



Subversive forces



H. DU B. REPORTS begins its seventeenth year with a story that starts in Paris at 10:15 P.M., December 3, 1973. A hippie-looking cartoonist employed by Canard Enchâiné (The Chained Duck) "happened" to be passing the satirical weekly's new premises at 173 rue St. Honoré. He noticed cracks of light through the curtains. A short time later Jean Clementin, administrator of the paper, and Claude Angéli, its 42-year-old chief information editor, joined him. They found "workmen" installing microphones in the walls.

Overnight the leftist press went wild. The Ministry of the Interior, the police, the DST (French equivalent of the FBI), the SDECE (Service of External Documentation and Counter-Espionage) were under merciless attack. Frenchmen not on the left felt that Canard Enchâiné should have been bugged a long time before but had probably arranged the micro-planting itself for the purpose of touching off a Watergate-type drive against the government.

THE PARALLELS WERE GLARING. From the first the affair seemed strange. The fake workmen appeared to be trying to draw attention. Lights were left on, loiterers made themselves noticeable, a lookout in uniform openly used a walkie-talkie but never warned his friends. That the three staff members should arrive when and as they did was significant. Madame Micheline Bertin, the concierge whose job was similar to that of Frank Wills, the Watergate night watchman, volunteered to help newsmen conducting an "investigation" on their own.

She identified Inspector Georges Laborde of the 3rd Division of the DST as leader of the team of micro-planters, though a law of June 13, 1952, makes the identities and missions of DST officers secrets of national defense. To confront or expose a DST officer is punishable by law, but the law was never invoked against Madame Bertin. Instead, a hue and cry against the machinery of law enforcement and defense was raised in the name of "freedom of the press." Leading the campaign was Canard Enchâiné and its ally, Le Nouvel Observateur. Many expressed doubts about their motives, and how the bugging job happened to be bungled if experts were really handling it.

PLUMBERS WHO WERE MEANT TO BE CAUGHT? It was not forgotten that a lookout at the Watergate saw lights moving toward where his colleagues were working, and, though armed with a walkie-talkie, failed to warn them. Or that no precautions were taken to occupy the attention of the night-watchman.

In the French affair it was recognized from the start that infiltrators in the police or the DST could be out to get Mr. Raymond Jean Marcellin, the Minister of the Interior. The colonel at the head of SDECE is a delegate to the Ministry of the Interior. One of the arms of SDECE (known as an antenna) is SUBAG, the Inter-Police body for the study of subversive movements. Initial investigations are handled by sub-directors in the office of General Intelligence (Renseignements Généraux, known as RG.) Information compiled by all these bodies pours into the DST, to be pieced together by men whom the purpose of the law of June 13, 1952, was to keep faceless.

To discover the head of the serpent of subversion in France, if it is domestic, or

the octopus, if it is international, the first step was to ascertain who is doing the sapping.

FOURTEEN-YEAR WAIT FOR REVENGE. On August 23, 1963, the DST, working with SDECE, arrested Mr. Georges Pâques in the act of handing secret NATO papers to a KGB officer in a cafe near the Paris opera. Pâques' record was shocking: An undercover member of the Communist Party, pushed into important posts in every government since the liberation, helped by unseen hands into the highest level of NATO, where he photographed any paper he wished. In sum, he was an Ellsberg. A communist mayor near the Belgian border, ten agents of Polish origin and Pâques were found to be members of Network Eleven of Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe. For fourteen years the ring worked to get the men and services which arrested Pâques.

Network Eleven was the elite ring of the Innostranny Otdiel (I.O.), a separate section of the Kremlin's secret service, controlled by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. I.O. reaches into the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and every country in the West. Many of its agents are made respectable by fake exclusions from the party. This is called "giving them a false beard." Eastern bloc embassies and consulates provide diplomatic immunity for I.O. offices abroad. "Friendship" organizations, political and cultural bodies, student movements, youth clubs, civil rights groups, legal defense teams which aid only leftists, and educational associations are its arms. When an I.O. agent is caught, the leftist media raise cries of "McCarthyism" and "witchhunt," if it is in America, or "another Dreyfus" if it is in France.

I.O.'s search for agents never stops. Those motivated by ideology are preferred. Men like Ellsberg. Top priority is given to students, civil servants, army, intelligence and police officers, parliamentarians, journalists, professors and diplomats. Apartments are maintained in principal cities of the West for agents passing through or needing a hideout. When Regis Debray (who is now seeking entry into the U. S.) was serving a 30-year term in Bolivia, rent was paid regularly on his apartment at 4 Avenue de la Porte Briançon, in Paris. Andreas Baader, of the Baader-Meinhof German terrorist gang, was hidden there in 1969 when German police were looking for him.

Putting the jigsaw puzzle of I.O. operations together, French services noted that 1962 leaks from Network Eleven disclosed a new operation bearing the code name "Razlojenye," literally, "rotting." Its first British victim was Sir John Profumo, the Defense Minister implicated with Christine Keeler, a call girl connected with the Soviet Naval Attaché in London. Razlojenye operations to rot countries from within had a common denominator: Men connected with the Atlantic Pact were top targets. The wealthy and titled were smeared in the furtherance of class warfare, and dirt amassed for the destruction of politicians who could not be defeated at the polls. De Gaulle's hatred of those who opposed his policies provided an un hoped for opportunity in France. Patriotic officers were purged from the army, police and intelligence services and replaced by reds or gangsters. To those who concealed their feelings and clung to their jobs, a pattern was apparent.

NETWORK ELEVEN WAS INTERNATIONAL. When America's National Student Union sent permanent delegates abroad on CIA funds to work with foreign student unions, only leftists were selected. Communist-appointed students were given scholarships to American universities by CIA's NSA front. Thus the cohesion which synchronized student riots against the war in Vietnam was established.

In the choice of scandals to be kept before the public, day after day, the men who decided were selective. Two years before Sir John Profumo was framed and hounded from the British defense ministry the Republican votes which would have made Richard Nixon defeat John F. Kennedy were thrown in Lake Michigan. The latter was not a scandal. Three years after the Profumo affair, Mehdi ben Barka, the Moroccan whom CIA and

American labor unions had pushed upward through the years, was kidnapped in Paris on October 29, 1965, on the eve of his departure for a "Tricontinental" (Europe, Africa and the new world) communist congress in Cuba. In the ensuing storm whipped up by the world left and the investigative press, SDECE was made the scapegoat. An officer who had been ordered to cooperate with King Hassan's Secret Service was brought in in handcuffs. In the exposures and leaks that followed, SDECE's lines behind the Iron Curtain were betrayed and a number of agents disappeared, never to be heard of again.

In 1969 a Yugoslav blackmailer and small-time strong-arm man clinging to the film world was mysteriously murdered. Canard Enchâiné and Le Nouvel Observateur pulled out all the stops to link the murder with the President of the French Republic. Backtracking in their search for a common pattern, security agents discovered that when the heat was on President Pompidou Claude Angéli, the "secret information chief" of Canard Enchâiné, who specialized in printing policy and defense documents, was working for Le Nouvel Observateur. (Editor-in-chief of Nouvel Observateur Jean Daniel (real name Ben Said) was French correspondent for The New Republic. Newsweek of May 14, 1973, gave him a full page.

Michèle Ray, who went over to the Vietcong in early 1967 after spending four months with the Green Berets, and who in December 1967 offered \$400,000 for Che Guevara's diary for a story against the Americans, was a Nouvel Observateur correspondent. Olivier Todd, senior editor of Nouvel Observateur, is Newsweek's French authority. A typical Todd propaganda piece against America in Nouvel Observateur was headed "Saint Joan Baez."

While Canard Enchâiné and Nouvel Observateur worked to compromise President Pompidou and his wife with the Marcovich murder, because of their friendships in the movie crowd, SDECE stumbled on to a source of certain leaks which had caused irreparable damage during the Ben Barka scandal: The assistant of an SDECE commandant who was dragged through the mud by the press and eventually dismissed, was a young woman with a press card as a cover who worked in counter-espionage under the code name "Karamel," and who had been assigned to the Marcovich affair. Draw three parallels: Jack Anderson's friend, Yeoman First Class Charles Radford installed in the White House; Daniel Ellsberg in Rand Corporation and the Pentagon; and Ellsberg's friend Morton Halperin taken into the National Security Council by Kissinger himself, against the protests of the FBI.

In 1972 an opportunity presented itself to get Jean Rochet, the anti-communist chief of DST. An international drive was afoot to obtain permission for Leopold Trepper, the chief of Russia's greatest wartime spy ring, to leave Poland. Mr. Rochet stated that until Hitler invaded Russia Trepper's famous "Red Orchestra" network of spies, which covered France and Belgium, had delivered military secrets to Stalin's temporary ally, Germany. A suit was brought against Rochet by Gilles Perrault, the leftist writer who wrote "The Red Orchestra," and Perrault's friend, Claude Angéli. In the years since 1941 communist collaborators had risen in government, the press, UN and the courts. Friends of Moscow in the Foreign Office were ready to help them. Men who might have saved Rochet were too valuable to be exposed on the witness stand. As a result, Rochet was purged, confidence in the DST shaken, Pâques' arrest was avenged and the climate favorable for infiltrators improved. Rochet's investigations of Eastern bloc embassies, trade missions and agents were temporarily halted.

After Rochet fell the leakage of secret papers increased, particularly to Nouvel Observateur and Canard Enchâiné. Photocopies of confidential defense reports appeared in print. Numbers of license plates used by counter-intelligence and DST cars were reported as news. Canard Enchâiné promised its readers a new defense secret every week. Confidential notes between officials, word-for-word accounts of tapped telephone conversations, dossiers of men charged with subversion and the secret files of judges rolled off the presses of papers claiming to be conducting investigative reporting. In September 1972 the communist publication "Rouge" printed secret plans for

the deployment of French missiles. The parallels with similar operations in America was too close. The systematic search for secrets bearing on national defense is not the job of journalists, if they are only journalists, officials decided, and moved to open the files of those filling the roles of Daniel Ellsberg, Jack Anderson and others in France.

CLAUDE ANGELI CAME FIRST. Was the bugging of Canard Enchâiné offices arranged by the paper itself to strait-jacket the DST and SDECE? If national defense justified the bugging of Canard Enchâiné, did infiltrators in the services tip off their comrades on the paper? The services had to know. Agents familiar with Hanoi's use of women and old men as snipers and observers bore in mind that on September 5, 1969, an infiltrator in Fort Benning, in America, phoned an editor and touched off the drive against Lieutenant Calley. Another infiltrator in the Pentagon leaked information to an anti-war propagandist named Seymour Hersh. The very papers hammering ad nauseam now on Watergate got the lieutenant who saved his men from Hanoi's snipers. DST and SDECE decided to see if Canard Enchâiné was up to the same game in France. Their findings were alarming. Claude Angéli: Started as editor of "L'Avant Garde," official organ of Communist Youth. Member of Ferry-Godot cell of French Communist Party, in Vitry. In charge of relations with France-Hungary Committee. 1964 expulsion from the party believed phoney, as expulsion order was never officially announced. Angéli's wife still party member. With Jean Paul Sartre Angéli resurrected "Secours Rouge" (Red Rescue), pre-war communist organization now known as "Secours Populaire." Jean Clementin, present administrator of Canard Enchainé, and Angéli set up coordinating center to increase credibility of leaks by passing some on to other publications. Communist cell working in "Liberation," a communist journal long directed by France's "Red Baron," Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, served as base for coordinating center.

