheng, political head of the Chinese army, visited Bucharest in August, accompanied by the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese airforce. Other missions are working on the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs, arranging port facilities for Chinese pocket submarines and other ships operating out of Albania. Head of Peking naval operations in Albania is Admiral Chang Leung, whom the Americans trained while he was with the Nationalists during and after World War II. He was given the job of repairing and putting into operation the four disabled "W-class" submarines the Russians left in Albania. Reliable French sources state that these subs are now in commission. A radar screen on the coast and missile bases in Valona and Elbassan protect China's Albanian installations. Rumanian ports and the Yugoslav islands of Solta, Brac and Millet offer additional havens.

Peking's land outlet on the Indian Ocean through Pakistan makes an Indian Ocean merchant fleet a logical next step, to link up with the overland, four-lane highway which runs from Shanghai toward Sinkiang Province, across Turkestan to the border town of Gilghit and across Pakistan to the sea. Convoys of 250 trucks roar over it, many of them Mack trucks purchased through Italy. As America prepares to withdraw from Okinawa and take up a new line of defense in the Indian Ocean, already patrolled by the Russians and eyed by Red China, the American base on which Indian Ocean peace will depend is Diego Garcia, which was formerly administered by Britain from Mauritius. Mauritius, now independent, has granted harbor facilities to the Russian fishing fleet.

Waiting to fill the vacuum left by our departure from Asia, 50 Chinese submarines of the Russian "W" type are based in Port Arthur, Tsingtao, Shanghai, Tsankong and Yulin. Several are equipped for short-range missiles and at least 25 are capable of threatening the American West coast. A newer submarine, which the Chinese have constructed from Russian "G" type plans, carries three medium-range missile-tubes. One, and possibly two, nuclear submarines are under production.

HOW THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS SEES THE PICTURE: They met in May 1971.... Federation members George W. Rathgens and Marvin L. Goldberger declared that the research director of the Pentagon "has exaggerated the Soviet military threat in a way that is very dangerous to the nation.... Pentagon estimates are based on questionable assumptions, exaggeratedly precise estimates, misleading language and alarmist non-sequitur conclusions."

The truth is, under-estimation of the Soviet threat endangers the nation; exaggerating it, which is the charge the two scientists lay against the Pentagon, could only increase America's margin of security. Their plea, which the Washington Post carried on May 7, 1971, ended with a call for "some honesty in the Defense Department and an end to misrepresentation."

In sum, they pooh-poohed the cold figures of Russian sea power and knowledge of the advanced electronic equipment used by the new and modern navy with which Soviet Russia is drawing a net around the world's sea-lanes. Either as loyal citizens or as scientists, the two Federation members must be suspect.

Dishonesty and misrepresentations there were, on the part of the Pentagon's critics, playing on the fears of a public which wants deperately to believe that no danger exists. Russia is practicing gunboat diplomacy on a global scale. The objectives which our two scientists and the Washington Post are helping Russia attain by running interference are essentially the same as in Stalin's day: Disruption of the southeast flank of NATO, control of the oil sources on which British and Japanese energy depends, and the strangling of the world land mass through control of the surrounding seas.

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PEKING IN U.N.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1949, U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT told its readers that Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, was giving thought to the idea of naming Chinese who had built up fortunes out of foreign aid, as a measure to counter pressure for more grants of aid to Chiang Kai-shek. The drive to deliver Formosa into Mao's hands and justify it by proving that they deserved nothing better had started.

For such a campaign corps of supporting "experts" had to be fitted with reputations and established as "authorities" on China. The student of politics with genuine knowledge of an area and the ability to predict possibilities there is not easy to distinguish from those who pretend to have this ability but do not have it. It is impossible for the public to distinguish between the valid authority and the propagandist when officialdom, the media and men dignified as professors advance an approved theme and ignore those who oppose it. The drive to establish the Left's monopoly on expertise on China commenced well before World War II was over. It was a model of long-range planning.

FOR REFERENCE: A BOOK. The student wishing to see how this was done should read "A Different Kind of War," (Doubleday, 629 pages), written by Hawthorne Daniel from the manuscript of Vice-Admiral Milton E. Miles. Admiral Miles was an honest and intelligent naval officer who was sent to China to set up an intelligence unit known as SACO (Sino-American Cooperative Organization), in which men from other branches of the service came to serve. He died of cancer before his book was finished, which does not lessen its validity, or the truth of his original notes.

Admiral Miles recognized that there was a left wing and a right wing in the hastily-formed Office of Strategic Services (OSS). He wrote, "Looking back now, I do not understand why we did not see from the beginning that the OSS was trying to by-pass the Chinese, and why we did not recognize the fact that in order to do it they had to get rid of me....We kept excusing the pecks, the blows, and the undercutting as accidents due to an inexperienced staff or, sometimes, to individual piques or impatience. Again and again we turned the other cheek, believing that the whole thing would straighten itself out....But the trouble was due to nothing like that. Instead, it was the result of a strange sort of mental affliction that appeared to compel the OSS to question the validity of every individual and every organization that did not accept them as almost sacrosanct."

Admiral Miles observed the "cultivated antipathy to and distrust of China's central government" among the Americans, but toward what end this antipathy was "cultivated" he was still unaware. Later on he perceived that as the end of the war approached highly-placed officers in OSS, supported by communist sympathizers at home, were cooperating more and more openly with China's Reds. Yet it did not dawn on him that what he saw as a "mental affliction" on the part of OSS in denigrating other services and picturing itself as sacrosanct was OSS' way of making its own anti-communist members accept what men in key positions were putting over.

The admiral saw that as the showdown between China's central government and the communists approached, leftists in OSS worked as a team and were able to purge the organization of troublesome anti-communists who worked as individuals without organi-

zation or central direction. On the most astute move by the leftists who rose under Roosevelt, however, Miles was completely taken in. This was the manner in which they got rid of Americans who had the knowledge and experience to realize what was going on and then to act.

The admiral was clear-sighted in appraising the 1944 mission to Yen-an in which John Stewart Service and picked men from OSS "gave the Communists the first big boost they got in enlarging their small, isolated territory in Northern China," but he never saw through the con-game which made men like Service "authorities" and those who opposed them trouble-makers, to be kept out at all costs. Anyone whose knowledge of China was not shaped by State Department or leftist professors was called an "Old China Hand (OCH)". Admiral Miles had no illusions about what he called the pro-Red contingent in "Q" Building, in Washington, but it never got through to him that the very same contingent was playing him and other newly-arrived officers as suckers, poisoning them against any American who had been in China for years and who had friendships and experience that might be useful. Such men were simply ruled out as imbued with "white supremacy" ideas and prejudices which unfitted them for working with or understanding the new China.

It was a stupid generalization which Admiral Miles would have seen through in a minute had it not been put to him by such impressive hatchet-men. What was happening was, our John Stewart Services and our A. Doak Barnetts were working for a communist victory and this was their way of protecting their rear. They were making sure that no one likely to expose them would have an ear or a press. The Nationalist Chinese were being separated from their friends, and a pool of officially recognized authorities established. American intelligence planners told Admiral Miles, "Recruits should not be Old China Hands. The less they know about China the less they will have to unlearn. We can indoctrinate them all here," in Washington. It was a directive that should be borne in mind. To this day no non-leftist has been able to break through the closed ranks of self-appointed authorities who quote each other, recognize each other, and in turn are recognized and quoted by university and press.

Thus Columbia University's department of Chinese studies became dominated by O. Edmund Clubb, whom Dean Acheson permitted to retire with pension even after a Security Board, rigged in Clubb's favor, ruled against him in 1952. The group set up in M.I.T. to conduct international affairs studies for CIA became dominated by Harold R. Isaacs, the self-proclaimed Trotskyite, and professors whom no honest security chief would give a clearance. The same can be said of Rand Corporation.

THE PRIME OBSTACLE TO RED VICTORY IN CHINA. By V-J Day Admiral Miles and his SACO forces were isolated. The admiral complained that OSS teams were helping Mao's units as they surfaced, and setting up Ho chi Minh in Indo-China. The main obstacle to the Red advance in China was Chiang Kai-shek's intelligence chief, General Tai Li. Tai Li had to be removed at all costs. His eyes and ears were everywhere.

Admiral Miles' pages on Tai Li's death in an air "accident" and the manner in which the admiral was prevented from attending his friend's funeral are touching to read. There is no way of knowing if loyalty to the service or pressure from above prevented the admiral from mentioning information which he must almost certainly have had, namely, that a bomb developed and used by OSS, with a detonating mechanism set to go off at a determined altitude, was believed responsible for the "accident" which cleared the way for communist victory in China.

THE POOL OF EXPERTS TO WORK WITH LEFTIST PROFESSORS. Tai Li died in March 1946. Already the public was being told that America did not need a big intelligence organization such as OSS in peacetime. For economy reasons OSS was to be disbanded, and a smaller, more compact peacetime body called Strategic Services Unit would be formed. The truth was, the economy line was an excuse to ease out everyone whom the entrenched

leftists considered in their way. Once the deck was cleared for backing Mao Tse-tung in China and Ho Chi Minh in the south, economy was forgotten. SSU was changed to CIA and recruiters swarmed onto university campuses to sign up students who, all things being relative, knew less about Asia than their bosses only because the new official authorities had been there. Never mind that they were assigned there because the less they knew about China the better, in the eyes of men who said, "We can indoctrinate them all here." (Page 94, "A Different Kind of War")

The real China specialists, who were out of the service and would never get back in because those on the inside had stuffed their personal files with adverse reports, never ceased to feel that, had General Tai Li lived, the China story might have been different. Thus the mainland fell and the ghosts were buried.

A SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS SINCE: U. S. News & World Report of May 6, 1949, lulled Americans by telling them that the scheme of things, under Chinese Communists, is "vastly different from the Moscow version." Readers were assured that "a compromise in China, between Communists and non-Communists, is still not ruled out as a possibility....U. S. decision to liquidate its support of the Chinese Nationalists thus gives the Communists a chance to slow down and take stock of the enormous responsibilities before them." In New York an Italian leftist named Max Ascoli was setting up a magazine called THE REPORTER, to lead the fight against Chiang's remaining defenders in America.