JEAN CLEMENTIN, member of CP cell in "Liberation," used the socialist weekly L'EXPRESS as outlet for I.O. leaks. During French war in Indo-China, Clementin worked with Vietminh against France. Returned to France when socialist Pierre Mendès-France rose to power. In 1961 was exposed as French correspondent for "Deutsche Volk," West German communist publication, editor of which was sentenced to prison for activities in Russian spy ring. Another associate convicted of high treason.

CARTOONIST ESCARO: Bearded, long-haired, revolutionary record on Liberation, Humanité (CP official organ), Humanité Dimanche and Vie Ouvrière (Workers' Life), official paper of French communist labor union.

The question posed by DST and SDECE was: How did these men acquire original documents and secret memoranda from ministries, defense offices, policy services and the judiciary? They became known as "the enemy within."

SUDDENLY A LID WAS CLAMPED TIGHT. Investigators found evidence of a secret society. The conspiracy theory had not been taken seriously before. Suddenly it took shape. Documents that could shake the government and destroy careers were found in searches conducted against Canard Enchâiné and Nouvel Observateur. The micros found in Canard Enchâiné were justified. Nevertheless, the leftist press won the day. Monsieur Marcellin was removed from the Ministry of the Interior. In his place went 41-year-old Jacques Chirac. Chirac's first move was to oust the head of the DST, Mr. Henri Biard, who had stumbled on to the secret organization DST and SDECE were investigating.

ENTER THE FRIENDS OF ALAIN. Name of the ultra secret group was "Les Amis d'Alain," the Friends of Alain. Why Alain? No one knew. Some sixty members are believed to be on the inside - the limit considered compatible with secrecy. Claude Angéli is regarded as its founder. A secret leftist group within the police, "Fraternité Policière," headed by an official identified as Mr. G., served as a police arm for Friends of Alain, providing information and tip-offs when investigators got too close. Mr. G. rose in the period when de Gaulle purged his services of rightists. Many of

the present student revolutionaries were trained by Mr. G.'s brigade and recruited into the GAR (Action Resistance Group) of the Unified Socialist Party. The party sent some to Cuba for further training, using a travel agency as a cover. Friends of Alain meet twice a month, on Thursday or Friday. Only initiates are present. Magistrates, civil servants, lawyers, professors and officials from various services. People from the media, Members of Parliament, and men high in international socialist finance - counterparts of the CF, in sum, who constitute a bottomless source of information. They launched the campaign against telephone-tapping, to protect themselves, and printed photocopies of innocuous, and therefore senseless, phone-taps to support the drive. Theirs are the production sessions. The distribution department composed mainly of non-initiates, meets each Tuesday, usually under Angéli, in the back room or private dining room of a cafe or restaurant. A dozen or so attend, leftist journalists from L'Express, the socialist weekly, and other publications ready to print what the closed group wants put before the public from a source other than Nouvel Observateur or Canard Enchaîné. Inside tips are passed to journalists - names of politicians about to come under fire and those picked to replace them; which DST officers are working on a certain investigation and the license plates of their cars. Copies of papers marked "secret" change hands. Sometimes non-initiates provide a lead, as in the case of "Karamel," the secretary of the ruined SDECE commandant who used her press card as a cover. Providers of such tips are called indicators. As of this writing the "Amis d'Alain" are still under investigation and the probes are remaining mum.

CONCLUSIONS ARE OBVIOUS: 1) By printing secret papers of national defense Canard Enchaîné justified the DST order to plant microphones. The DST chief was doing his duty. Why then was it the Minister of the Interior who fell? Were the "workmen" who did the planting loyal to the DST or the Amis d'Alain? If the latter was the case, is the secret organization so powerful no justice agency dares prosecute Angéli and his team or defend those investigating them? The Canard Enchaîné scandal and its resultant attack on the DST and SDECE coincided with and resembled in too many ways what was going on in America for those investigating it in depth not to take a look across the Atlantic.

INVESTIGATORS OF FRENCH LEAKS LOOKED WESTWARD. Were there any lines between the secret society in France and those using Watergate to destroy the American system through the man who prosecuted Alger Hiss? Had I.O. perfected a new system for retrieving lost elections in the West? The Watergate entry was on June 17, 1972. There was bungling, and the failure of the lookout to warn the team. Two days later Washington society turned out for a première, the French learned. Cynthia Helms, wife of the head of CIA, found herself sitting next to Carl Rowan. Why Carl Rowan, the man who as Kennedy's Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in 1962, served the public's right-to-know by heading the drive to expel Moise Tshombe's information agent from the country? The first thing impressed on wives of Intelligence chiefs is the important of not talking. Why then did Cynthia Helms say to Rowan - of all people! - "Would you believe it! They woke my husband at three in the morning to tell him about a ridiculous burglary!" It was as though an American counterpart of "Amis d'Alain" wanted to shake the country. Rowan was smart enough to know that the head of CIA would not be awakened for a simple burglary, and he was the perfect foil to make use of it. A French Intelligence specialist observed that the scandal was not exploited at once but held in reserve, to be brought out at a predetermined moment for a particular operation.

ELLSBERG'S THEFT OF SECRET PAPERS WAS MADE PART OF THE WATERGATE SCANDAL. French files showed that Ellsberg gave copies of the Pentagon Papers to the Russian Embassy in Washington eight days before he gave them to the New York Times. Leftist editors approved of the theft and publication of secret government papers, but held that examination of Ellsberg's psychiatric records was a crime. The media screamed that the raid on the psychiatrist's office was to "smear" Ellsberg. Those who had the most to fear from exposure of Ellsberg's psychiatric files were the men who cleared him for the Pentagon, sent him on Vietnam missions and took him into Rand Corporation.

The case against Ellsberg was dropped but the prosecution of those who tried to get his psychiatric files continued. Secret French reports said charges were dropped against Ellsberg because, had they continued, his relations with the Soviet embassy would have been brought up. It could not be admitted that Ellsberg's telephone conversations with the Russian embassy had been tapped, because Brezhnev was about to visit Washington. Ellsberg's long-haired comrade, Morton Halperin was taken into the National Security Council by Henry Kissinger, against the advice of the FBI. Leaks followed. A shock wave went through French anti-subversion offices when it was learned that Ellsberg had given a particularly sensitive volume from the Pentagon Papers to a Vietnamese named Vu van Thai, between Aug. 29, 1969 and May 20, 1970. Vu van Thai was brought from Dakar, where he was working as a UN consultant, to be questioned at Ellsberg's trial. A Washington Post dispatch dated Apr. 5, 1973, stated that Vu van Thai had left town without giving a word of testimony. Why didn't the prosecution subpoena Vu van Thai?

VU VAN THAI had been a Ho chi Minh advisor when Ho was living with Kissinger's friend, Raymond Aubrac, in France in 1946. Thai and Tran le Quang, president of the Association of Vietnamese Students, mobilized students against the French war effort. Returning to Vietnam, they worked for Ho until the accord of 1954. Both infiltrated the new government in Saigon. Thai became administrator of American aid, appropriated funds for a communist printing press in Paris and provided money for a cell of red workers built up by Tran le Quang, Minister of Public Works. On May 11, 1947, Thai and Quang dined with CFR bigwigs at the home of John D. Rockefeller III. Three years later Thai was Harvard's authority on Vietnam, in the world of Daniel Ellsberg. The similarity between the Ellsberg-Thai role in the Pentagon Papers scandal and the role of friends of Thai and Quang and a French equivalent of Ellsberg in a secret papers leak which shook France as far back as 1949 should have jolted even the New York Times and the Washington Post.

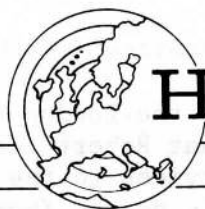
PEYRE - FRANCE'S ELLSBERG. On June 22, 1949, outlines of a top-secret plan for the war in Indo-China appeared in a sensational news-sheet in Paris. A search for the traitor began. On Aug. 27 the entire plan was broadcast by Ho chi Minh's Voice of Vietnam. On Sept. 17 a man named Perrez, by pre-arrangement started a quarrel in the back of a Paris bus with a Vietnamese named Do Dai, who had succeeded Thai's friend Quang as president of the Vietnamese student association. Police found a copy of the top-secret military report and an address book in Do Dai's briefcase. The trail led to a secret representative of Ho chi Minh who had fled, and from him to a friend of Vu van Thai named Huang van Co. 33 mimeographed copies of the ponderous secret report, complete with annexes and notes, were found in Huang van Co's apartment. Co said he got a copy from a man named Roger Peyré and reproduced 40-some others. The parallel with the Ellsberg affair is striking. Peyré was a leftist who had infiltrated the French General Staff and government. During the war he worked with the Gestapo. Arrested by the French in 1944 he saved himself by giving the names of those who had served as German informers with him. Four years later a former communist labor leader who had switched to "Force Ouvrière," the union set up by Walter Reuther's "roving ambassadors," was behind him, and Peyré received the Legion of Honor. Peyré and the Vietnamese arrested with him were never brought to trial. The case, like Ellsberg's, was mysteriously dropped and all concerned were released from prison on Sept. 23, 1949. The French government was toppled by the scandal on Oct. 6. The head of the DST and the chief of staff of the army was purged and the Prime Minister who was to lose the war took over. Morale in the army, government and intelligence services was shaken. Peyré and his Vietnamese friend had done their job.

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LEAKY WASHINGTON AND TERRORISTS

Last month this report told the story of a secret organization made up of persons high in government, banking, industry, law courts and police organizations in France, who systematically leak damaging information to leftists of the press. Publication of such leaks for the purpose of inciting the masses against the system is called "intoxication." It also encourages a new type of guerrilla warfare which no longer strikes from mountains and forests but which has moved to the streets of cities. We pointed out that the some sixty faceless persons in France leaking information to newspapers which advance the interests of a foreign power were part of a picture which is international.

A SUDDEN REVELATION FROM WASHINGTON. On April 8, 1974, the London Daily Telegraph gave Europeans in the street their first report on a book about to be published by Washington Post employees Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward. In this book the two young men boast of how a woman in the office of the former Commerce Secretary and Finance Chairman of the Committee to Re-elect the President told them where to go for information to use in their day after day attacks against the White House and beyond it the system. The smart arrogance of the Washington Post reporters was flaunted in the account of how their "vital leak," high in the Executive Branch of the government, passed the most secret information to them in an underground garage, in the small hours of the morning, and was known by a code name, "Deep Throat."

Until Bernstein and Woodward gloated over their personal "man on the inside," intelligence services on the other side of the Atlantic had tacitly blamed Morton Halperin, the long-haired friend of Ellsberg whom Kissinger had taken into the National Security Council against the advice of the FBI, for the fact that the President's inner circle leaked like a sieve. Word for word reports on meetings of the National Security Council, details on ultra-secret flights by EC-121 electronic-equipped planes over Red China, secret reports on SALT negotiations with Russia and what America would concede in the peace negotiations with Hanoi had been reaching America's enemies since the team was put together.

With Bernstein and Woodward boasting of "Deep Throat's" existence and how he had tricked those who trusted him, with the added arrogant assumption that nothing could be done about exposing or ousting the traitor because of the left's conception of "freedom of the press," the picture changed. The attempted burglary at the Watergate or any other measures an infiltrated government might take to defend itself were justified, for secrets which reach anti-government papers reach America's enemies.

That America had a counterpart of "Friends of Alain," the secret group of information leakers to subversive journalists in France, was obvious. (See H. du B. Report, March 1974) The question was, how would the Senate Committee react? The answer was not long in coming. On April 19 the TIMES of London carried a story on Senator Sam Ervin's indignation that military intelligence agents had infiltrated as many as nine civilian organizations in attempt to track down leaks to the press. The vehemence with which people like "Deep Throat" were protected rather than condemned by the Chairman of the

Senate Watergate Committee showed the depth of America's sickness.