On the rise among Mao Tse-tung's victorious Reds was a young Chinese who got his start as a revolutionary at the feet of Edgar Snow and his wife, Helen Foster Snow, who was later to live with the Red Army under the name of Nym Wales. In 1935 Mr. Snow's protégé, then known as Wang Ju-mei, was being inoculated with the Red virus at the American Yenching University, in Peking. Outside of school hours, he and his group of communist students frequented the home of Mr. and Mrs. Snow, at 13 K'uei Chia Ch'ang, near the Tower of the Foxes. Wang set up a student communist government and changed his name to Huang Hua. He was Snow's interpreter when Snow began interviewing Reds for his book, "Red Star Over China." In 1937 Huang Hua was extolling "the generosity of the Red Army, the consciousness of the masses, and the Red treatment of spies by thought control." (In 1970 he became Red China's ambassador to Canada for the purpose of establishing contact with old friends in Washington who had connections with the Nixon-Kissinger administration. From Ottawa Snow's protégé prepared the way for President Nixon's talks with Mao and Peking admission to UN.)

The April 5, 1950, issue of the FAR EASTERN SURVEY, official organ of the American Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) announced publication of "Profile of Red China," by A. Doak Barnett for the Foreign Policy Association. This booklet, favorable to the Reds, was a "result of a two-year on-the-spot study," readers were told. The glorification of the Chinese Reds had started and, strangely enough, it made headway, though at the time said Reds were holding as hostages every hapless American business man caught in China. Fantastic sums of ransom were demanded before they could leave. The idea was that their firms, which were being shut down or taken over by the Reds, owed severance pay to their Chinese employees. This severance pay, established according to how much Mao's officials figured the foreign "capitalist" could stand, never reached a single Chinese in whose name it was being claimed. Still, the leftist idealists prevailed.

In June 1950 Secretary-General Trygve Lie urged UN members to expel Formosa and make way for Red China. The British delegation supported him. Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced that he would not vote for it, but if the UN decided to admit Red China and expel Formosa he would not use his veto, since he did not think the veto should apply to such a case. (New York Times, June 8, 1950) Scandals began to break in America. The New York World Telegram of February 10, 1951, reported the seizure of files of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) on the farm of Mr. Edward C. Carter, 13 miles from Lee, Massachusetts. The IPR, founded in 1925, was under investigation

as a communist front. George E. Sokolsky, in his column of March 14, 1951, in the New York Journal American, reported that Russia had entered the IPR at the time of its October 21 to November 2, 1931, meetings in Hangchow and Shanghai, at which Sokolsky was present. State Department men and professors were charged with using the IPR as a conduit for passing information to Russia and the Chinese Reds. But an adroit press campaign deflected public indignation and successfully directed it on those demanding a housecleaning.

Through the fifties the team that had climbed under Roosevelt continued to work to bring Red China into the UN - while Peking leaders did everything that, in the eyes of intelligent people, should have made them ineligible for admission into any responsible organization. In January 1955 President Eisenhower called on Chou En-lai to use UN as a mediator to settle the Formosa question. Chou wrote back that Formosa would be "delivered before the end of the year." Russia backed China, and on January 24, 1955, PRAVDA announced a step-up in armament production and away from consumer goods. There should have been no illusions about Russia's - or China's - intentions. Yet, as 1960 approached, American professors, social workers, and out-and-out agitators scurried over Africa, sowing revolt in the colonies which Russia and China had marked for takeover. An example of China's mode of operation was provided, but America did not heed it.

TANGANYIKA - 1961: America initiated a program to give Tanganyika what Colin Legum, in the London OBSERVER of August 30, 1961, called "an enlarged and modernized police force." At the same time Tanganyika's president, Julius Nyerere, was inviting the Chinese to "provide an element in the military training program of Tanganyika and Zanzibar." Russia and East Germany were forming and indoctrinating the army in Zanzibar, the island ruled by Sultan Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdullah, off the coast of Tanganyika. Russian and East German presence had been arranged by an agreement which Nyerere made before the forming of the union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika in April 1961. Nyerere informed the London OBSERVER correspondent on August 29, 1961, that he was bringing in the Chinese, but he assured him that there were no risks involved. The most active man in the police the Americans trained was an ex-Mau Mau terrorist from Kenya, named John Okello.

In December 1963 Chou En-lai made a tour through Africa. He had been working toward an alliance with Africa, Asia and Latin America, in which the pivot would be Peking. Chou's man in Kenya explained, "When the Chinese talk about ideology they are really talking about foreign policy." A way of saying: This isn't idle talk; we mean to implement everything we preach. Until he looked over the field first-hand, Chou had concentrated on Egypt, Algeria, Mali, Guinea and Ghana. After his inspection trip he declared, "An excellent revolutionary situation exists in Africa," and moved his attention to the weaker and less stable states of East and Central Africa. With unfailing instinct he hit on Tanganyika and its capital, Dar-es-Salaam, which as the seat of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity was to become the most trouble-fomenting center in the Dark Continent, until Algeria supplanted it.

Once his mind was made up, Chou went to work in earnest. He sent a chubby, smiling man named Ho-Yin to Dar-es-Salaam as ambassador. Ho's job was to appear harmless and charming while a tireless revolutionary named Kao Liang did the dirty work, using the new China News Agency as a cover. The London OBSERVER's Africa specialist, Colin Legum, on September 27, 1964, called it "China's African Gamble - The Stealthy Probe into Three Million Square Miles." Kao Liang, wrote Legum, is China's key man in Tanganyika; Ho-Yin is only the front. Sukarno had expelled Kao Liang from Indonesia in 1958, Nehru ran him out of India in 1960. He had been Peking's man at the Laos Conference in Geneva in 1961. He has handled subversion missions in the Persian Gulf, Zambia, the Philippines, Burma and Guinea. Shortly after the British expelled him from Mauritius in 1964, Chou En-lai sent him to Tanganyika.



The real authorities on China - not the leftist writers and professors whose ideas David Schoenbrun printed in DIPLOMAT Magazine of September 1966, or whose works State Department lists as recommended reading in background pamphlets on foreign countries, have Kao Liang on file as one of Peking's most important agents. His specialty: subversion and infiltration.

While Ho-Yin held the social spotlight, Kao Liang saturated Tanganyika with agents in political, technical and cultural missions. What is important to remember about Peking's modus operandi is that the agents who moved from one country to another operated as a team.

A LOOK AT THE TEAM. The New China News Agency behind which Kao Liang worked in Tanganyika is a favorite Peking cover. In the 1950's a friend of Kao's named Chiao Kuan-hua took over the New China News Agency post in Hong Kong and used it as a headquarters for the Secret Affairs Section of the Peking "United Front." Actually, Chiao's job was Intelligence Chief for the Hong Kong-Macao area. When Chou En-lai decided to move into Africa, he called Chiao back to Peking, to the Foreign Office, and into Chiao's post as Peking's No. 1 man in Hong Kong he moved a Cantonese ex-guerilla named Chi Fung. Thus the stage was set for Chiao Kuan-hua to run the news agency network from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Kao Liang to work at the end of the line, in Tanganyika. Ambassador Ho-Yin acted guileless and charming. Kao Liang built up a team composed of a negro Moslem named Selim Ahmed Selim, John Okello, the ex-Mau Mau terrorist in the police force, and a Zanzibar negro known as Sheik Abdul Rahman Mohammed - Sheik Babu for short.

Their plan was to run out Zanzibar's Arab sultan and make the island a "republic." Over 13,000 of the Sultan's followers were murdered in cold blood in the process, but they succeeded and Okello, who handled the killing, became "General of the Revolutionary Army." A negro named Sheik Abeid Karume became the island's first president, and when it joined Tanganyika to form the new nation of Tanzania he took on the title of Vice President, which he has held ever since. Karume rules by terror, liquidation, torture and forced labor; and citizens jump to their feet when his Ford Zephyr passes, under pain of imprisonment and beatings. He had one wife when Kao Liang and Selim Ahmed Selim made him president, but he has taken on three more since then. A short time ago his police seized some Iranian girls and forced them into harem marriages with his friends. The girls' pleas for help got into the western press, but there was no criticism from U Thant or for that matter from UN. Since Kao Liang and Selim put over their 1964 coup, Chinese presence in Zanzibar has continued to swell. Chinese technicians and coolies are building the railway linking Tanzania and Zambia. Chinese soldiers are there to protect the line. Other Chinese have introduced rice culture, thereby suggesting that they are there to stay.

A GLANCE BACK AT HONG KONG AND MACAO. With victory in Tanzania clinched, Ambassador Ho-Ying left to take over the Canton-Hong Kong-Macao triangle and direct the riots which disrupted Hong Kong and Macao in 1966 and '67. He is known as a "fat cat" because he rides in a black Mercedes-Benz and owns a number of Hong Kong apartment buildings. Though Ho-Yin is several times a millionaire, he was never troubled by the young Red Guard ruffians who drove so many older leaders to suicide. He is too important as Peking's civilian boss in Hong Kong and Canton. Working with him is General Jen Yung, whose base is in Kunming. Jen Yung has charge of terrorist action in Laos, northeast Thailand, Malaysia and the Thai-Burma border. It is understood that as Peking replaces Taiwan in UN, Jen Yung is to demand the cooperation of the Chinese in Southeast Asia, and a wide-range politico-military offensive will start. Outbreaks will take the form of "civil war," in which UN has no right to interfere.

CHINA WAS PATIENT. Despite the excesses, the internal struggle at home and trouble-sowing abroad, there was no lack of American senators, writers and professors to advance her cause. In 1968, with artillery battles going on in Red China between

military units and young guards on the rampage, CBS put out a TV documentary picturing Red China as a land of happy, singing, peaceful people. On January 25, 1969, U. S. and Japanese politicians met in Santa Barbara, California, to discuss ways and means of paving the way for ties with Peking, and China's admission to UN. Among the Americans present were Senators William Fulbright and Edward Kennedy, Arthur Goldberg and Edwin O. Reischauer, the latter a professor at Harvard.

The big breakthrough came with Kissinger's arrival in the White House. Ping Pong diplomacy and the events that followed you know. That Chou intended to use his seat in UN as a soap box for inciting immature revolutionaries in America was never in doubt. TIME of August 9, 1971, showed him with a young girl named Susan Shirk, the latter agog with pleasure at being photographed with Chou En-lai. Susan and 15 other students calling themselves the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars were there on a 31-day visit. Her actual knowledge of China was nil. There was nothing Miss Shirk in her youthful ignorance and Chou in his mazes of intrigue could talk about. But he was making an investment. By wasting half an hour with a girl who wanted to think of herself as a scholar, Chou gained a devoted follower. By posing with her for a picture, he gave her what in the eyes of young revolutionaries is better than any diploma. She now has proof that she is an authority on China. "When you go back you will introduce new American friends to us. Also some black friends," said Chou. "Introduce" in Chinese double-talk means recruit.

THE BIG DAY ARRIVES. On Monday, October 25, China was voted into UN and Formosa thrown out. Kao Liang's old friend, Selim Ahmed Selim, now Tanzania's ambassador to UN, flew in from a last minute briefing session in Peking to cast his vote, and danced a jig when the results were counted. There are half a million less people in the country Selim Ahmed Selim represents than there are in Taiwan, now deprived by UN of the right of self-determination. Kao Liang arrived in New York with the advance group from Peking. The French political weekly MINUTE headed its report of November 17, 1971, "KAO LIANG, THE SPY, IS THE REAL BOSS (of the Peking delegation.)"

Following, to get the delegation set up, came Chiao Kuan-hua, now Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. The reader will recall that he set up the Secret Affairs bureau of the "United Front" and handled Peking subversion in Hong Kong. Accompanying Chiao and due to remain as head of the Peking delegation - or front for Kao Liang, such as Ho-Yin was in Tanganyika, if the French specialists on MINUTE are right, was Huang Hua, who, as a young man in 1935, changed his name from Wang Ju-mei when he was learning communist dialectics and how to handle Americans - in the home of Edgar Snow and his wife Helen, alias Nym Wales, in Peking near the tower of the foxes.

When Peking's ten-member group took off for New York Acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei told them "People want revolution!" Revolution is what America is likely to get.

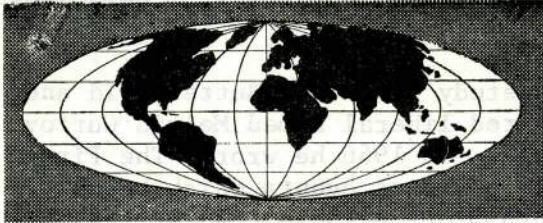
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SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM H. DU B. AS 1972 BEGINS

SOUTH VIETNAM: The outlook? Grim. What can one do for a country that will not take precautions to protect itself? Recently reporting from Saigon for the New York Times and concentrating on stories certain to undermine American confidence in the Thieu government (reports on Vietnamese "War Millionaires" for instance) was Mr. Fox Butterfield. Vietnamese and American officials know that Butterfield is the grandson of Cyrus Eaton, of Pugwash

Conference fame, that Butterfield was in Hanoi with Eaton in December, 1969. On December 15, 1969, in the Foreign Correspondents' Club in Hong Kong; Butterfield called for a timetable for the withdrawal of all U. S. Forces, to "impress the North Vietnamese with the President's sincerity." Hanoi doesn't care a hoot for the President's sincerity; Hanoi wants Indo-China, which American withdrawal will give them, and Butterfield was being Hanoi's spokesman.

Officials in Saigon know that Butterfield was No. 4 on the New York Times team which produced the slanted newsstories based on selected passages from filched government documents that were incomplete to start with and so distorted that the names of only 7 of the 36 men who worked on them have ever been made public, "lest it hurt their careers." So why did Saigon let Butterfield enter the country? Granted, the Thieu government is a puppet regime to the extent that Ambassador Bunker was able to prevent President Thieu from receiving Governor George Wallace in November 1969, but Saigon should still be able to bar entry to a man known to be favorable to the enemy. We know that Americans were too apathetic to demand a lineup before Congress of those who worked on the so-called Pentagon Papers, after Daniel Ellsberg, the protégé of Rand Corporation's president, was exposed for what he was. But Saigon cannot afford to be apathetic. If the South Vietnamese government will not bother to bar entry to a pro-enemy reporter, filing dispatches to a paper which blocks the war effort, the odds are certainly in Hanoi's favor.

THE PENTAGON PAPERS STUDY which Butterfield worked on was printed on the hypocritical claim of "the public's right to know." LIFE of July 2, 1971, printed pictures of 6 of the 7 men known to have worked on the distorted study. A qualified physiognomist would have ruled out four of the six on looking at them. The same goes for Ellsberg's close friend at Rand and co-conspirator Anthony J. Russo, Jr. If five out of the seven known to us are that unprepossessing, what were the rest like? If Ellsberg was the protégé of Rand Corporation's president, the other characters on Rand's \$27 million a year payroll could well surprise us. Even the praise we are given of Ellsberg is damning. Joe Kraft (who in 1959 was eulogizing the Algerians) extolled him in the New York Times and Los Angeles Times on July 1, 1971, as an old friend, which is no recommendation. Kraft told how in 1968, long before the Pentagon Papers affair, he drove Ellsberg back to Washington from a luncheon in Teddy Kennedy's home. Ellsberg kept looking over his shoulder, "to see if they were being followed by agents of the FBI or the Pentagon." A fine man to be holding security clearance and feeding data into Rand computers! Kraft's old friend changed his mind three times about where he wanted to be dropped, so great was his fear of being trailed. One can understand why this bunch is anxious to get rid of J. Edgar Hoover.

Since the public does not have a right to know who worked on the incomplete and

slanted papers, all one can do is study the works of those who are known to us. Leslie H. Gelb, who directed the Defense Department's study which Ellsberg stole, had an article in the third issue of Foreign Policy Magazine, on the "U. S. involvement in Vietnam." Gelb was 8 when OSS officers embroiled the U. S. by setting Ho chi Minh up in business. He was 17 when Colonel Lansdale, Allen Dulles' political officer, set about destroying the men and groups in Vietnam who would have formed a native bulwark against communism, and 18 when Kenneth Todd Young in State Department, Mike Mansfield in the Senate, Colonel Lansdale and "Iron-Mike" O'Daniel in Saigon and a leftist group in Michigan State University prepared to run out Vietnam's emperor, of whom Gelb knows nothing from other than leftist sources.

Working with Gelb and Ellsberg to produce the phoney study which Fox Butterfield and his associates distorted still further was a long-haired liberal named Melvin Gurtov who at the mature age of 23 got on the payroll at Rand. In 1966 he wrote "The First Vietnam Crisis," which purported to cover the 1953-54 chain of events which began when Gurtov was 14. Instead of analyzing the accounts other eggheads had written as a basis for history on that period, and then going to the actors themselves to see what they had to say about the versions of the university Left, Gurtov stuck to his armchair. Among the 35 pages of sources he lists are, again and again, the New York Times, New China News Agency, Pravda, left-wing writers, reports by Senator Mansfield, State Department papers compiled in the early days of America's "Vietnam experiment," when every project was hailed as a success before it was tried. Communist broadcasts, reports by James Reston, Hanson Baldwin and French writers favorable to the Vietminh are all taken at face value.

Gurtov laments that the only Vietnamese to have become a general in the Vietnamese army (General Hinh, whom Lansdale and "Iron Mike" O'Daniel undermined and ran out) had spent most of his life in France. Hinh himself Gurtov never bothered to meet, so of the qualities which later made him chief-of-staff of the French Airforce Gurtov knew nothing. That the army had not attracted Vietnamese of officer caliber is not mentioned, nor that agitation of Vietnamese officers by Asian communists, American anti-colonialists and French Reds was not conducive to making them good leaders. The last authority Gurtov quotes is A. Doak Barnett. Two pages of U. S. Government publications are listed in the bibliography. On the acknowledgement page, where Gurtov expresses gratitude for assistance in researching his book, the first three men he names are O. Edmund Clubb, Roger Hilsman and Joseph Buttinger. If these were the principal formers of Gurtov's ideas on Vietnam, how responsible were they for what other theorists fed into Rand's computers and through them into Ellsberg's stolen study? A look at the trio is discouraging:

O. EDMUND CLUBB: U. S. consul in China, security risk whom Acheson permitted to resign from the Foreign Service with pension in 1952, over the recommendation of his own security board. (Clubb denied, under oath, then admitted that he had acted as courier between Agnes Smedley and Whittaker Chambers when Chambers was editor of an official communist paper.)

ROGER HILSMAN: At a World Affairs Council meeting in Los Angeles, November 20, 1964 - less than a year and a half before Peking plotters with whom Sukarno was in collusion attempted to seize power in Indonesia, stated, "What Vietnam needs is a tough leader like Sukarno." Concerning Vietnam after U. S. withdrawal, Hilsman said in October, 1969, "I would be willing to make a small bet that the official Vietcong position will be no retaliation." The Washington Post of August 21, 1963, headlined his statement, "Red Asians (are) in decline." No one capable of such drivel should have had a job in State Department, much less become Assistant Secretary of State for South-east Asia Affairs. Hilsman is now indoctrinating students.

JOSEPH BUTTINGER: Former Austrian socialist leader, naturalized American. With Angier Biddle Duke he directed AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM, a lobbying organization

for the Vietnamese government then in power, which Buttinger turned against when the harm had been done. His books are published by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. (owner of Pall Mall Press in London), which specializes in bringing out "scholarly works" funded by CIA. Buttinger's book "The Smaller Dragon - A Political History of Vietnam," appeared in 1958. Next came a ponderous 2-volume work, "Vietnam - A Dragon Embattled," \$18.50 the set. Both works were unsound, investment-wise and politically. Both hew to the socialist line. The Los Angeles Times Calendar plugged the latter work on June 4, 1967.