MILITARY LEAKS. Five days earlier, on April 14, the London Daily Telegraph devoted over a page to John Barron's story on how Sergeant Robert Lee Johnson, "out of a petty grievance with army life," offered his services to the Russians while stationed in West Berlin. Johnson's crime differed only in degree from that of "Deep Throat" and the secretary who provided Bernstein and Woodward with their tip-offs.

In the end Sergeant Johnson cracked the greatest repository of top American and NATO secrets in France for the KGB. It could not have happened had security investigators been permitted to do their jobs. If betrayal by those working within government is international, so is the guerrilla movement which such intoxication and leftist penetration of government fosters. Let us turn to the West Coast of the United States.

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS. An AP report from Washington dated April 2, 1974 quoted Attorney General William Saxbe as saying that it was not coincidental that the Symbionese Liberation Army kidnapers of Patricia Hearst had followed to the letter textbooks used by other terrorist organizations. He was saying that the urban terrorist movement is international but AP, solicitous of the Left, injected a skeptical note. This necessitates some hard facts on the worldwide movement the American media are playing down.

Raul Estremera's book, "Organizing Urban Guerrilla Units," which Black Panther leaders in Algiers passed to their followers at home, is the only one mentioned by the AP story of April 2. Two others are used by the "Red Army" terrorists in Japan. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and other Arab movements supported by Libya and Algeria, The People's Liberation Army in Turkey, Italy's "Red Brigade," West Germany's "Red Army Faction" and the Irish Republican Army, to name a few. These are "The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla," by Carlos Marighella, the Brazilian guerrilla killed in Sao Paulo in November 1969, and "Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America," by Regis Debray, the Frenchman who was Che Guevara's comrade in Bolivia. Marighella's Minimanual was found in the apartment where SLA leaders had been living with Nancy Ling Perry, one of their women "generals."

REGIS DEBRAY. With the Patricia Hearst case at its height, the Paris International Herald Tribune of February 8 carried a Reuters News Agency report that Debray was trying to get into America and had been denied a visa. A month later, on March 9, the same paper carried a C. L. Sulzberger plea for Debray, headed "The Ghost of McCarthyism." At the time of Debray's imprisonment in 1967 Sulzberger wrote a column urging Bolivia to "let the hippie go." New York Times stories by Sulzberger and others, eulogizing Debray, followed. In his column of February 8, 1974, Sulzberger called the visa people in State Department "ninnies" for "stupidly" wanting to keep Debray out. All he wanted to do, wrote Sulzberger, was to see his Venezuelan wife, who is studying at Berkeley, and have a talk with his publisher, Random House, about his book on revolution.

The London Observer of April 7, 1974, quoted Stokely Carmichael's appeal "to make the United States into a Vietnam" and said that George Jackson's "passionate books" calling on his followers to "let the voice of our guns express the words of freedom" is a key to "this strange and bitter story," meaning the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. Why do publishers print and distribute such books, if terrorism is not their objective? And was it a coincidence that Debray's wife was "studying" at Berkeley? A syndicated French report of April 20 stated that Steven Weed, Patricia's hippie-looking fiancé, "has made a discreet trip to Mexico to have a talk with Regis Debray." Debray, the French report declared, "suggested that Patricia prove the sincerity of her conversion in order to preserve the purity of the new name, Tania, which she has adopted." Tania was the nom de guerre of Tamara Bunke, the German girl friend of Che Guevara who was

killed with Che in Bolivia.

THE BAADER-MEINHOF GANG. Patricia Hearst's taking the name of Guevara's German girl friend brings up the matter of the German "Red Army Faction," better known as the Baader-Meinhof gang, after Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof. The 37-year-old Ulrike was the theorist and tactician if not the actual leader of the group. After Baader's arrest in 1968 Ulrike led the gun battle which freed him. Baader fled to Paris. Regis Debray was serving a 30-year sentence in Bolivia at the time but members of the international ring kept the rent paid up on his apartment at 4 Avenue de la Porte Briançon. It was here that Debray's terrorist associates hid Baader from the West German police.

Like the SLA in California, the German gang in which Ulrike Meinhof, Monica Berberich, Margrit Schiller and Gudrun Ensslin robbed, killed and dynamited alongside males, was kept small. German police estimated that 30 to 40 tough activists made up the hard core, aided by a hundred or so sympathizers ready to provide shelter. Like Steven Weed and Patricia, Ulrike entered the war against society through re-directed movements against the war in Vietnam and "bourgeois imperialism." While the group was bombing and robbing, the usual run of do-gooder journalists put the blame on society or "the system." When the principal leaders were captured Amnesty International took up their cases, terming them "political prisoners." Captured with Ulrike in mid-June 1972 was her homosexual bodyguard, Gerhart Mueller. All these are details worth bearing in mind.

RUTHLESS WOMEN IN CRIME. On August 23, 1972, Peter Hamilton, the British security expert, told a group of detectives at a meeting of the International Investigation Council, in Brighton: "From a security man's point of view, no longer can one assume that women are the gentle sex - they are more ruthless than their male counterparts.... They are not the camp followers of criminals; they have emerged as operators, planners and commanders.... Women are principal leaders of guerrilla organizations in Britain, Germany and America. They are among the strongest and most daring of the IRA. They are becoming the storm-troopers of crime." Mr. Hamilton warned: "Magistrates must recognize the change and reflect it in the sentences they impose on women criminals." What he did not take into consideration was that the biased media ceaselessly contribute to the guilt complex of the West. In the courts themselves a new breed of lawyers, determined not to assure justice but to thwart it, have taken over. The result is anarchy.

THE UNIVERSITY AS A PRODUCTION LINE FOR CRIMINALS. Mr. John Heath, President of the Professional Association of Teachers in Britain, states that declining standards of discipline have conditioned students for anarchy. "Magistrates say from time to time that lack of discipline is the fault of teachers," he added, "but no one body of people can be blamed except parents."

THE CONVERSION OF PATRICIA HEARST. Mrs. Catherine Hearst is Governor Reagan's representative on the board ruling the nine campuses of the vast University of California. What kind of a woman, knowing what Mrs. Hearst must have known, would send her daughter to Berkeley? Or fail to see whether her 17-year-old daughter was tutored in 1971 by a serious professor or an anti-war-in-Vietnam-movement hippie?

One of the most amazing highlights of the whole affair came in mid-February in a story carried around the world. "Onlookers wept as Mrs. Hearst broadcast a message to her daughter," reported the London Daily Telegraph of February 15. "Trying to restrain her sobs, she whispered, 'I know these people have good ideals, but they are just going about them in the wrong way. They shouldn't make you suffer for what we did.'" What does she mean - "good ideals!" That bunch has no more ideals than the Baader-Meinhof gang to which it is related, or the Japanese murderers at Lod Airport under the command of 25-year-old Fusako Shigenobu, who planned and helped organize every

major revolutionary act of the Japanese "Red Army." And what a stupid remark, "They shouldn't make you suffer for what we did." What did the Hearsts do, aside from working - and remaining in the clouds while the California director of prisons let revolutionaries, most of them white and some of them women, set up classes in weaponry and guerrilla warfare in state prisons, under a "Black Cultural Association" front?

To revolutionaries Mrs. Hearst's admission of guilt justified every murder, bank robbery and kidnapping terrorists have committed or plan to commit around the world. Mother and daughter provide the perfect example of the state described by the French writer, David Rousset, in "The Meaning of Our Combat:" "The Chinese Stalinists 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 an authentic feeling of culpability can break his moral and intellectual resistance and produce a mentally empty being, politically submissive."

Mr. Hearst shows up only a little better. The principal newspapers of the west told how Patricia had criticized her father's San Francisco Examiner, and told him it was irrelevant, so old-fashioned no one under eighty reads it any more. "Mr. Randolph Hearst has confessed that he took this criticism to heart and made some changes," added the London Daily Telegraph of February 23. The same words appeared in other papers. What kind of man changes the policy of a newspaper on the whim of a foolish teenager radicalized on the most vicious campus in America and twisted around the thumb of a 26-year-old anti-war movement activist? What a shock to Hearst readers to find that the man they had looked to for information was putty in the hands of a spoiled brat who left home at 17 to live with a young man who had roomed with leftists and a Black Muslim agitator in Princeton before seducing the wealthy pupil he was hired to tutor.

While Patricia lived with her revolutionary on a campus so poisonous its denizens proclaimed their love for her on a poster after she became a gun moll with a pack of weirdos, it is incredible that her father remained so hoodwinked he could say, "Sixty days ago she was a lovely child. And now...." He continued, "We've had her twenty years, and they have had her sixty days. I don't believe she is going to change her philosophy that quickly or that permanently."

THE ROLE OF STEVEN WEED. Analyzing Patricia's tape-recorded message of mid-March, the activist fiancé said, "She's reading something. The rhetoric isn't hers. But a good part of it is what she sincerely feels. From her point of view it may look like we made a mess." Certainly it was what she felt because such was the viewpoint he had planted.

All he knew about Vietnam was the revolutionary campus jargon acquired while stirring up anti-war demonstrations at Princeton with his Students for a Democratic Society. Had he and his ilk declared, "We refuse to fight in a no-win war. You are only asking us to prolong the conflict. We will accept the draft and go to Vietnam if you will send us to win the war, and quickly," he could have retained his self-respect. But that was not what the anti-war movement was for. Its object was American defeat and a Hanoi victory. It was meant to destroy the morale of the American army and to spread confusion in America.

Since the anti-war movement was primarily an anti-American drive and a stab in the back to the men doing the fighting, those who went in for it had to believe that America and the "system" were wrong, if they were not to admit that they themselves were rats. Dr. Gustave Morf, the Canadian psychiatrist, touched on this in his writings on "the bloody childishness" of those who graduated from the anti-war ranks to rebellion against the system. He wrote, "Their political complaints are but a pretext to satisfy the romantic criminal tendencies of the ever-increasing numbers of these

perpetual adolescents who refuse to grow up and prefer to remain eternal students. The most dangerous members of society today are these a they approach 30 or 40, still conserving the immaturity, the rebellion and the irresponsibility of the adolescent while disposing of the power of adults."

A better picture of the math tutor the Hearsts permitted to "teach" their 17-year-old daughter and the society he took her into in Berkeley would be hard to find.

THE ARMY FOR WHICH WEED AND BERKELEY PREPARED PATRICIA. The most succinct picture of the Symbionese Liberation Army to date appeared in the London Daily Telegraph of April 27: A "motley group of black fugitive convicts and white lesbian women, plus a few young white men who came home from Vietnam 'freaked out' on what they had seen or shot in their arms." An idea of the SLA's recruit potential and the climate created for it by a laissez-faire society is caught in a single paragraph: "In the midst of the largest police operation in the city's history, stealthy hands during the night plaster up 'We love you, Tania' posters showing Miss Hearst brandishing a carbine in front of the seven-headed cobra flag of the Symbionese."

There are weak points in the quarter-page story in the Telegraph on how "the black man, 'Cinque', and his small seraglio of Symbionese women" transformed Patty, the bride-to-be, into "Tania, the foul mouthed bank-robber." To the Telegraph's man in San Francisco "the astonishing laxity in the California prison system" was only partly responsible, and he refused to admit that the communist-inspired anti-war movements of the sixties were prep schools for a more violent phase. He regretted the collapse of the anti-war riots, on grounds that it led to the creation of groups like the SLA to replace them. Drive! Revolution starts with excesses which the public tolerates because professors and the media make them look respectable. The next step is terrorism against which the public is helpless because leftist pressure has immobilized the authorities.