Since Gurtov, of Rand and the Pentagon, now reported to be a professor, acknowledges Buttinger as his mentor, a few words on Buttinger's integrity as a scholar: In early 1957 the Dai Viet Nationalist Party (anti-communist) put out a White Book on the Vietnamese government. Buttinger refused to accept postal delivery on it. Buttinger's library on Vietnam, which Gurtov used, could hardly be considered balanced. The Austrian socialist's integrity as an author is no better. In both volumes of "Vietnam - A Dragon Embattled," Mr. Buttinger broke one of the cardinal rules of the Left by mentioning a conservative writer: He described your correspondent's book on Vietnam as the work representing the views of the kooks and the lunatic fringe. He challenged none of its statements on Vietnam, but held up a passage about himself to ridicule, and he was dishonest about it. He sneered that the writer had stated that he (Buttinger) was alone responsible for breaking the anti-communist front in Hungary. He knew he was being dishonest; the author made no such statement, but quoted Monsignor Bela Varga, the famous priest who headed Hungary's last free government, as having said it. This Buttinger did not dare tell his readers, particularly Catholic ones.

Gurtov's acknowledgement page brings up disturbing questions: Could he have expected to get from those for whose assistance he is grateful anything counter to what he and they were out to sell? Did the Rand think-tank staffers ever consult anyone but men like the ones Gurtov acknowledges? That Ellsberg and his associates never talked to the leaders our agents crushed, and whose destruction they are still writing papers to justify - His Majesty Bao Dai, General Hinh, General Le van Vien, the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects - we know. What sort of Vietnamese did these men cultivate? Recent developments supply a shocking answer to the last question.

A NEW PERSON IN THE PENTAGON PAPERS SCANDAL: A Vietnamese named Vu van Thai is suddenly charged as a co-conspirator for receiving from Daniel Ellsberg "an especially sensitive volume of the Pentagon Papers between August 29, 1969, and May 20, 1970." The New York Times of December 31 hastened to give him a good reputation. Thai, interviewed in Dakar, where he is working for UN, said, "Dan and I have been friends for a long time. We met in the context of his activities concerning Rand Corporation. He was at that time a member of Rand and I was in the United States as ambassador." Who is this man, Vu van Thai, and how did he and the protégé of Rand's president ever get together - in the context of Ellsberg's activities at Rand? Thai was born in Hanoi in 1921. Went to Paris to study. In Paris became a member of the Association of Vietminh (Communist) Students. Thai's friend, Tran le Quang, was president. Received engineering degree. Was adviser to Ho chi Minh during Paris negotiations of 1946, when Ho was living with Henry Kissinger's friend, Raymond Aubrac (real name Samuel).

Thai returned to Vietnam in 1949 to join the Vietminh. Worked with his friend and fellow engineering student, Nguyen ngoc Bich, then head of Ho chi Minh's Engineer Corps, in charge of blowing up bridges in southern Vietnam (Cochin-China.) After the 1954 Geneva Accord Thai remained in Saigon with Tranle Quang and Ho's former intelligence chief in the south, Pham ngoc Thao. Thai became American Aid administrator. (TIME of April 29, 1966, praised him, said he imported IBM computers, "trained his employees to run the machines with Pentagonian efficiency.") His friend, Tran le Quang, became Minister of Public Works, providing jobs for former comrades on money allotted by Thai. That Saigon experienced no labor troubles during this period was said to be because Hanoi ordered the workers not to make trouble for Quang and Thai.

Thai and Quang dined with Dean Rusk, John J. McCloy and other CFR bigwigs at John D. Rockefeller III's home on May 11, 1957. Thai flew to the U. S. again on October 3, 1958, to talk to U. S. officials. In 1960 he was named Vietnam observer to UN. At the same time he became Harvard's authority on Vietnam, imparted his views to Ellsberg's colleagues who were to become Vietnam specialists later. December, 1965 was named ambassador to U. S., made 42 speeches in four months. His cousin, when asked for an opinion of him while serving as a roving ambassador for South Vietnam, declared, "He is a communist and ought to be shot." Thai assured American radicals that the Saigon government was "sincere about its program for social revolution." He left the embassy in 1966 to work for UN. Describes himself as international civil servant, no longer concerned with Vietnamese affairs. Why should Ellsberg give this man "an especially sensitive volume" of Defense Department papers unless it was for Thai to pass them on to pro-Hanoi Vietnamese?

Next beginning-of-year item: President Nixon's new China policy:

THE DECISION TO DROP FORMOSA AND TAKE UP RED CHINA, put simply, was sold by former officials who were ousted from government twenty years ago because of communist sympathies, and who became professors. Dislodged from government offices, they bored into Academe, and now they have restored themselves to top-dog status. David Kraslow, of the Los Angeles Times, wrote on December 14, 1971, that President Nixon's new China policy stemmed from two secret studies made at Harvard. Ten China and Asia specialists first prepared a blueprint at the request of Mr. Kissinger in February 1971. Their work was a "refinement" of an early study sent to Kissinger after Nixon's election in November 1968, before the President took office. (The unofficial policy formers, who had been against Nixon in the election, had a blueprint ready when word came that their man was on the inside.)

Who the "ten China and Asia specialists" were, Kraslow did not say. He did tell his readers that the ten-man paper was a result of a lengthier study "which grew out of monthly seminars at Harvard over the period of about a year," and which urged "The President-elect to adopt a policy of reconciliation with mainland China." So the Harvard professors had worked for a year, planning how they would sell, as new, the policy they had been discredited for supporting twenty years ago. Its acceptance would prove they had been right. China would once more be their terrain. Kissinger urged the President to accept the program after "discussing Vietnam and China policy with 40 to 50 Harvard faculty members in Cambridge the night of January 19, 1970."

WHO WERE THE 40 TO 50 HARVARD FACULTY MEMBERS, who talked to Kissinger in Cambridge? Here we are up against the same blank wall as in the case of the Pentagon Papers. If we knew their names, we could study their backgrounds and predict with some degree of certainty what they would recommend under any given circumstance. Edwin O. Reischauer was no doubt there, and the twelve Harvard professors who went to Washington on May 9, 1970, to save the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia. Among those who spent 90 minutes pressuring Kissinger on that occasion were Adam Yarmolinsky and John K. Fairbank, director of Harvard's East Asian Research Center. The New York Times of August 15, 1967, called Fairbank Harvard's foremost China specialist." (The San Francisco Chronicle reported on May 20, 1967, "Fairbank wants recognition of China as a road to peace.")

The Washington Post printed a March 25, 1969, dispatch stating that 46 experts from universities, foundations and private life had been invited to Washington for an all-day foreign policy conference with Kissinger, to show that the administration "wants the advice of intellectuals," who are "the best minds in the United States on foreign policy." No names were given. The Harvard Alumni Bulletin of March 1961 stated that 30-odd Harvard men (graduates and faculty) were among the top 85 federal job-holders in the Kennedy administration, including five of cabinet rank. Alumni of the class of '52 are raising money for Ellsberg's defense.

The London Daily Telegraph of April 15, 1969, reported "Harvard students force Vietnam peace disclosure." The London OBSERVER (Leftist) of November 1, 1970, named Richard Smyser as Dr. Kissinger's "expert on Vietnam." All the OBSERVER knew about him was that he appeared at a "black tie-but-no-pants party" with "his name stencilled in large letters on his underpants."

MORE UNKNOWNNS. In late June Dr. Kissinger held secret talks in Paris. With the Peking embassy, or the two French Reds who were his 1967 emissaries to Hanoi? After the secret talks in Paris, Kissinger flew to Pakistan, and on July 9, 1971, continued on to Peking. European reports stated that two men were with him. But who were they? A month after Kissinger's visit, Chou En-lai told James Reston that John Stewart Service would be welcome. On September 26 Service flew into Peking for a six-week visit, which he started with a three-hour talk with Chou, perhaps as Chou's adviser, prior to the Nixon visit.

Kissinger flew again to Peking on October 9. The Washington Post said he headed a party of nine. TIME set the figure at thirteen, plus two girl stenographers. It would be interesting to know how many of the group had been mentioned in Loyalty Board investigations. On January 3, 1972, an advance party of 31 arrived in Peking, to prepare President Nixon's visit. Only Press Secretary Ron Ziegler and Brigadier-General Alexander Haig were named; the latter, it was reported, would discuss American prisoners of war in Vietnam. For the information of General Haig and Professor Kissinger's professors, any appeal to Peking concerning POW's only increases the value of the card Hanoi is holding. Let us take a look at the prisoners whose misery professors, politicians and the organized Left have used to advance themselves and sell surrender.

THE HANOI ATTITUDE TOWARD POW's is simple: The greater America's anxiety, the higher the ransom and the sooner America will pay. The more brutally they are treated, the greater the public pressure for meeting Hanoi's terms. In early 1965 Sergeant Harold George Bennett was taken outside Hanoi and executed to show America what Hanoi can do. U. S. AID man, Gustav Hertz, was captured on a road in South Vietnam. Bobby Kennedy saw political hay in Hertz' plight and got a feature story in LIFE by announcing he was going to save him. Bobby got front-page stories: Hertz' value soared. A year later Hertz was dead. On August 13, 1966, Captain David R. Devers, of Mount Holly, N. C., and Sgt. John O'Neill, of Providence, R.I., were captured, exhibited in villages, then executed.

Hanoi announced in December 1970 that they were holding 339 Americans. The Vietcong released no figures. U. S. officials said in July 1971 that 591 had been taken in South Vietnam and 783 airmen lost over the North. On December 22, 1970, Hanoi officials in Paris helped their preferred politicians acquire publicity as the men able to get most out of the enemy: Senators Kennedy and Fulbright were given the names of 268 American POW's, from which they wrung maximum news space. What happened to the others? Cyrus Eaton declared on February 27, 1970, that Hanoi would soon release information on POW's. It never came. Withholding news on missing prisoners is part of the cat-and-mouse game to keep America guessing. Weeping wives and mothers at the door of the Hanoi delegation in Paris are, in the eyes of the enemy, priceless pleaders for American surrender. Once those prisoners are given up, Hanoi will have lost her leverage.

On January 19, 1971, Senator McGovern, speaking from the outside, demanded that attempts to liberate prisoners be halted. On August 3 three escaped prisoners told Congress of beatings, deaths and propaganda in Vietcong camps. Prison deliveries were feasible and should have been made, they said. McGovern, again playing politics and with no actual guarantees, announced on September 18, 1971, that American POW's would be released if the U. S. would set a date for withdrawal from Vietnam before December 31. Hanoi's accompanying demand that we pull down President Thieu and

replace him with a man satisfactory to Hanoi was not mentioned. While Cyrus Eaton and Senator McGovern pictured the enemy as gentlemen, a Hanoi defector named Dr. Dang Tan gave a vivid account of the brutal treatment of POW's, and added, "I am concerned that the people and the government of the United States will be completely misled by their hopes that the American POW's will be permitted to return to their homeland. Evidence of this is that not all of the French POW's have been released even to the present day." The story of the POW's of 1954 is extremely pertinent.

"THE RETURN OF THE PRISONERS". Lucien Bodard was among those "awaiting the prisoners of Dien Bien Phu and all the defeats before," as he called it. In the first volume of his three works on the Indo-China war he provides a chilling description of how some were given back, but even the return of these was turned into an atrocious comedy. Helicopters brought in the dying, skeletons with the empty faces of Buchenwald. Those who followed did not reply when greeted. "They have arrived at the moment of supreme anguish, filled with fear that they would be forgotten, that they might not hear their name when it was called at the handing-over. Each feared that at the last minute he might make a move that would irritate the Viets and cause him to be sent back into the impenetrable abyss of communism, from which he was sure he would never appear again.....Each liberated prisoner carried within himself a sense of personal shame, because while the Viets held him he had given up. Otherwise he would never have been liberated.....

"For weeks the prisoners continued to come back. Each day a French unit went to collect them, without knowing who they would be or how many. The Viets made each hand-over more difficult, finding new petty obstacles, fabricating new recriminations, delaying as long as possible the release of each man. What we had to put up with, to force them to release their grip on these men! When the return of the prisoners was over, thousands were still missing. They will be forever. Their fate will never be known." Bodard's account of the POW release he witnessed can be lifted in toto to describe the handing-over that will take place when our "experiment in America's showcase for democracy," as the New York Times called it when they were all for our involvement, is ended.

Only dealing with Hanoi as conquerors could we have ever expected an accounting and honest liberation of the boys who had been captured. Victory, when it was attainable, would have made the prisoner issue a minor one, since the number would have been far less. The only people who have ever said that victory was unattainable were those who did not want it.

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NEGOTIATIONS - AFTER "LIMITED WAR BY LIMITED MEANS"



On January 25, 1972, President Nixon announced that secret negotiations between the White House and Hanoi representatives in Paris had been going on for thirty months, and that Dr. Henry Kissinger had made ten secret trips to Paris, landing at small airfields outside the capital, with the French government assisting him, even to putting President Pompidou's private plane at his disposal.

Aside from the ten secret trips, news services reported two other visits to Paris during which Dr. Kissinger met the North Vietnamese delegates secretly. Few details were given because, said Dr. Kissinger, "we may want to do it again." The first of these meetings, on August 4, 1969, was set up by Monsieur Jean Sainteny, the former French Commissioner in Indo-China who negotiated with, and was roundly duped by, Ho chi Minh in late 1946. TIME of February 7, 1972 reported, "When it became apparent that more such trips would be necessary, French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann was approached during UN meetings in New York in the fall of 1969, and he agreed to enlist his government's aid in protecting the negotiations."

The only point in writing a report on the thirty months of Kissinger's secret peace talks, which gave politicians and the press a heyday, is to provide a few details which government and the media appear to consider none of the public's business. Because government and press are for once in accord, the sensational aspects of the story diverted the public from peering too closely at its substance.

The importance of the assistance the French government rendered Mr. Kissinger in setting up meetings and keeping them secret should have led to the question: What are the aims of the French government in Southeast Asia?

FRENCH POLICY IN INDO-CHINA is based on French hopes for the period after America's defeat. At the time of the coup d'etat which ousted Norodom Sihanouk in March 1970, the French ambassador to Cambodia was called home for consultation. He was not sent back. He is still in Paris, uncompromised and waiting for Sihanouk's return. He will enjoy old-friend status when the Americans depart and the communists take over. This is part of a policy laid down by de Gaulle, and everything points to its paying off.

It was the American Left that originally drew America into Indo-China. American anti-colonialism backed Ho chi Minh, and led to America's replacing the French. They were aided, it is true, by the Reds in France.

Installation of a man chosen by America to head South Vietnam after June 1954 was accompanied by an anti-French campaign so violent that political commentator Raymond Cartier wrote in the Paris MATCH of May 28, 1955, that the success of Franco-American and Vietnamese cooperation depended "on the dropping of the anti-French commando unit installed in the American embassy." He added, "The men who compose it have been drawn by the ardor of their game into excesses capable of cleaving a breach in Franco-American relations that will be felt outside the framework of Indo-China....They have pro-

voked among the expeditionary corps and civilian population a resentment that is all the more significant since it follows the period of harmony that marked the mission of Ambassador Donald Heath." The leftists shaping American policy were also anti-monarchist. They next ran out Vietnam's traditional Emperor. Had they not changed Vietnam's form of government to suit themselves, Hanoi would not be able to demand today that America sweep out the present Saigon government as the price of letting us withdraw.

From de Gaulle's 1958 return to power onward, French policy was one of wait-and-see while America destroyed herself. Every American error was a step toward France's return. Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia continued to be accorded special postal rates as though still members of the French Union. The American leftists who drew America into Indo-China in the end imposed acceptance of defeat. On January 17, 1972, the London Sunday Telegraph recognized the success of Paris' policy of patience. The paper's correspondents wrote from Saigon, "Many foreign armies have passed through Vietnam.... the Americans will go the same way - only faster. They have not even replaced the French who, to most Vietnamese, are the only civilized Western nation." The Sunday Telegraph continued, "To be able to speak French marks a white man out as a man to be treated with respect - he could not possibly be an American.....The French loved Indo-China; it was the place where so many of them were happy to spend their lives. What will the Americans, who so profoundly dislike Vietnam, leave behind?"

The answer is: A vacuum, which realists in Paris, as far to the left as the Americans who made Vietnam a testing ground for their ideas, have only been waiting to fill. They hung on through the years of humiliations when Colonel (now General) Edward Lansdale and a compliant press sought to make America loved by making the Vietnamese hate the French. Lansdale preached that the threat was not a communist one from the North, it was from the dirty colonialists. So he crushed the anti-communist forces of the country as "puppets of the French."

The pendulum began swinging back in late 1962 or early '63, when, having used the Americans to destroy his enemies, Mr. Nhu, brother of President Diem, began wooing Ambassador Lalouette with prospects of a new era of Franco-Vietnamese relations, if France would help him get rid of the Americans. Hanoi was duly informed that if they would cease fighting and let Nhu govern the South he would get the Americans to go home. The talks broke down on September 8, 1963, when Hanoi replied that if the Americans left, Nhu would be swept out by his people. Four days later Madame Nhu left for Belgrade on a fruitless search for new backers, which were not forthcoming. The Eastern European bloc refused to be compromised and de Gaulle, though he still foresaw a new role in Indo-China for France, decided to bide his time.

By 1965 America's senseless policy of no-winism had raised Hanoi's hopes and spread war-weariness in America. Overnight, senators and congressmen ready to turn a national calamity to their own advantage became the allies of the lately despised French in the drive to get America out and let France return to Indo-China. No one pointed out to the American voter that those to whom our self-appointed as well as official peace emissaries were turning for help in Paris were working to bring about our defeat. The two helpers TIME of February 7, 1972, named as having aided Kissinger were no exception.

JEAN SAINTENY, who set up Kissinger's first meeting with the Hanoi delegation on August 4, 1969, was born Jean Roger. During the war he adopted a name that started with "saint," to give the Germans the impression that he was a Catholic. After the war he legalized the change and, as Sainteny, began a spectacular rise made possible by two factors: He was a leftist and married to the daughter of former Prime Minister Albert Sarrault, whose family newspaper, the Dispatch of Toulouse, was described by a famous Catholic writer as a "propagator of the socialist faith."

In October 1945 de Gaulle appointed Sainteny Commissaire for Tonkin and North Annam,

and his career as apologist for the Reds and profiteer in piastre traffic began. In November of 1946 the press hailed him as France's most valid negotiator, because of his personal friendship with Ho chi Minh. Sainteny and Ho talked for hours of their mutual love of peace and determination to avoid bloodshed, while Ho planned the greatest massacre of our times. They dined together, spent days in each other's company, wrote poetry to each other -- as Ho's forces drew a net around the French and prepared to exterminate them down to the last woman and child.

Burrowing like ants, the Vietminh dug tunnels, amassed arms and compiled a house-by-house, street-by-street plan of massacre, as Uncle Ho soft-soaped Sainteny by picturing the two of them as allies, working together for peace. Two days before the attack, Ho sent Sainteny a friendly note, assuring him that they would resume talks in a few days. Sainteny swallowed it completely. On December 18, 1946, Ho postponed a luncheon date, but said they would meet again soon. On the night of December 19 the carnage started. Every man, woman and child Ho could muster fell on the French in the darkness, under battle orders that covered hundreds of pages. Ho fled when the surprise attack failed, but later re-established contact with Sainteny and convinced him that the seeming treachery was not his fault, that he had been outpaced by the "fanatics" around him. Sainteny never learned. Though his stupidity, or duplicity, cost the lives of thousands, he continued to be regarded as a valid expert. When he set up Kissinger's first meeting with Le duc Tho and Xuan Thuy in Choisy-le-Roi, on August 4, 1969, he was helping mount another ambush.

After the Geneva Accord of 1954 which gave North Vietnam to the Reds, Sainteny went there once more as Mendès-France's delegate-general, in charge of turning the northern half of the country over to his friend. With de Gaulle's return to power in 1958 he became President of the Association to Support the Action of General de Gaulle, an organization which the worst elements in France soon took over. On June 9, 1966, de Gaulle sent Sainteny to Delhi, Rangoon, Bangkok, Phnom Penh, Vientiane, Hanoi and Peking. Only a few papers noted that his arrival in Hanoi coincided with de Gaulle's visit to Moscow, at a time when Sainteny was encouraging a Buddhist revolt against Ky as part of a peace plan of his own. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's extreme leftist EXPRESS of June 13, 1966, went into raptures over Sainteny's return to North Vietnam. To L'EXPRESS he was not a simple man in Asia but a legend, as the "Man of Ho chi Minh." On Sainteny's return a month later, Paris MATCH published an interview in which he said that if the Americans would make a gesture, North Vietnam would respond. For over a year Arthur Goldberg and Walt Rostow had been dealing through Sainteny's friends to make such a gesture.