The inexcusable role of prison officials in helping "Cinque" realize the ideal condition for guerrilla warfare as laid down by Mao - a situation in which the guerrilla lives among the people like a fish in water - was duly described by the London Daily in its report on the prison director who let "almost 100 outsiders" come in weekly, carrying pot for convicts they were tutoring in terrorism and revolution. "Many of the outside group were young, white radical women, all from comfortable backgrounds and university educations, who had taken up penal reform as their crusade. When their black pupils escaped or were paroled from jail, they sought out their erstwhile tutors in the drug-and-commune world of Berkeley, across the bay from San Francisco, and took up the activist conspiracies they had discussed behind bars."

The same Daily Telegraph, in its issue of April 22, told European readers that, had California prison authorities made any investigation at all, they would have found that the address of most of those conducting their "Black Cultural Association" classes was a commune on Berkeley campus known as "Peking House." Why didn't Mr. Hearst's paper report these things at the time the harm was being done?

THE WORST PIECE OF WRITING ON THE PATRICIA HEARST AFFAIR was probably the Newsweek saga of April 29, which included Shana Alexander's gooey page on an SLA which has at its core "the mutual 'tention-attraction between educated young women with class and sexual guilts still to be shed." Shana commiserated with her still-unliberated sisters who, "Enraged at the world, awash in free-floating empathy for the down-trodden, step out the door every morning with an empty leash, looking for underdogs." Shana says she once carried such a leash, and opined that when the SLA story dies "the illusion will die, too, and some small parts of ourselves as well." (!) Newsweek told its readers, "The FBI was not able to penetrate the gang, nor to develop informers within its ranks. But by using agents posing as postmen, garbage collectors, delivery men and the like, the FBI is understood to have infiltrated the SLA's neighborhood -- and

to have come up with valuable new leads." Read: SLA, look out for postmen. They and garbage collectors and delivery men are informers. It could be a death sentence when you consider "Field Marshal Cinque's" order that "all corporate enemies of the people will be shot on sight, at any time and at any place."

Patricia in a tape-recorded message in February got the gang weeks of immunity by demanding that her father "make sure that these people (the FBI) can't jeopardize my life by charging in and doing stupid things." She added, "I'm not being tried for crimes I'm not responsible for. I'm here because I'm a member of a ruling class family." What kind of a ruling class would let Berkeley campus operate as it has? Criminals are calling the tune today. When Mr. Hearst went to Vacaville prison to ask the help of a convict Newsweek said, "It was as though he were meeting a monarch." In preparing the public for the line the left's bleeding hearts will hawk when the drama ends the word apolitical, applied to Patricia, was worked to death. The girl who screamed at her father that she knew how much money he had was described as "impatiant with causes and cant." To Newsweek, "Until her abduction she seemed an almost ordinary child of the 70's - an open, easy-going California girl." Granted, to some a 17-year-old who leaves home to live with a shaggy friend of Hanoi in Berkeley is the California norm, but "apolitical," no. One statement which was worth a page Newsweek did not go into.

THE FBI WAS NOT UP TO ITS OLD STANDARDS, Newsweek readers were told, but this was because the agency's image had been "shaken by the long decline of J. Edgar Hoover and the Watergate disgrace of his successor, L. Patrick Gray, III." Consequently the FBI was "struggling to regain its one-time prestige and present a new and open face to the public" when the SLA started operating. The agency was "overcompensating for Hoover's relentless concentration on the Communist Party, so that the new line was: 'We are only interested in individuals; we don't go after groups'," Newsweek declared. Until criminals had killed a school chief and extorted over two million dollars from a newspaper magnate the FBI could not investigate the group of which they were a part, for the simple reason that the entire leftist media had worked to make the FBI impotent.

On February 28, 1972, the New York Times incited leftists with a complaint about "widespread surveillance by the FBI of student, negro and peace groups." On May 20, 1973, Seymour Hersh denounced FBI agents in the Weathermen as "agents provocateurs."

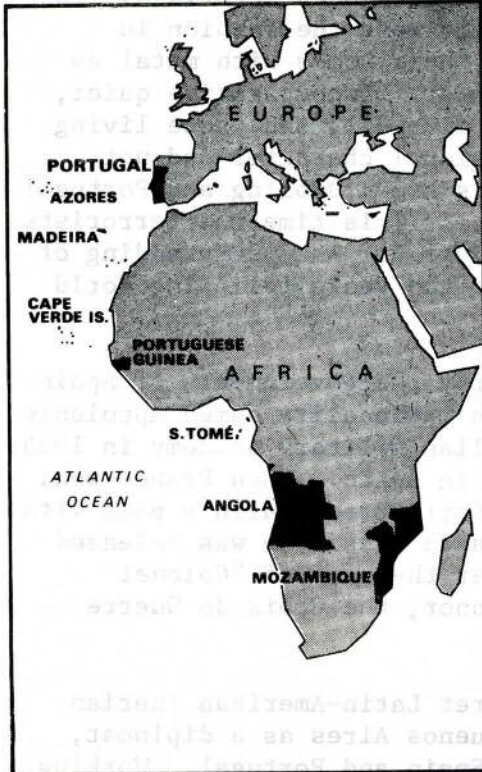
A month later a New York Times dispatch of June 24, 1973, from San Diego helped the anti-FBI campaign by charging that a rightist organization which "harassed young leftists" had been partly organized and financed by an FBI informant. Newsweek of June 25, 1973, drew up what it called "a brief black history of the bureau" and its "unsavory assignments." A New York Times report of April 1, 1974, at the height of the Hearst affair, had the head of the FBI running up to Harvard "to alter the FBI's image, particularly among its 'natural enemies,' like college students and professors." In sum, the sort of people who, with like-thinking editors, gained the SLA time to hatch.

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Portugal: THE DISASTER

Before dawn on April 25, 1974, military columns were moving toward Lisbon. By 4:20 A.M. rebel units had occupied Lisbon Airport, Radio Clube Portugal and Portuguese Television. Another column surrounded army headquarters and the "Movement of the Armed Forces" broadcast its first orders warning the police, the Republican National Guard, the Portuguese Legion and the Fiscal Guard not to move.

By 1:30 P.M. it was all over. General Antonio de Spínola introduced the new junta over Portuguese Television and excited mobs poured through Lisbon's streets.

Mario Soares, the socialist leader, began packing his luggage in the Paris flat where he had been living since 1970. But he was not going directly home. His first stop would be London, for talks with Harold Wilson's Labor Party and the Socialist International.

While the world spotlight was on the monocled general who was to be Portugal's Kerensky, and the socialist exile from Paris who had worked for years to clear the way for Portugal's Lenin, Alvar Cunhal, the veteran communist who had spent twelve years in Moscow and Prague was preparing to come home and gather the fruits. Delegates from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels converged on Lisbon, headed by their own revolution-sower through labor action, Irving Brown.

In Mozambique long-haired students threw caution to the winds and gave the clenched fist salute. In Madeira banners decrying capitalism and eulogizing Che Guevara were paraded outside San Lourenço Palace, where ex-President Tomaz and ex-Premier Caetano were in custody.

Under a May 6 dateline the New York Times expressed surprise that "the Communist Party has emerged from underground, from prison and from exile to become the strongest and best organized political force in the new Portugal." The London Daily Telegraph of May 17 declared that by Portugal's swift coalescence into trade unions and political parties of every hue "civic responsibility has been shown that more mature Western democracies could well envy.....No mean accomplishment this, for a country deprived of political training, short of cadres and obsessed with colonial problems and the wars it finally realized were unwinnable." What did the Daily Telegraph mean: "deprived of political training, short of cadres!" For years the world's toughest revolutionaries had been burrowing at Portugal's underpinnings with western labor leaders, intelligence services, editors and organizations racing to see who could provide money, agitation and trained cadres the fastest to topple the government in Lisbon and throw Portugal's African provinces open for a blood bath. As for wars the country "finally realized were unwinnable," last January four hundred captains resigned in Mozambique because

the government was not supporting their efforts to win the war and they were not going to take the blame for losing it.

After the high-sounding speeches about democracy came the inevitable: Monuments along the Avenida de Liberdade were daubed with hammers and sickles and leftist slogans. The officers in power did nothing so the next slogans said "Send the Junta to Brazil." Students began sacking their teachers. In businesses and factories managers were suspended by workers. Mobs with a single face and it of hatred paraded through the streets. Lenin was moving up on Kerensky and no one should have been surprised. In the days before Dr. Salazar came to power, steel-lined walls were the fashion in Portugal. Those who could afford it lined the fronts of their homes with metal as protection against bomb-throwers. After almost half a century of comparative quiet, Portugal's bomb-throwers came out of the shadows again in mid-1971, and those living in the old houses with steel fronts reflected that the national character had not changed, it had only been kept in hand. Now the restraints are crumbling and Portugal is back where she was before Salazar, but with a difference: This time the terrorists are international and the world appears to be on their side. For an understanding of how steel walls became the mode again, one must go back to the years following World War II.

"COLONEL EDMOND." There were many agents at work to destroy the governments of Spain and Portugal. One of them was a Portuguese with Brazilian nationality named Appolonio de Carvalho, who had helped lead an uprising in the Brazilian military academy in 1935. Two years later he turned up in the International Brigade in Spain. When Franco won, he fled into France and helped sabotage the French war effort after Stalin's pact with Hitler. The French threw him in prison. When Hitler invaded Russia he was released and commanded a unit of foreign reds in the Resistance under the name of "Colonel Edmond." Red recommendations brought him the Legion of Honor, the Croix de Guerre and the Resistance medal.

In 1947 he disappeared, to surface in Mexico with the secret Latin-American Iberian office of the Kominform. Colonel Furmanov, assigned to Buenos Aires as a diplomat, headed the South American bureau plotting revolutions in Spain and Portugal. Working with him were Mikhail Pavlenko, Russian, Luka Bellemarie, Rumanian, Colonel Alberto Bayo, who later trained Castro's guerrillas, Garcia, the former head of the secret police in Madrid, and Paolo Moraes, the Portuguese.

In 1949 the American campaign against Spain was at its peak. Le Xuan, the Vietnamese red whom Robert Knapp (now at Wesleyan University in Connecticut) had hired in 1945 for OSS and passed on to CIA, was in Madrid under newspaper correspondent cover. He was in touch with French and Vietnamese reds working to sabotage France's war efforts in Indo-China, and revolutionaries from the Iberian Peninsula. De Carvalho, as the most cunning and experienced agent in the Mexico City bureau, was sent on a top secret mission to Lisbon in February 1949 followed by Paolo Moraes, to take over the Iberian Peninsula apparatus of the Kominform.

Orders were to reorganize the lines between Spain, Portugal, Latin America and the communists in exile in France. Moraes traveled via Marseille on a Luxembourg passport which concealed the fact that he was a captain in the Soviet Army and that from 1945 to 1947 he had been top supervisor of the red leaders heading Iberian networks. With him were Enricos Lister, known as General Listytsin in the NKVD, Lazarus Fake, the Hungarian known as "Kleber," and a military specialist whose code name was "Cordon." Handling American intelligence in Paris at the time as head of the Research and Analysis branch of State Department Intelligence was Jay Lovestone, former Secretary-General of the Communist Party USA. (When red-directed revolts had "liberated" French, British and Belgian colonies in Africa, Lovestone left his job as AFL-CIO mobilizer of Black African votes in UN to become head of the Foreign Affairs Section of the AFL-CIO.)