On June 13, 1970, Le Monde, which is comparable to the New York Times, carried an article by Jean Lacouture on Sainteny's book, "A Peace Lost," in which Ho is white-washed as a man whose orders had not been followed in 1946, and another Sainteny book "Face à Ho chi Minh," which Lacouture hailed as an interpretation of Ho's leadership by a man anxious to give him an honorable image, not only from the point of view of revolutionary morals but the ethics which leaders traditionally are supposed to practice. This, of the man who massacred whole villages to frighten other villages into following him. A third book praised by Lacouture was "Ho chi Minh, Our Comrade," in which a group of French Reds depicted Ho as a humanist and disciple of Gandhi. In 1954 Mr. Sainteny turned half of Vietnam over to the followers of his fellow-poet. Over 500,000 anti-Reds were liquidated or died of ill treatment in the North after the transfer. In August 1969 Sainteny helped Mr. Kissinger prepare to deliver the other half. At that moment, in Washington, Sam Brown and David Hawk were mobilizing leftist clergymen, senators, professors and students to provide the same massive demonstrations which communist labor unions created for Mendès-France in 1954.

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER MAURICE SCHUMANN, according to TIME of February 7, 1972, was approached during UN meetings in New York in the fall of 1969, when it became appar-

ent that more Kissinger flights would be necessary. TIME told its readers that Schumann agreed "to enlist his government's aid in protecting the negotiations."

Foreign Minister Schumann was born in Paris in 1911 and started his career as a journalist. He was in London with Havas News Agency in June 1940, and became de Gaulle's spokesman over BBC. Though an ardent Gaullist, he made enemies among Frenchmen who were risking their lives when he refused to parachute into an already secured area in Normandy on August 4, 1944. Mr. Schumann describes himself as "the executor of the policies of General de Gaulle." Not reassuring. But then, Mr. Kissinger has never conferred with or accepted the services of anyone not of the pro-Hanoi Left. In the twelve meetings which Sainteny and Schumann are credited with setting up, the French report that Mr. Kissinger met five times with Xuan Thuy and seven times with Le duc Tho. The first meeting, on August 4, 1969, was in Xuan Thuy's wall-enclosed villa in Choisy-le-Roi.

MR. XUAN THUY was head of the Hanoi delegation at the time. He is a hardliner. His stand has never wavered from that made public on July 17, 1969, when he said, "Any election held in South Vietnam under American guns and bayonets would be rigged." He wanted an election under Hanoi guns and knives, with no Americans present. For a year Thuy had been denouncing the idea of free elections as "cheating," "farcical" and "deceitful." On September 4, 1968, at the 20th session of the Paris negotiations, he accused American leaders of "repression of war protest." Averell Harriman asked, "What will happen if remaining bombing of North Vietnam ends?" Xuan Thuy refused to answer, refused to promise anything, stated only that bombing must stop unconditionally before talks could proceed to substantive issues. He was following the instructions of Mr. Le duc Tho, with whom Kissinger later held his seven other meetings.

LE DUC THO is the party theoretician. He is a pro-Peking hardliner. His instructions were, "Stall, observe, wait, but don't negotiate." Each demand for serious talks was answered with a request that America halt all bombing first. Up from leftist papers, professors, peace organizations and congressmen would rise a cry that Hanoi was ready to start "meaningful negotiations" if Washington would stop bombing. Then Le duc Tho would find another excuse. Through stalling tactics, and support from their partisans in America, Hanoi leaders obtained enough bombing pauses to amass material in the fall of 1968 for the winter-spring offensive that followed. The same play was repeated over and over. Hanoi delegates would demand a bombing halt as a condition for "meaningful negotiation." Anthony Lewis or some other newsman of liberal bent would send the story home and the American press would scream that Washington was blocking negotiations. When the bombing was halted negotiations could not start because Le duc Tho would be called home for consultations. In the interim, Hanoi would move material and men toward the south.

When the 1968 winter-spring offensive failed, Le duc Tho returned to Paris. If America appeared adamant, Tho would act reasonable; when America took him at his word, he would raise the ante. On July 10, 1971, two days before Kissinger was to meet with Le duc Tho, Anthony Lewis pointed out, in the New York Times, that "American military aid to Saigon would continue after an American exit." A friendly reminder that Tho make the withdrawal of arms and aid a condition also. Probably never in history has the press of a nation at war been so anxious to help the enemy, or a government been so permissive with a pro-enemy press. Kissinger's giving CBS program producer, Margaret Osmer, and her network a million dollars worth of publicity by going from his July 12, 1971, meeting with Tho to a date with Margaret was true to form. CBS, since the days when Ho chi Minh's friend, David Schoenbrun, ran the Paris bureau, has been the revolutionary's unswerving supporter. In June 1970, when French police arrested Alain Geismar, the student revolutionary leader whom they had been seeking for two months, they found he had been sheltered by a woman who made recordings for CBS.

ANOTHER SOURCE OF MORAL SUPPORT has always been the inevitable "Vietnam specialist" in the American embassy, ever ready to work on passing senators and congressmen likely to go home and introduce bills that would remove any reason for the enemy to negotiate. Dear to leftist senators is the theme of "Limited war with limited means," meaning war without victory, with actions limited to assure that victory won't be attained. On arriving in Paris, the already committed senator or congressman is taken to see French officials who also want to see America opt for defeat. After being flattered by a highly-placed member of the Gaullist Left, our McGovern-type legislators are herded to meet Hanoi delegates who, when talking to those aiding them in America, are smart enough to sound like reasonableness itself.

On returning home the duped legislators take on new importance: The North Vietnamese have given their word. Never have conceited men been so easily worked like yokels. In late January 1967, Bobby Kennedy went to Paris. The embassy's "Vietnam specialist," German-born John Guenther Dean, took Bobby and his friend, William vanden Heuvel, to see Mr. Etienne Manac'h, Director of Asian and Oceanic Affairs in the French Foreign Office. A power struggle was going on at the time between Manac'h, Peking's man, and Moscow's man, Olivier Wormser, now Governor of the Bank of France. Friendship with leftist senators would strengthen Manac'h's hand. (He is now ambassador to Peking). Manac'h told Bobby and vanden Heuvel he had inside information: Hanoi was ready to talk peace on three conditions. It was the old line -- halt bombing, withdraw all Americans, pull down the Saigon government as you leave. NEWSWEEK of February 20, 1967, reported, "Dean was hardly able to contain his excitement." He told Bobby it was "startling....far beyond anything the State Department had received so far." For weeks Bobby enjoyed a flood of publicity over his peace-feeler. The truth was, he and Dean had been played for suckers. It was time for another Tet truce, and Hanoi needed a breathing spell to permit a buildup.

Indiana basketball players never passed a ball more adroitly between them than the French and American leftists working to end the war on Hanoi's terms. Let us go back to 1965.

ROVING AMBASSADORS OF ACADEME. The university Left has no nationality. Its war aim has always been Hanoi victory, sold to America as peace. The French Prime Ministry gave its go-between with Americans semi-diplomatic status by financing a bi-lingual quarterly called FRANCE-ASIA. Philippe Devillers, who had never in his life deviated from the leftist line, became its editor-in-chief. (He described RAMPARTS Magazine to his French readers as "a monthly of Catholic inspiration.") On the directing committee of FRANCE-ASIA were Mr. Manac'h and a professor from Peking University. The editorial staff included Jean Lacouture, who appears on every French TV program hostile to America, and the late Bernard Fall, of Howard University. Devillers wrote in FRANCE-ASIA that Fall had identified himself with the soldiers fighting communists in Vietnam until 1961, "when the Rockefeller Foundation permitted him to see the other side and be received by Ho chi Minh and Pham van Dong."

Dr. Kissinger states that he became interested in Vietnam in 1965. On May 12, 1965, President Johnson was pressured into declaring a bombing pause, on assurances that Hanoi would reciprocate the gesture. Hanoi didn't, but her Paris representative, Mr. Mai van Bo, rushed to Mr. Manac'h's office to discuss how the pause could be made permanent. Manac'h called in Devillers. The situation was desperate. Devillers packed his bags and on May 17, the day before the bombing halt ended, he was in Walt Rostow's office, telling the head of the State Department Policy Planning Council that the withdrawal of American troops would not have to precede a settlement. Anything to ground those bombers.

After seeing Rostow, Devillers was received by Chester Cooper and James C. Thompson, Jr., who were on McGeorge Bundy's National Security Council Staff. Cooper begged him "to help the President find a suitable way out of Vietnam." \* (\*"The Secret Search

for Peace in Vietnam" by David Kraslow and Stuart Loory). An incredible request to be made by officials no honest Vietnam specialist, French or American, could reach, to a man who was working for American defeat! 1966 started with another five-week bombing pause while Hanoi prepared the usual Tet offensive. On February 10, 1966, Wilfred Burchett, Hanoi's principal foreign propagandist and adviser, told Americans, through TIME magazine, "Only after unconditional cessation of bombing and other acts of war could there be talks between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the U.S."

Arthur Goldberg, in UN, took up the call and started peace negotiations of his own with the assistance of Manac'h and Devillers. On August 26, 1966, Devillers was back in Goldberg's office with a reply. All Goldberg had accomplished was to make Hanoi stiffen her terms. That afternoon William Bundy flew from Washington to meet Devillers in a motel room, as Dr. Kissinger prepared to fly to Sopot, Poland, for Cyrus Eaton's Pugwash Conference. There Kissinger met a pro-Hanoi biochemist from the University of Paris named Herbert Marcovich, who took him to meet Raymond Aubrac (real name Samuel), who would be an ideal intermediary for America because he was a friend of Ho Chi Minh and Jean Sainteny. (!) In February 1967 Goldberg flew to Saigon and returned to broadcast on May 7 that victory is not our goal in Vietnam.