THE GROUNDWORK FOR REVOLUTION. Russian planners were smart. Portugal's pro-allied stand during the war was undisputed, so Portuguese subversion was conducted as part of the campaign against Spain. De Carvalho and Moraes met their lieutenants regularly in Porto, under the protection of Portuguese dockers. Communications with Spanish networks were through the frontier village of Real de San Antonio. Sometime in 1950-51 Moscow learned that Spanish and Portuguese secret police were tailing de Carvalho and Moraes, and pulled them out. De Carvalho was sent to Brazil. Lister, alias Listytsin, popped up in Colombia. In 1961, the year U. S. Consul William Gibson had his car thrown in the river in Angola for inciting the natives, Lister was with Raoul Castro, handling military matériel furnished by Moscow and Prague. Britain's Labor Government got into the act on March 29, 1961, by setting up a London "Committee for Liberty in Portugal and the Portuguese Colonies," under Sir Leslie Palmer.

1967 found de Carvalho among the leaders of the Brazilian Revolutionary Communist Party cooperating with Carlos Marighela, whose "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" has become the handbook of revolutionary terrorists around the world, including the Symbionese Liberation Army of California. On January 17, 1970, de Carvalho was arrested by the Brazilians. On June 16 he was permitted to fly to Algiers with forty-three other terrorists liberated in exchange for Ambassador von Holleben of West Germany, whom his comrades had kidnapped. In Algiers, under the sponsorship of Algerians who had been educated in the U.S. at CIA expense, de Carvalho set up his new office for revolution.

THE DE CARVALHO BUREAU IN ALGIERS included José Sargas, of "The Spanish Front for National Liberation," and de Carvalho's staff from Lisbon. An Arab named Hadj Ali was in charge of Palestinian and Arab co-operation with terrorists in Spain, Portugal and Latin America. Over 2,900,000 Arabs, North Africans and Palestinians worked by Hadj Ali's inflammatory propaganda were in Latin America, and with the islamization of Black Africa his potential for trouble increased daily. What is incredible is that America, officially and unofficially, supported the aims of people such as these, duping the public as they did so into thinking they were working for democracy.

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS organized unions in industry-less Africa to spearhead revolutions. On February 14, 1960, the executive council of the AFL-CIO proclaimed: "For years American workers have insisted that their government, its democratic allies and all other forces dedicated to liberty devote their efforts and their resources to helping the people of Africa win their independence."

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, which dictates and implements American policies, was determined to hasten the bloodbath in Africa. CFR member Lawrence C. McQuade accompanied Irving Brown, labor's traveling spreader of revolts, to Ghana in December 1959 and told the cruelest people on earth, "Unite! You have a continent to gain and nothing to lose but your chains!" How many hundreds of thousands were murdered by native tyrants in the years that followed was no concern of Mr. McQuade. Millions of dollars were wrung out of American workmen or provided by CIA to be handed over to African revolutionaries by Irving Brown. He was communism's angel. Victor Riesel wrote of him on November 1, 1962, in a column headed "Labor's Often Lonely Fight," "Irving Brown is one of the few Americans trusted by the Algerians - and virtually every other African land's - anti-communists.....It is Brown whom all Europe considers the free Algerians' closest Western friend." The truth was, Brown was Russia's ground-clearer. Less than a month later Algeria offered 200,000 men for the holy war against Israel, and communism's Algerian base for world terrorism was in the making. The moment it became clear that Algeria was "in the bag," those who had used UN, labor unions, student organizations and CIA fronts with high-sounding names to give the Algerian terrorists victory turned their attention to Portugal's overseas provinces.

As far back as June 1955, six months after the outbreak of the Algerian revolt, a special bulletin of the American Federation of Labor, produced for distribution among French labor unions, carried a vicious article by Lieut.-Col. Robert Esmet Rhodes, formerly head of the North African section of OSS, calling on French workmen to sabotage their country's war effort. "The free nations must intervene in North Africa," he wrote. "French colonial despotism threatens the western alliance in North Africa as it did in Indo-China."

There was no despotism and, had outside trouble-makers not incited them, a young generation of educated Algerians would have moved into industry and government and a Canada-Britain type relationship would have resulted: But violent revolution, not transition, was what those preaching treason wanted. Rhodes claimed to be knifing France for the sake of the western alliance. It was the splitting of NATO which he was really preparing.

PRESIDENT SALAZAR'S REPORT TO GENERALISSIMO FRANCO. On June 20, 1960, Generalissimo Franco met President Salazar at Parador de Merida to discuss the Iberian Peninsula's relationship with NATO, and American-directed subversion in Africa. Salazar reported that the AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA had sent Frank Montero and William Scheiman to Angola in March 1960 to contact subversives and propose an Algeria-type revolt. Powerful people loaned their names to the American Committee on Africa - Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Jackie Robinson, the Episcopal Bishop of California, John Gunther, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., to name a few. Adlai Stevenson, the enemy of patriotism and friend of all leftist causes, was for it. A "Union of the Angola People" organization was set up in Leopoldville to form leaders for an underground movement. By September it was publishing a paper, VOICE OF THE ANGOLA NATION, in four languages, and planning a radio station to be financed by N'Krumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea, tyrants whose methods of killing suspected opponents fazed Irving Brown and his ilk not at all.

On October 3, 1960, Portuguese Foreign Minister Marcello Mathias went to Paris and again discussed subversion and the Montero-Scheiman visit. He produced a detailed report on State Department trouble-makers who had contacted underground cells in Spain to estimate the chances of Franco's being toppled.

TERRORISM ERUPTS. Shortly after 7 A.M. on March 15, 1961, in Quitexe, Angola, a colored employee in a store pushed his employer toward a rear door, exclaiming, "Go quickly; they have come to kill you!" The massacre had been carefully planned. What appeared to be a morning crowd of shoppers suddenly became a screaming mob, cutting throats and slitting the stomachs of women, children and men. In neighboring villages the scene was repeated. The Bailandu tribe signed its own death sentence by trying to alert settlements. Crying babies betrayed the women and children hidden in Madimba. Savages drugged and aroused to a frenzy by sorcerers wiped out the village of Navola. Behind the primitive brutality was expert direction. Congo-trained forces armed with automatic weapons left a 300 mile path of bodies and desolation through a country where racial discrimination was non-existent. The first objective had been attained: Hatred between blacks and whites. There was no UN outcry about the massacre of innocent women and children.

SUPPORT FOR THE TERRORISTS. From March 3 to 17, 1961, the Executive Committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) met in Brussels under Belgian transports leader, Omer Becu - the man who told the Mexicans on April 15, 1962, that the ICFTU "serves no particular ideology or military bloc!" At the Brussels meeting an AFL-CIO action formula was approved: "In some cases it is possible and even preferable that affiliated unions pursue their activities independently in the international field, on condition that the ICFTU be fully consulted." Read: Individual unions will act for the AFL-CIO in supporting African revolts against Portugal, but the ICFTU and AFL-CIO are not to be mentioned.

That agreed upon, the AFL-CIO advanced \$3,250,000 for "international activity for the second trimester of 1961 and \$220,000 to clear up the preceding trimester's backlog." Union dues, or CIA money? Or both? Next, an additional "contribution" of three cents per month was agreed upon for each AFL-CIO member for the next six to nine months, with the understanding that the total "contribution" extracted should not exceed eighteen cents per person and that said money should be used for the formation of a "Union of Angola Workers" in mid-May. Almost a million dollars a month for subversion in Black Africa from which only the West's enemies would profit! Three months later, on May 29, 1961, in Forest Park, Pennsylvania, G. Mennen ("Soapy") Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs told a group of anti-white African delegates that if ever our NATO alliance's interests were to conflict with theirs, American loyalty would be to the Africans.

THE ANTI-PORTUGAL DRIVE GAINS MOMENTUM. Ford Foundation financed a MOZAMBIQUE INSTITUTE to extend the revolt. Edouardo Mondlane, leader of Frelimo, the Mozambique Liberation Movement, was hired as a professor at Syracuse University and began indoctrinating students. The African-American Institute opened its doors at 345 E. 46th Street, New York City, with CFR leftist Waldemar Nielsen as president. Nielsen, a veteran of State Department and the Ford Foundation, hired Brazilian "teachers" - militants formed in Appolonio de Carvalho's old cells - to train selected "students" from Angola and Mozambique. On January 6, 1962, a drive was opened for "specialists" for the Peace Corps. Associate Director William Moyers announced they would be drawn from labor and that Peace Corps strength would be doubled. On January 23 a Peace Corps official in Washington requested that the Corps be granted TOP SECRET stamps for its papers, "because the Corps conducts very delicate diplomatic negotiations."

A mob of unkempt hippies appeared in the sedate Onondaga Hotel in Syracuse, N. Y. They were Peace Corps "volunteers," there for training by Edouardo Mondlane. Where were they to be sent? To Nyasaland, on the borders of Mozambique and Rhodesia. While Mondlane turned the Peace Corps beatniks into a propaganda force for himself, the Newhouse newspaper chain and its Syracuse Post-Standard built up Mondlane. Step by step, methodically, as one would lay the foundations for a building, revolution in Portugal and her African provinces was being prepared.

Month after month news releases of the ICFTU reported transfers of funds to the "oppressed unions of Portugal and Spain" followed by appeals to workers in the 109 countries with labor movements in the ICFTU to pressure their governments into putting pressure on Lisbon and Madrid. Denmark, Sweden, UN, Russia, Red China (through a Chinese African Solidarity Committee), the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, the World Council of Churches, the Socialist International and the ICFTU poured out contributions and propaganda for revolutions against the West. Though Egypt and the Arabs were running a simultaneous drive to make all Africa Moslem, for the Holy War against Israel, the media of the western world joined the pro-Black revolution crusade.

On September 2, 1964, the Chinese freighter Heping was unloading arms in Dar-es-Salaam for Mondlane, while three Russian freighters bearing anti-aircraft guns and field artillery for guerrillas trained at Dar-es-Salaam's Colito Barracks were standing by. 20,000 terrorists fresh from secret camps in Algiers, the two Congos, Tanzania and Zambia were about to start massacring natives who wanted Portuguese rule. Methodist missionaries toured America, whipping up sympathy and collecting funds. Planes carried young Africans to Moscow, Peking, Havana and Algiers for training. Despite its formidable numbers this guerrilla movement served only for the softening up.

ALGIERS, 1964. Here coordinated action for infiltration of the Portuguese army and administration was planned. Schools, universities, officers schools and the clergy were to be points of entry. Orders were: Never express a political opinion until cell leaders give the word. The planners counted on six to ten years of prepara-

tion. Discouragement was sown in the army, not through military reverses but by constant repetition of the "war is unwinnable" theme. There is nothing to suggest that Generals Spinoza and Costa Gomez knew they were being used as way-clearers for a communist revolution, nor that Spinoza knew the extent to which the dormant communist machine in Portugal had been perfected. In September of 1970 a series of explosions in Lisbon Harbor gave notice that a new movement, the "Armed Revolutionary Action" (ARA) organization was about to repeat in Portugal the tactics reds had perfected in France during the Indo-China and Algerian wars and in America during the war in Vietnam. ARA brochures began appearing all over Portugal and Spain.

IN SEPTEMBER 1973 a group of young officers headed by Major Vitor Alves and Colonel Vitor Conçalves met with two lieutenant-commanders from the navy, and a squadron leader and captain from the airforce, in a barn near the farming town of Evora, in southern Portugal. They planned a coup for August 1974. Then came the stir caused by publication of General Spinoza's book, "Portugal and the Future." On March 14 Spinoza was dismissed from his post as army chief of staff. He contacted friends in Madrid, Brazil and Rome. Monsignor Pereira Gomez, head of the leftist Portuguese wing in the Vatican, told him on Monday, April 15, that Portugal must seek a "political solution" in Africa. Political solution could only mean military surrender. After the Vatican meeting Spinoza saw Spanish Prime Minister Arias Navarro, General Diez Alegria, and Senor Edouardo Blanco and allayed their fears. Thus the plotters were assured of Spanish neutrality.

NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns was sounded out, and though a putsch in Portugal meant the possible loss of NATO's vital Cape Verde Islands base, Luns approved. A short time before the coup, Moscow's mystery man, Victor Louis, visited Mozambique, where he had contacts with Frelimo agents and young officers in the army. On Tuesday, March 23, Spinoza and his friends used the Brazilian embassy's telex to communicate with co-conspirators outside the country. On March 25 the coup unfolded as planned and when success was assured the red machine put its own plan in motion. Twenty-four hours after the coup, Mondlane's American widow was in London, conferring with members of Harold Wilson's Foreign Office and Mario Soares, the Portuguese socialist. On May 10 she was in Moscow, using the Kremlin's secret communications systems to contact Frelimo terrorists in the field. Plans were completed for launching a Black Liberation Brigade this summer in which American Blacks will join Africans in touching off world-wide demonstrations. Leader of the Americans, it is said, will be a man named Courtland Cox.

Irving Brown saw the government's fall as his victory also. The years of agitating through labor unions for just this had paid off. The New York Times was delighted. Its story on Portugal's impending ousting from Africa, and eventually the Cape Verde Islands so important to NATO and America, was reprinted in the Paris Herald Tribune of May 27, 1974, under the heading: "Change Could Help Portugal -- Losing an Empire, Gaining Respect."

The New York Times story and this report should be reread five years from now.

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AUGUST 1945

The sound of firing kept the prisoners awake in Feng Tai camp, in Hopeh Province in North China, as July drew to a close. In the first week of August it became nearer and heavier. Men going out to the open trench used as a latrine strained their ears, trying to determine which direction the bursts were coming from and wishfully thinking Chiang Kai-shek's guerrillas might be preparing to liberate them. The truth was, they were hearing probing thrusts of the Communist 8th Route Army - the dread Pah Lu Jen - coming down from hideouts in the western hills where they were grouping for the war to come.

Wednesday, the 15th of August, 1945, started like any other day for the three hundred and fifty-some ragged men in Fen Tai who might have been in Peking if the old Empress had not regarded trains as a despised invention of the western barbarians. Determined that no sound of trains should disturb her in the Forbidden City, a mandate written on imperial yellow paper in vermilion ink and ending with the imperious command, "Tremblingly Obey," decreed that China's greatest railway junction should be twenty miles outside the city. Peking was the center of the world and Feng Tai was the center of China's railway system.

By 1945 there were thirty-seven huge warehouses with corrugated roofs, known as go-downs, in Feng Tai, and scores of railway sidings from which ammunition for the Imperial Japanese Army was unloaded for storage and loaded again for transfer. Walls and guard towers surrounded the railway center and go-down 37 was filled with prisoners held as human shields.

The air was crystal clear on August 15 as the men lined up at 7 A.M. for morning roll-call inside the electrified barbed wire which separated them from the water taps outside. In an hour heat waves would make the Purple Mountains shimmer in the distance and the men would bring their perspiration-soaked bedding out to dry and be shaken free of bedbugs.

Lieutenants Honda and Endo moved down the line. Each group captain bowed as Honda and Endo reached him, then barked "Kyotski!" (Attention!), gave the number assigned to his group, the number of men originally in the group and the number present. (A few had gone crazier than the rest and been put in an asylum.) After identifying his group each prison section leader shouted "Bango!" (count off) and the men called out, "Itchy, nay, san, yan, go," and so forth. One British group captain, a six-foot ex-sailor, had a dagger-pierced heart tattooed on his arm, topped by a scroll bearing the noble sentiment, "Death before Dishonour." Honda and Endo, both about five feet four, made him bow until he did it to suit them.

Outside the electrified barbed wires two Japanese trucks were lined up that Wednesday morning as Honda and Endo took rollcall. They were taking guards for a day's leave in Peking and as they started to move off "Goofy," a farm boy assigned to the camp infirmary because he was considered too stupid or too insignificant to fight, ran after the rear truck and with a bit of help scrambled aboard. Down the road toward the gates the trucks gathered speed, past the field where Colonel Odera, the camp commander, was giving bayonet instruction to some two hundred Japanese girls being trained to kill Americans on the beaches of the homeland and make an invasion so costly Washington would agree to a negotiated peace.

It must have been destiny that Goofy, who was always late, caught the last truck to Peking that morning. When he returned fourteen hours later the first thing he did was to seek out his American friend, an ex-marine named Hanvey. Hanvey and a Shanghai Light & Power Company electrician named Howard Roda had been "taming" Goofy for months. They were the first foreigners Goofy had ever known, and they had pointed out to him with irrefutable logic that Hollywood would be turning out war films for years to come. Consequently, there would be a great demand for actors to play the role of Japanese officers. Other Japanese would be punished, but Hanvey and Roda would testify to all the things Goofy had done for them and they would take him to America and make him a movie star.

The other guards went dejectedly to their quarters that night while Goofy looked for his managers. Not a bit disheartened by his country's defeat, he grabbed Hanvey's hand and exclaimed, "Everything fine. Japan America friends now." "Go to hell," Hanvey told him. Goofy grinned. "No," he insisted, "I hear Emperor on radio." Hanvey remembered seeing some officers come out of the colonel's quarters during the day and bow toward Tokyo. It just might be true. Thus word came to Feng Tai that the war was over, and Goofy, the only man in the camp who felt assured about his future, was just as happy as the men inside the barbed wire.

Two days later, on Friday August 17, the air-raid alarm sounded and Japanese gunners went to their posts. Prisoners were herded into go-down 37 so they could not be seen, but men posted at each end of the sliding doors gave a running account of what was happening. The go-down was tense when the first bomber appeared. Suddenly a cry went up from the lookouts. Men were tumbling out and parachutes were billowing toward the south. Huge canisters dangled from other parachutes. This was the OSS team of Operation Magpie, sent by Colonel William R. (Ray) Peers from the American base in Sian, under the command of Major Ray Nichols, of Mississippi, and Captain Carpenter, of Delaware. Their orders were to investigate the condition of prisoners in the Peking area and see whether the Japs were going to observe the cease-fire order from Tokyo. Hanson Baldwin of the New York Times deplored the use of the A-bomb when it was all over, and John Hersey, in his book "Hiroshima" helped sow a guilt complex in America, but neither made any attempt to learn the state of mind of the Japanese army and navy when the Emperor made his broadcast.

The Nichols and Carpenter team, carrying side arms, were dropped into the midst of a swaggering army that had never been defeated, and which was capable of murdering all the foreigners in China and taking to the hills to carry on the war. For half an hour the Americans were pinned down by machine-gun fire while radio transmitters sputtered between the command in Sian and the Japanese HQ in North China. Suddenly the firing stopped. Major Nichols had won the first round.

A few hours later scattered Japanese officers started getting living skeletons off their hands, dumping them onto Colonel Odera in Feng Tai before Major Nichols and his men could get wind of them. Late in the afternoon of August 17 Commander Winfield Scott Cunningham, the naval governor of Wake Island, was brought in, suffering from dysentery and too weak to walk. Two other walking scarecrows were with him. After his escape from Ward Road Jail, in Shanghai, where a German refugee, trying to curry favor, had turned him over to the Japs, Cunningham had been held in a pit. The Japs amused themselves by tossing him handfuls of rice and watching him pick it up out of the filth. After a torture period in Nanking he was shipped north to a cell where he could hear four dying Doolittle pilots scream. "One of them quit moaning three days ago," Cunningham explained, "and we are going to have to do something if we want to save the others."

Two days later Odera packed his starving charges on trucks and moved them into Peking before Major Nichols, Captain Carpenter, Major Amos Melton of Texas Christian College in Fort Worth, Dr. Jarmin, the medic, Major Joseph Jackson III, of Hewlett's Crossing, Long Island, and a Greek major named Kellis could see the camp. The entry into Peking

was made after dark lest it touch off a demonstration by the Chinese. Under the old Tartar gate the column rolled, through the narrow streets of the Manchu city where Paul Stanley Hopkins, who was sitting behind the cab of the lead truck, was born. Paul's father, a descendant of a long line of Boston Brahmins, had gone to China toward the end of the last century as a medical missionary, and Paul had drilled the oil wells in Yen-an Province for Standard Oil. As the line of trucks made its way to the home of the Chinese actor, Mei Lan-fan, which the Japanese had seized, Paul heard an elderly Chinese, close enough on the curb that he could have touched him, murmur with a note of infinite relief in his voice, "Chiang Kai-shek is coming."

Thirteen hours later, on the morning of Monday, August 20, Commander Cunningham confided, "We've got to get word to that parachute team that the Doolittle pilots are going to die unless we get them out soon. The Japs will try to hide them. They'll never produce them in the condition they are in unless they have to." The first reliable-looking message bearer to come down the street on the other side of Mei Lan-fan's wall was a priest wearing a long black robe and a wide black hat, obviously a European. A group of curious Chinese stood at a respectful distance. "Do you speak French, mon Père?" I shouted. "Yes," he replied. "I am Italian. I am Father Crocci."

"Please take this note to Monsieur Pierre de Beaumont, in the French Embassy. It is a matter of life and death." A note tied to a stone fell at Father Crocci's feet. He looked cautiously toward the gate, picked up the paper and went on his way. The note said, "Pierre: Contact American mission at once. Japs are hiding three, maybe four, Doolittle pilots in desperate condition. Must be treated soon or will die." (The story of this rescue is told on page 11 of "Four Came Home," by Colonel Carroll V. Glines, and on page 263 of "The Fall of Japan," by William Craig. The pilots were Lieutenants George Barr, Chase J. Nelson, Robert L. Hite and Corporal Jacob de Shazer.)

Major Nichols and Captain Carpenter and the young officers around them looked like gods to the prisoners who watched spellbound through the open door that Monday afternoon as the two OSS leaders slowly backed Colonel Odera and the representatives of the Japanese Peking command into a corner and forced them to hand over the four Doolittle survivors.

For a time peace hung in the balance. Major Nichols, never raising his voice and with a lock of brown hair hanging over his forehead, pretended not to notice when Colonel Odera, who had remained standing until then, removed his sword and sat down on the sofa at the major's right. The colonel began to perspire and took off his coat as the major continued to ask questions about the prisoners who had died when Odera was moving them north. The colonel mopped his brow and Nichols, leaning over, offered him his fan. For two seconds all breathing stopped. Odera took it, and the roomful of Japanese officers and the prisoners in the hallway knew that the handsome major from Mississippi and the young captain whose father was on the board of directors of Dupont de Nemours in Delaware had won.

Honda moved to sit down also, and for the first time Major Nichols' voice changed. "You stay where you are. You have been posing as an officer of the Japanese army. You are really a legal officer of the gendarmerie." The gendarmerie were the Kampetai, who handled torture and executions. Honda's hands began to tremble.

It was from the OSS boys that the Feng Tai prisoners learned about the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It was the best news they had ever heard. Then they knew why the guards had carried gasoline cans out to the air-raid trenches the day there had been an altercation among the Japanese. News of the A-bomb had reached the guards and non-coms, and since orders had been signed to kill all prisoners at a later date, to release troops for the defense of the home islands, they wanted to pour gasoline on the enemies in their hands at once and get it over with. Colonel Odera convinced

the hot-heads that the game was up and they would be held responsible. Aside from saving every prisoner in Japanese hands, the two bombs which the New York Times and do-gooders around the world still decry saved ten times as many Japanese as they killed. But for them the suicidal plan to sacrifice women and children in an effort to make invasion so costly the Americans would negotiate would have to run its course. While prisoners caught up on news in their new quarters in the Grand Hotel des Wagon Lits, Colonel Charles Tench landed at Atsugi Airbase in Japan to take over command from the Imperial Chief of Staff, General Seizo Arisue. Arisue, as he stood at attention before the American, must have thought ruefully of the day he took Dr. Yoshio Nishina, the physicist, to Admiral Tojo and begged for funds to make an atomic bomb. Nishina, who had worked in Copenhagen under Niels Bohr, said he had solved the technical problems and was ready to start assembling an atomic bomb which would make Japan the "arbiter and winner of all wars." All he needed was a hundred million yen, approximately \$50 million at the time.