In July 1967 Kissinger sent Aubrac and Marcovich on their mission to Hanoi for LBJ, in search of peace. When they returned Kissinger flew to Paris to meet them. A short time later Washington declared a moratorium on all targets within a ten-mile radius of the center of Hanoi, and Kissinger sent word to Mai van Bo through the same emissaries that all bombing of the North would be halted if Hanoi would agree to start productive discussions. 1968 brought discussions, but they were never productive. They were propaganda forums directed by Le Duc Tho. November 1968 saw Kissinger's rise to power as the right-hand man of the president he had vowed to leave no stone unturned to keep out of the White House.

On January 2, 1969, the London Daily Telegraph reported, "De Gaulle sees himself as Southeast Asia's uncle. Western diplomats in Southeast Asia believe the French are on the point of setting in motion a grand plan for re-establishing France as a major influence in the region. The plan, which has undergone months of careful preparation, is to be co-ordinated with the settlement process of the Vietnam crisis." Active in the plan, besides those we have mentioned, were de Gaulle's Minister, Michel Debré, the author of "Tomorrow Peace," and a Gaullist of the Left named Jean de Lipkowsky. Voters in Flint, Michigan, will recall that their congressman, Donald R. Riegle, accompanied eight other congressmen to Paris in May 1970 and returned home full of praise for Deputy Foreign Minister Jean de Lipkowsky and Defense Minister Michel Debré. Ignorant of the game being played, Riegle exclaimed, "France is giving us damn good advice on Vietnam, and we should listen to it more."

THE PENULTIMATE PHASE. On October 11, 1971, President Nixon's final "secret peace plan" was transmitted to the two Hanoi delegates by Mr. Kissinger. To help it along, Mr. Kissinger went far beyond the Gaullist Left in his search for assistance. He invited America's mortal enemy, Wilfred Burchett, to the White House.

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CREEPING MAOISM - PEKING'S STRATEGY OF CONQUEST

"For Mao, revolution is a thing of the past. He does not want to make trouble for anyone. All Mao wants is to re-establish China's honor, to cement the nation after its internal dissension and consolidate its unity, so that when he goes he will leave something solid behind him. That is his only thought," André Malraux told Presidents Nixon and de Gaulle, in the Elysée Palace during Nixon's 1969 visit to Paris.

No statement could be further from the truth. In making it, Malraux was running interference for Mao's occupation forces in the West - what Luis Mercier Vega calls "the technique of the counter-state." Mao's followers have never denied their aims. In old-fashioned wars between countries, armed force was exerted by identifiable intruders and the body of the victim nation was penetrated surgically, as it were. In "insurgency" or "urban guerrilla warfare" or "people's war," or whatever the disciples of Mao and Marcuse choose to call it, the body of the victim is attacked by bacteria already resident within its tissues. The attack takes the form of a direct assault on the social and economic structure of the country.

Mao has no intention yet of risking retaliation by approaching with regular military forces. The bombs with which maoists spread death and terror require no long-distance aircraft passing through enemy fire; they are placed by hand by those whom editors will excuse as ideologists. As a means of destroying the West this form of warfare is foolproof. Men like Malraux, aided by the victim's own TV and press, will prevent countries marked for destruction from recognizing it as warfare until it is too late. Worse, the attacking troops are invisible. Only by unmasking them can a threatened country hope to survive. But a protective cloak is thrown around the attackers by professors, parents and a slanted press. In conventional warfare there are moral constraints as to targets and methods. These are not recognized by the young maoist. While being bound by no law, moral or otherwise, except to himself, he invokes the law to assure his right to attack society, to prevent his being photographed or his name being put on file.

It is not difficult for law enforcement officers to spot ringleaders. When violence arrives, such leaders are rarely in the front ranks. It is their dupes who clash with the police. All the mechanisms of radical-interpreted justice are in motion to shield those heading the maoist advance. Mao's revolution is far from a thing of the past. The truth is, the West is being bound and tied, before it can defend itself.

MALRAUX HAD ANOTHER FIVE-HOUR TALK WITH THE PRESIDENT in the White House before the Peking trip. His remarks on returning to Paris provide an idea of the extent to which the President was misled. "What struck me most," said Malraux, "was that the men around Nixon still take the Chinese army seriously. It is a hangover from Korea. They still think the Chinese are revolutionary. The Chinese army is non-existent and, in any case, China does not want to conquer any country. All Mao and Chou want is to industrializetheir country, and to do so they are willing to turn to America."

Malraux was spouting drivel, or red propaganda. It was no hangover from Korea that made the men around Nixon, and the American press, picture the Chinese Army as a threat. They had to have a bogey-man to hold up as something sure to hit us if we tried to win in Vietnam. At the same time it distracted attention from the "bacteria" working within America for defeat.

Peking is preparing for "surgical" penetration into countries in her path, and for that she needs America's industrial know-how and equipment. And she will probably get it. In that, Mr. Malraux was only too right.

THE IMPLANTATION OF MAOIST BACTERIA IN THE WEST became alarming in 1963. Its first above-surface carrier was a 60-year-old secretary of the Chinese Communist Party named Teng Siao-ping. Teng was in France with Ho chi Minh in December 1920, when the French Communist Party was born. In 1922 he joined the French C.P. and in 1924 returned to Shanghai, where he is said to have participated in street-fighting alongside Malraux. When the Shanghai fight was lost Teng went to Moscow for three years in the university that trained Ho chi Minh. By 1949 he had worked his way upward to a point where his contacts with old comrades in France were invaluable during the French war in Indo-China.

In the late 50's theorists in Peking decided to extend the revolution by establishing pro-Peking "counter-states" in Western Europe, and Teng Siao-ping was their man. Switzerland was selected as a base. By the early 60's Red China's bureau in Berne was in full stride. Money was deposited in Berne; from there Teng ran lines to London, Paris, Brussels, Rome and The Hague. Chinese restaurants with mimeograph equipment in a back room began proliferating. Out of the restaurants ran subsidiary networks. The Swiss Labor Party woke up on September 14, 1963, when they learned that their own former leader, a man named Bulliard, had found the Chinese Reds more exciting and had taken over the direction of a Swiss Communist Party obedient to Peking. The new Red machine was raiding the old Left and university campuses for members, from its headquarters in Vevey, on Lake Lemman, which is accessible by speed-boat from France.

BRUSSELS, SEAT OF THE SIX-NATION COMMON MARKET, was the capital marked out as a must on Teng's list. Letter-drops and meeting places sprang up. The Chinese "oil-spots" began spreading. Under Cardinal Suenens a leftist tendency in the Belgian church was gaining momentum. Teng was able to ride it. A "Communist Federation of Charleroi" surfaced under Jacques Grippa, who left the Belgian Communist Party to join the Peking faction. A former deputy and co-founder of the Belgian C.P. named Henri Glineur followed Grippa and Belgian Reds were called upon to join the more exciting revolution being exported by Peking. With Berne as a foothold and central banking center, the Chinese machine began whirring.

MILAN, BOLOGNA AND PADUA became Chinese "islands" in Italy. A pro-Chinese publishing house and Italian-Chinese Friendship Association suddenly appeared. With the same things happening in Belgium, France, Holland and London, a craze for everything Chinese swept Europe, similar to that traversing America after Nixon's trip to Peking. There was and still is no justification for the epidemic of China infatuation that has swept the West. Today Italy is torn with violence and a pro-Chinese Communist Party formally functions as the "Manifesto Movement," named after its daily paper. The importance of the Peking party is out of all proportion to its membership. Its strength lies in its ability to incite and lead members of other factions who find orthodox communism too tame. Part of the phenomena of maoism in Europe is the revival of Trotskyism which Lenin and Stalin failed to stamp out. Maoists appeal to the new generation of revolutionaries who find Trotsky's doctrine to their liking.

"Insurrection is not an art," said Trotsky. "It is a machine. And the parts of this machine are called sabotage, general strike - in brief, paralysis of social life. The rest, the putsch itself, is only the blow of a fist to the jaw of a paralytic." For the new revolutionaries, automobile plants are a natural. In Italy they set out to infiltrate Fiat. Fiat officials tried to prevent sabotage on the production line by investigating the political connections of those employed or seeking employment. Turin judges have ruled that attempts to prevent maoist agitators and saboteurs from joining the Fiat labor force violate the workers' right of privacy.



IN FRANCE THE MAOIST TARGET WAS RENAULT, the great plant which was nationalized after the liberation of Paris, when the first act of Renault's unionized communist workers was to "get" the boss. (Louis Renault was well when arrested on charges of collaboration. A short time later he died in a prison hospital.) 50,000 flag-waving revolutionaries turned out recently for the funeral of a young maoist shot by a Renault guard while leading a maoist mob against Renault, with an iron bar in his hand. Figures on the number of cars sabotaged daily by maoist workers are carefully suppressed, lest they frighten car-buyers into creating a crisis for the firm.

Jean-Paul Sartre, who presided over the 1967 War Crimes trial against America in Copenhagen, has ordered French maoists to "surround the police with a wall of hate," Anti-communist students tried in maoist "courts" are severely beaten. To prevent defensive action by the police and anti-red students - the sort of thing American newsmen and TV commentators call "backlash," to make reaction appear more vicious than the conditions which bring it about - Sartre and his associates in "Secours Rouge" (Red Rescue) have formed a militia. Eight parties to the left of the old-time communist party and committed to violence have signed an agreement to fight side by side in the streets against their "common adversaries," whatever divergences exist among the eight. The old-line communist party, which has been trying to lull French voters into thinking they have nothing to fear from the Left, is worried.

IN WEST GERMANY MAOISM GOT ITS BOUND AHEAD WITH THE RISE OF WILLY BRANDT. The German Communist Party, the DKP which Adenauer dissolved in 1956, now has over 33,000 card-carrying members and is growing rapidly. The DKP is working to bring about a "United Front of the Left" encompassing all the countries of Western Europe. At home it pushes Chancellor Brandt's "Ostpolitik" and works on the foreign workers brought to Germany by the Common Market - 500,000 Italians, 200,000 Greeks and a large number of Spaniards. Where the DKP leaves off, German maoists take over, staging bank holdups to raise money and leaving behind them a trail of crime. The greatest lesson for Americans is to be found in England.

HAROLD WILSON'S GOVERNMENT learned, to its sorrow, that leftism is a drug, the dosage of which has to be continually increased to keep the addict happy. If it isn't, the addict turns to another supplier. The maoists were ready and waiting.

Often there is no apparent connection between the disparate groups of what is called "The New Left." Those who study them have concluded, however, that most are subsidiaries or maneuvered puppets of a vast "holding company" or movement, the lines of which lead to a maoist office and on to Berne and Peking.

By dissociating itself from maoist violence, orthodox communism seeks to establish its image as a restraining force worthy of society's confidence, despite the fact that it is a political arm of a foreign country: Russia. Actually, one is as dangerous as the other. While maoist "bacteria" ravage the nations of the West from within, Russia encircles them from without.

CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS ARE COMMON TO BOTH BRITAIN AND AMERICA. By 1968 communist professors had sufficiently taken over education in both countries to create the preliminary condition for revolution. The Red handbook prescribes that the credibility of the political system must first be destroyed. When this is realized, the government must be goaded into reacting against violence, so that the revolutionary may take advantage of the chaos that follows. According to Lenin the perfect climate for revolution is attained when rulers cannot go on in the old way and the ruled no longer wish them to. We are teetering on the verge of that point today. The revolutionaries doing the maneuvering are essentially the same in both Britain and America.

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL or INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST GROUP, has done much in softening the West for revolution. It has 114 branches in Britain, many of them small but all important. Its propaganda machine is efficient. First there is the official SOCIALIST WORKER, a weekly. Specialized sheets for workers in different industries follow. The S. I. took the National Union of Teachers away from the communists. The only change was that educational centers turned out socialists for the New Left to take over. On graduation the S. I. pushed its militants upward in the church, education, industry, journalism and TV. The movement became self-multiplying more than self-perpetuating. Parties from 34 nations are packaged in the S. I.; Bangladesh's Awami League recently applied to become the 35th. Cooperation between S. I. movements in France, Italy, the U. S., West Germany, Spain, Ireland, the West Indies, Denmark, Japan, Czechoslovakia and Poland is closer than non-socialists think. What it is is socialism's plan for world government directed from a central bureau in Luxembourg.

S. I. leaders see the Common Market as a vehicle to regional power. Since 1963 the chairman of the S. I. has been Bruno Pitterman, a former Vice Chancellor of Austria and friend of the present Austrian Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky. Harold Wilson, the leader of Britain's Labor Party, expected to succeed Pitterman in the S. I. election slated for June 1972, but he is in disfavor for opposing British entry into the Common Market. Why did he try to block what is really a socialist objective? Because Britain's Conservative government was bringing it about. ("I'm not against Europe, old chap," Wilson recently told an S. I. friend, "I'm against Edward Heath.") As of now the man likely to become leader of the S. I. in June is Sicco Mansholt, the Dutch Labor Party's former Minister of Agriculture, who heads the Agriculture Committee in the Common Market Commission. The goal of the S. I. is a socialist, neutralist United Europe erected on the foundation stones of the Common Market. Labor unions and socialist parties are treated as provisional regional governments in the drive to bring this about.

The S. I. is adamantly opposed to productivity deals on the plant floor and factory democracy. Any idea that there is such a thing as "national interest" in a capitalistic state is rejected outright. The S. I. is in favor of Russian-type revolution, and as such it is anti-West.

Moscow is the capital of the communist world empire, just as Peking is the capital of maoism. Willy Brandt, Olof Palme, Bruno Kreisky, Gunnar Myrdahl and other S. I. leaders are out to make Brussels the socialist capital of a supra-nationalist government, meaning the Common Market Commission, which will lead Western Europe into neutralism and then into federation with Moscow. The trouble is, as their plans progress, maoism is on the rise and continually raiding their ranks for recruits. At the S. I. Conference in Helsinki in May 1971 and Stockholm last July, the Willy Brandt-Olof Palme group reiterated their intentions of gaining recognition of the Common Market Commission as a West European socialist government, and seizing the initiative in setting up the International Security Conference which Russia wants between NATO and the Warsaw Pact bloc.

The only snag is that Britain is not yet a full member. The man leading the drive to bring Britain in is Henry Cabot Lodge's old friend, Lord Gladwyn, chairman of the Campaign for European Political Unity. (The wartime agreements made at Yalta were drawn up by a committee of three representing Britain, Russia and the U. S. The members were Sir Gladwyn Jebb (now Lord Gladwyn), André Gromyko and Alger Hiss.) Bernadette Devlin is active in the S. I. but not a formal member because of the fact that she was elected to Parliament under another label.

A common characteristic of all the groups of the New Left is rabble-rousing opportunism. America's involvement in Vietnam, which was brought about by men like Mike Mansfield on the American Left, never meant anything to New Left leaders but an excuse

to throw mobs into the street against the existing system. Now Vietnam has been almost completely superseded as an issue by the closer war in Ulster. Vietnam was dropped when the S. I. became convinced that American generals would not be permitted to go out for victory. R. H. S. Crossman, the Labor Member of Parliament, wrote in his NEW FABIAN ESSAYS, "If freedom is to survive it is essential that neither the U. S. A. nor the Soviet Union should win....We must realize that a victory for either side would be a defeat for socialism." (Why should American victory destroy freedom?) If the S. I. is the most dangerous of the fast-growing movements of the New Left, the Trotskyites are the most vigorous.

WORLD TROTSKYISM was organized by Leon Trotsky as the Fourth International. "International" because the workers of all nations have been regarded by revolutionaries from Marx onward as citizens of a world-wide socialist state. Marx formed the First International. The British Labor Party is a member of the second, the International of Social Democrats. The Third, under Stalin's domination became the Comintern. The Fourth was founded by Trotsky after his exile from Russia, to preach the doctrine of permanent revolution. (A self-described Trotskyite named Harold Isaacs rose to head the Center for International Studies which CIA set up as its own think-tank in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.)

In Britain Trotsky's heirs have launched a struggle for leadership which has split the Fourth International into two wings: The International Committee of the Fourth International, and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. These spawned subsidiary groups. The most important sub-group of the International Committee is the Socialist Labor League (S.L.L.), which is headed by an Irish ex-communist named Gerry Healy. It recruits among young workers and has a publication called Working Press. When there is a strike in the Ford plant at Dagenham or among stevedores in Liverpool, Hull and London, the Socialist Labor League is at work with its "All Trades Unions Alliance."

Inflation is hastened by the S.L.L.'s bitter opposition to any speedup in the production line while rejecting restrictions on wages hikes. Its position at the point of industrial production is ideal for the creation of crisis situations and confrontation. Each clash is settled in favor of the workers. Ultimately this must lead to seizure of power and the expropriation of private capital.

THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP is second in line of Trotskyite importance. Tariq Ali, the Pakistan leader of student revolutionaries, is a member. The I.M.G. holds that revolution is all-important, not what they will do when they achieve it. They obey the United Secretariat, and operate through member bodies such as the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the Institute for Workers' Control and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. The youth wing is the Spartacus League, which publishes "The Red Mole." Outstanding characteristics of the I.M.G. are blind admiration of Castro in Cuba and the IRA in Ireland. Miss Teresa Hayter, daughter of the former British ambassador to Moscow, is a member.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY publishes "The Red Flag" and is also Trotskyite, but it works on its own.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRITAIN MARXIST LENINIST, which is out-and-out maoist, with Herbert Marcuse as a prophet, is headed by an officer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. Two smaller maoist parties lend support: The WORKERS' PEOPLE'S PARTY OF ENGLAND and the IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION SOLIDARITY FRONT.

THE SOLIDARITY GROUP, or "Solidarists," as they are called, are anarchists. They are the ones who, during the campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, published details on the regional seats of government which Britain had selected for use in case of a nuclear war.

The above are only the more outstanding revolutionary movements which British law enforcement agencies have to cope with. In addition, and used by all of them when circumstances favor, are immigrant defense organizations such as the INDIAN WORKERS' ASSOCIATION and the BLACK POWER groups. Highly-trained and well-directed agitators are adroit in using welfare services as a unifying factor. They are helped by radical lawyers who emphasize the importance of obedience to the party if welfare recipients want to get something for nothing.

Probably no movement in Britain better illustrated the ability of communist leaders to use non-communists than the emotion-packed CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, (CND), which was mainly a campaign against America. Here was the perfect "popular front," made up of people from every political grouping, marching in concerted movement against capitalistic society, completely forgetting that Russia also had nuclear weapons and was continually brandishing them. No story better brought out the point that the so-called "black leaders" of the left are not in any real sense black leaders, than an investigative article published by the Sunday Times of London of March 12, 1972. The economic and social relationships which raised them to affluence and pre-eminence, the paper pointed out, were not black followers, for they had none, but white publishers, writers, actors and business men.

The London weekly told how Allen Donaldson, a Boston black who had been a drug addict and alcoholic at 14, changed his name to Hakim Jamal and got Marlon Brando, Jane Fonda and Jean Seberg to give him money to start a school, which closed when he had gone through the funds. Jean Seberg, according to the Sunday Times, took him to London where Vanessa Redgrave's brother put him up and introduced him to Mrs. Gale Benson, who, under the impression that he was God, helped him write his "autobiography," "From the Dead Level - Malcolm X and Me," which André Deutsch published. Herbert Girardet, the son of a wealthy German publisher, took Hakim and his "handmaiden," Mrs. Benson, to Trinidad, where Mrs. Benson was murdered and buried in Michael X's garden on Jan. 2, 1972. Eighteen days later Jamal returned to Boston to exploit the "guilt" and credulity of a new crop of white intellectuals.

It is all part of a politically-propelled trend. And it may turn out that Mrs. Benson was duped no more thoroughly - or fatally - by this anti-white racist who convinced her he was God, than Nixon was by the pro-Peking Minister of Culture who was palmed off on him as an objective "authority" on China because he knew Mao forty-eight years ago.

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