Tojo fidgeted with irritation. His face hardened as he cleared his throat and on the argument of cost, and that only, refused to give Japan the untried bomb for which she and self-righteous westerners have heaped guilt on America ever since. He told General Arisue there were lots of sensible things his physicist could work on before going out for utopias. A year and a half after Arisue made his plea for a nuclear weapon newly-liberated Peking avidly ate up information on the frightful arm which had saved millions of lives. Père Teilhard de Chardin and his friend Père Leroy, the Jesuit scientist, marveled at it as they choked on the good cigarettes Major Jackson gave them, after the years of smoking Japanese army issue tobacco. Père Teilhard still hoped the bones of his precious find, the Peking man, were not lost forever.

The wife of General Dan Pao-tchao blessed the Americans for their A-bombs and the box of K-rations Major Joseph Jackson gave her. She had been born Princess Shou Shan, the sister of Princess Der Ling, and had been taken to the court of the old Empress as a little girl, to be brought up as a lady-in-waiting. It was a period full of hope. Peking in all her splendor was basking in the setting sun of an era that, though no one knew it, was ending for all the West. Prince Teh, of the Mongols, the descendant of Genghis Khan, with his squadrons of horsemen following the nine-yak-tail banner, was in a spacious house up a narrow hutung, negotiating treaties with emissaries from tribes in the northwest, as though nothing had changed in his world. Dignitaries of the hui-hui, China's Moslems (the name, literally, means return-return), came from the old mosque on the Street of the Cow and the mosque on Morrison Road to pay courtesy calls on the handsome young Americans.

On the afternoon of August 26 the face of one of the OSS officers in the Grand Hotel des Wagon Lits was white as he opened the door to accept a report. He walked back and forth with his hands clenched for a few seconds before explaining that one of his finest officers, a young man named John Birch, had been killed along the railroad track to Hsuechow. Sian Command knew where the murderers were and were about to send a detachment after them when orders came from Area Command to halt everything. It was the first time the men being served drinks by Sandy - who had seen half a century of diplomats and warlords come and go through the Peking Club - ever heard the name that was to become anathema to the leftist press, and it is best that the name of the officer who was shaken by Birch's death remain unmentioned. He is a brigadier-general as this is written, and turning the spotlight on him as an officer who never disavowed Birch could ruin him.

From the hills the 8th Route Army sent student cadres into Peking at night to plaster walls with crude posters calling on the people to kick out Chiang and his American imperialists allies. Red students patrolled the roads and halted travelers at the Jade Fountain. Gradually it dawned on them that the Americans were not going to hit back after the death of the young officer and their operations widened. It was not until October 5th that the railroad line was secure enough to move prisoners to the coast where the army transport, LAVACA, was waiting to take them to Shanghai or home.

The memory of the distraught OSS officer pacing the floor of his Peking hotel room with clenched fists would have been forgotten if, in the early sixties, a vicious campaign had not gotten under way to justify the actions of the reds. On April 2, 1961, a UP story appeared under the heading, "No Glory in Birch's Death!" In Billings, Montana, a small-time broadcaster who had been in OSS rushed to smear both the dead man and the Chinese Nationalists with the declaration that Birch did not have "a very high regard for the Chinese" and that his "brash manners" had brought on his death. On April 3 AP followed with a syndicated story voicing "different views" on Birch. William P. Weiss and Colonel Gustav Krause of OSS, were quoted as saying Birch's arrogance got him killed. Twenty-four hours later, on April 4, the Los Angeles Times joined the pack and quoted Colonel Krause, of Pasadena, as saying that Birch was responsible for his death. TIME Magazine got into the act on April 14, after which UPI commissioned George A. Doss, Jr., to do a story picturing Birch as a trouble-maker in his youth. The Dallas Morning News of April 23 reported that he had "fought faculty" and was a "Center of Storm as Student."

As the final authority, General Wedemeyer was quoted as saying that the Chinese reds had acted in anger over Birch's arrogance. It was a strange statement to make. Anyone who lived in China long enough to learn the language also acquired a sense of touch which told him whether extrication from a difficult situation called for bowing low or standing high. If appearing strong could not get an American officer past the bandon the railway track it was because the moment had come for killing Americans, or because in reply to a tip-off orders had been given to kill that particular American. Anyone fluent in Chinese and familiar with Chinese psychology who blames the American for that atrocity is only making out a case for the killers. No such charge was made at the time. It appears to have been hauled out when the campaign came into the open to prepare Americans for a change of policy. Simultaneously, a drive against anti-communism swung into gear.

Leftists in OSS were getting rid of their enemies at the time Birch was killed. Given their determination to destroy the Nationalist Government, it is not to be ruled out that one of them may have alerted the reds that a troublesome captain was coming up the track. The most highly-praised OSS officers in books written today are those who in that period advanced communism in China and Indo-China and worked to destroy a liberal king in Yugoslavia so a communist could make himself President for life, all on the specious argument that they were advancing democracy. Life Magazine offered Colonel Gustav Krause a sum running into five figures if he would give them material for an anti-Birch story. The colonel turned them down. TIME-LIFE men tracked down other OSS veterans, including Oliver J. Caldwell, author of "A Secret War," in search of someone they could quote to vindicate Mao's reds. General Bonner Fellers, when asked why General Wedemeyer had blamed Birch for his death, replied: "The answer is simple. It happened in Wedemeyer's theater. If Birch was not to blame why didn't Wedemeyer do something about it?"

While leftists and the media acquitted the killers on grounds of justifiable homicide, the drive to hit anti-communism in America by frightening people away from the most effective anti-communist organization in the country was stepped up. By late 1961 it had become international and Brian Crozier, founder of the London "Institute for the Study of Conflict," went to the States to lecture and "gather material." Crozier's aim was to appear dedicated to the West without bringing leftist fire down on his head. He was "the enemy of extremism, both left and right." It is safe to report on Russia's growing might but never on the parallel internal communist threat. The self-proclaimed non-communist must be presented as the only valid anti-communist. By denouncing real anti-communists as extremists and threats to peace, communists and their allies maintain a monopoly on the anti-communist fight. This is the doctrine of the anti-anticommunist and in essence of America's CIA, which for years has confined its support to the so-called non-communist left around the world, despite the fact that this left's interests and communism's often coincide.

Neither the tone nor the choice of publication which published Brian Crozier's 8-page report from America, "Down Among the Rightists," in March 1962, was surprising. It appeared in ENCOUNTER Magazine, which is edited in London by Melvin A. Lasky, formerly of The New Leader, the leftist political organ of American labor. ENCOUNTER was financed by CIA through the London office of the Congress of Cultural Freedom, which was headed by one Murray Mindlin, editor of Pall Mall Press, the British subsidiary of Frederick Praeger and Company, the New York publishing house exposed in 1967 as publishers of CIA-financed books sold to the public as factual material.

Crozier's opening line in the CIA-supported monthly went: "John Birch is the Horst Wessel of an American neo-Nazism." Much of the material he used was taken from a patently dishonest booklet produced by John Grove, entitled "Inside the Birch Society." Nothing Crozier has ever written against extremism of the left begins to approach the virulence of the report he gave Britishers on a society which has no racist overtones and which is dedicated to patriotism, opposition to communist subversion and support of the American constitution.

In the years since August 1945 many of the OSS team which arrived in Japanese-held and communist-surrounded Peking in their spick and span uniforms have died. Sergeant Roman, of Universal, Pennsylvania, who spoke Rumanian when he met General Bagulescu, the Rumanian ambassador to China and Japan, is gone. So are Major Ray Nichols, of Mississippi, and Major Amos Melton, of Texas. Others are alive, and their stories should be recorded before it is too late. Why so many survivors support the version which absolves the Chinese communists is easily explained. OSS was packed with men who wanted communism to win. In the present climate, those who opposed them are afraid to talk. There are too many Brian Croziers. There is also a tendency on the part of even patriotic officers to cover for a wartime comrade who is still alive. Dr. Robert H. Knapp, more than any other OSS agent in Asia, was responsible for America's support of Ho chi Minh and CIA's employing of Ho's protégé in Europe for nine years, even after Knapp knew that Ho was and always had been a red. Today Knapp is a professor at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, but no OSS officer who worked with him has to date said a word against him to a non-member of the team.

Of the men who dropped into the Japanese armed camp in North China with sidearms strapped to their chests, only the one who walked back and forth in the hotel room with clenched fists and ashen face, when he learned of John Birch's death, is known by this writer to have lived up to the heroic image accorded him in Peking. One night in Bangkok in March 1969 he reflected in the course of a dinner, "I'll never forgive myself for something I did then."

"What was that?"

"I had the pictures of Birch, tied to the railroad track where they bayoneted him with sharpened bamboos. I turned them in to my superiors and they have never been seen since."

What is happening to America and the West was already in the works.

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Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



GET BRITAIN OUT CAMPAIGN

"There are several reasons for speeding up polling (in Greece), the first real election for the Greeks in a decade. One of them is that not until a parliament is elected can Greece join the European Economic Community," the London Sunday Times reported on September 1, 1974.

It may have been the real reason why the junta of colonels in Athens was toppled. The same conditions had been met in Portugal: Installation of a government considered "democratic," and economic chaos to prepare the people psychologically for a sacrifice of sovereignty.

In Britain the "GET BRITAIN OUT CAMPAIGN" is a British European struggle similar to THE UNITED NATIONS - GET US OUT drive in America, save that it is directed against the Common Market and pushed from a headquarters at 67 Upper Berkley Street, London, W. 1. So effectively has the press on both sides of the Atlantic played "divide and rule," the arguments which would be most effective with the British public - such as who was behind what they are trying to get out of - have never been used.

Those fighting to preserve Britain's national integrity have made not the slightest attempt to show the relationship between those who stripped Europe of her colonies and those who master-minded the plan to colonize the mother countries. The process of weakening nationhood by causing economic upheaval and then conditioning the citizens to sacrifice sovereignty to save what was left may be said to have started in 1943.

TEHERAN, BETWEEN NOVEMBER 27 and DECEMBER 2, 1943, saw the emerging of what Anthony Kubek (in "How the Far East was Lost") called Roosevelt's "one-world rainbow," and its exclusive featuring of the end of the spectrum which was red. Obsessed with a dream of a world ruled by the United Nations, FDR and Stalin discussed on November 29, 1943, how the French could be driven from Indo-China and the British from India. Stalin observed that change in India would mean revolution, and, according to Charles Bohlen's Minutes of the Cairo-Teheran Papers, Roosevelt agreed that "the best solution would be reform from the bottom, somewhat on the Soviet-line."

The movement toward globalism through a European federal state which, with America's entry, would become Atlantic, had already started. "The ultimate aim of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)," Dan Smoot stated in his book, *The Invisible Government*, "is the same as the ultimate aim of international communism: To create a one-world socialist system and make the United States a part of it."

Harlan Cleveland, as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, declared of the Atlantic Community on January 31, 1962, "Our broader and ultimate objective in all these efforts is a universal community of nations."

THE LINK BETWEEN AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS in the drive to destroy patriotism and phase out national identities was the old League of Nations veteran, Jean Monnet, whom Harry Hopkins sent on a mission to North Africa when Robert Murphy was sowing the seeds of revolt during World War II. The formula was simple: Deprived of European direction, "liberated" colonies would be absorbed by UN. Mother countries stripped of their outlets would be carried into a superstate by politicians.

IN 1946 THE COUNCIL FOR A UNITED EUROPE was launched by Joseph Retinger, who had never done a day of productive work in his life (H. du B. REPORT, April 1972), and CFR member Averell Harriman, the U. S. ambassador to London, sent Retinger to America to get more backing. Harriman's friends, Nelson and David Rockefeller, controlled the CFR and threw its weight behind him. Sir William Wiseman, of Kuhn, Loeb, the bank which financed the Russian Revolution, was, like Harriman, who raised the loans which saved Russia in the '20s, a fervent supporter. CFR member Adolf Berle, Jr., and John Foster Dulles got on the Retinger team.

"Whenever we needed any assistance for the European Movement, Dulles was among those in America who helped us most," Retinger noted in his diary. With the support from America, in late 1947 Duncan Sandys was able to launch the "United Europe Movement," which was never meant to remain strictly European.

1947 BROUGHT THE BIG BREAK-THROUGH. David Astor, Britain's press magnate of American origin, made a seven-year grant to Retinger. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, which lists the CFR as a subsidiary, got behind his movement. Sir Edward Beddington Behrens, an international labor employee become millionaire, provided more money. Paul van Zeeland, the Belgian Atlanticist, friend of Henry Cabot Lodge, joined the team.

That summer the UNION OF EUROPEAN FEDERALISTS held a congress in Amsterdam and voted to use the new movement as a vehicle. The UEF was primarily a propaganda body, coordinating activities with the UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS, which an American one-worlder, named Cord Meyer, Jr., had founded. Meyer had been one of Harold Stassen's aides at the San Francisco Conference which founded the United Nations.

It is frightening to reflect that Meyer was later to become No. 2 man in the Clandestine Services of CIA, and in 1974 CIA's station chief in the American embassy in London, in charge of CIA activity in Europe and behind the iron curtain. In 1947, while American and European federalists were gnawing at patriotism like white ants on the underpinnings of a house, Meyer's UNITED WORLD FEDERALISTS was hailed by Atlantic Monthly as "the foremost world government organization in the United States." Meyer at the time was writing a book called "Peace or Anarchy," in which he threatened dire chaos unless "the unbridled growth of nationalism and insistence upon the sovereignty of nations" were stopped.

Christopher Frère-Smith, the London solicitor, and Richard Body, the leader of the GET BRITAIN OUT Campaign in Parliament, should study Meyer's book closely and scrutinize the face of the mouth-breathing young man on the cover. Surely no anti-patriot could rise so high in an intelligence service without powerful men of like ideas behind him, for whom he would use the powerful position in which they were placing him to spread his crackpot ideas, and theirs.

JOHN J. McCLOY, who in World War II approved an order permitting communists to become officers in the American Army, was U. S. High Commissioner in Germany in 1947, as the movement to turn Western Europe into a socialist federation gained momentum. The movement needed money, so Duncan Sandys and Retinger turned to McCloy. Retinger noted in his diary that McCloy gave them the funds they needed.

Later, as leader of the CFR, chairman of the board of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, member of the steering committee of the Bilderbergers and chairman of the governing body of the ATLANTIC INSTITUTE, McCloy continued to throw the political, financial and propaganda weight of the CFR and the Rockefellers behind the European movement.

McCloy's fellow CFR-member, Robert Murphy, was U. S. Ambassador to Belgium in 1947, and working closely with Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian socialist-Eurocrat. All the key men necessary for the advancement of a world socialist state were in the right place, and no one seemed to remember Murphy's role in sowing the seeds of revolt in North Africa during the war. Eleven years later he was to play a part in toppling the French IV Republic over the war in Algeria and clearing the way for de Gaulle's return to power.

Worse was yet to come. On November 22, 1947, Robert Schuman, a tall man with an unpleasant German accent, became both Prime Minister of France and a front for those who were out to replace nation states with the socialist federation. No one to date has drawn attention to the parallel between the man with the hated German accent who had faceless supporters powerful enough to make him Premier of France and the German immigrant of similar ideas who became the most powerful man in America.

ROBERT SCHUMAN was born in Luxembourg in 1886 and educated in Bonn, Munich, Berlin and Strasbourg. For the first 32 years of his life he was a subject of the German Kaiser. He felt no emotional pangs in claiming Lorraine as his home and changing nationality after World War I, for he had no roots to pull up. He could have as easily served the one-worlders elsewhere.

After World War II France faced an army in Indo-China which General William J. ("WILD BILL") Donovan's Office of Strategic Services (OSS) men had built up with the approval of leftists in Washington whom Roosevelt and the CFR had brought into positions of power. To fight this army, Schuman made his fellow Eurocrat, René Pleven, Minister of National Defense. Pleven provided enough men and materiel to convince the patriots he was trying to win, without sending enough to save soldiers from dying. For the first time no-winism became a policy and the struggle was drawn out until the nation was no longer willing to continue it.

Twenty years after it ended, Mr. Roger Delpey, in his 377-page book, "Dien Bien Phu - L'AFFAIRE," showed conclusively that the war in Indo-China was lost because Schuman and Pleven deceived the country and prevented the army from achieving victory. Delpey's lines are comparable to the December 5, 1968, column by CFR member Joseph C. Harsch: "Kissinger was one of the first among the top experts to conclude that military victory in Vietnam is neither possible nor desirable."

Only a disciple of the international left, with its concept of socialist globalism - or a traitor - could consider military defeat desirable. With their knowledge of history, both Schuman and Kissinger must have known that military defeat is followed by rejection of the government and the system which by intent, or weakness, lost the war.

In the crisis which ensues a perfect climate is created for turning from nationhood to the false security of province status.

In 1951 Pleven became Prime Minister and under succeeding governments returned to his old post as Minister of National Defense, which was a misnomer. He was the Minister of National Defeat.

IN 1949 THE DRIVE TO SELL THE CFR-FUNDED EUROPEAN MOVEMENT GOT UNDERWAY IN AMERICA. Intelligent as the "GET BRITAIN OUT" campaigners are, they have still never pointed out that in 1949 the Atlantic Union Committee was set up at 537 Fifth Avenue, New York, with a pamphlet by CFR-member W. L. Clayton entitled "WE MUST TRADE SOVEREIGNTY

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON UNITED EUROPE

537 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Founded: 1949

Tel.: MUrray Hill 2-1084

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Staff members employed full-time at headquarters: 9

Objectives: To aid groups of private citizens in Europe working for unity; to inform Americans of progress toward European unity; and to achieve a better understanding of the common responsibilities shared by the people of free Europe and the United States.

Activities: Apart from providing financial assistance to private groups in Europe working for European unity, the American Committee conducts a public information program in the United States through attention to individual inquiries and the distribution of published materials. The Committee's directors and members attend many European conferences, including all sessions of the Council of Europe, in the status of observers, and make periodic reports to the United States Government and to Committee members. A research program by a special staff at Harvard University on the constitutions and legal experience of six modern federal systems is now going forward under Committee auspices. The Committee also sponsors lecture tours in this country for European leaders.

Membership: Open to anyone interested in furthering the cause of a united Europe and contributing to the financial support of the Committee.

Individual members: 2,500 Dues: None—contributions only.
Membership includes all material published or distributed by the Committee.

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Current Publications: (Free except for bulk orders)
"COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND SCHUMAN PLAN." Pamphlet, 1952.
"CONCISE HANDBOOK OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE." Pamphlet, 1952.
"UNITED EUROPE: STATEMENT OF PROGRESS." Pamphlet, 1953. (Yearly since 1951.)
"EUROPE TODAY AND TOMORROW." Official Bulletin of the European Movement. Monthly.

Annual Financial Statement and Annual Statement of Progress available on request.

Directory: U.S. Citizens in World Affairs.
Compiled by the FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 1953

FOR FREEDOM" - an insult to intelligence if there ever was one - as its declaration of principles. On July 26, 1949, the usual run of anti-patriot senators, including Fulbright of Arkansas and Milton Young of North Dakota, introduced a resolution in Congress calling for consideration of the feasibility of a "free federal union." "A union of democracies within U.N." - which is to say the Common Market, was the Atlantic Union Committee's stated aim.

At the same time, at the same address and for the same purpose appeared the American Committee on United Europe. There were no dues. It was open to anyone willing to help the cause. Its directors and members attended Council of Europe sessions abroad and flooded America with pamphlets on "United Europe" and "the Schuman Plan." A special research program was set up at Harvard to support it.

Chairman of the American Committee on United Europe was William J. Donovan, the wartime commander of OSS, the body which helped native leftists and encouraged revolts in the colonies of the countries being urged to trade sovereignty for the Atlantic Union Committee's idea of "freedom." OSS was the forerunner of CIA.

A few years after the Atlantic Union Committee and the American Committee on United Europe opened shop under the same roof,

Thomas Braden, the man who made CIA an instrument of support for the non-communist left around the world (see P. 368, "OSS - The Secret History of America's First CIA," by R. Harris Smith) tried to bring "his old friend, Paul-Henri Spaak (Belgium's tireless worker for a socialist federation) to the U. S. to help out in one of the CIA operations." Spaak, whose prime motive was advancement of the Socialist International! Another friend was Henry Kissinger, who traveled to spend Christmas with Braden in 1973. While General Donovan and CFR-member Allan Hovey Jr., worked through their American Committee on United Europe, and the Atlantic Union Committee through writers and Harvard professors, the CFR commissioned William Diebold, Jr., to write a book praising Schuman and the Common Market. Frederich A. Praeger, the publisher of CIA-funded books and owner of Pall Mall Press in London, would bring it out.

JAMES RESTON WROTE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES of March 28, 1966, "The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been holding hearings this week on a resolution which would make an Atlantic Federation the aim of American policy in Europe." FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the CFR quarterly for April 1966, was already on newsstands with its feature article, "The Necessary Partnership," by J. Robert Schaetzel, Jr., the U. S. Ambassador to the European Economic Committee (EEC).

"If the loss of national sovereignty is good for Europe, why isn't it good for us?" Schaetzel demanded, adding that "Americans are less aware of a need to consider limits on their freedom of national action" than Europeans are, but "such willingness to consider restraints will presumably occur in time of crisis." This is what the Atlantic Union Committee was selling as a prescription for freedom! Schaetzel told Americans that when a national crisis makes them willing to relinquish liberty of national action America will become Europe's partner. Europeans were being assured the while that they had no need to fear American political and economic domination because America would be the equal and partner of each Common Market member. At the time Schaetzel left Brussels in 1972 (hailed as the most popular diplomat in the EEC because he often played tennis eight hours a day!), a weak Conservative Government in Britain, stripped of her colonial empire and priced out of the world market by defiant unions and rampant inflation, was about to turn its troubles over to the Eurocrats in Brussels. It was sovereignty-surrender through crisis.

THE CONTRADICTION. There is no logic to leftist politics. Harold Wilson's Labor Government and outrageous demands by its militant arm, the labor unions, were mainly responsible for the economic crisis which caused Edward Heath, the Conservative leader, to take Britain into the Common Market. The public was lulled with the blatantly dishonest assurance that no essential loss of sovereignty would be involved and that the country could pull out if and when it wished.

Harold Wilson and the Labor-Socialists opposed British entry for internal political reasons: The Conservatives were taking them in. Wilson had pleaded for admittance in 1968 and would have accepted any terms, for the long-range aim of those with whom he had worked for years is a European government with an international socialist majority. Only de Gaulle's fear of a British-American gang-up kept Britain out. Opposition to Britain's membership on the basis of national loyalty is led by the Honorable J. Enoch Powell and a group the American defenders of national sovereignty have never heard of. It is through no accident of the press that the GET BRITAIN OUT campaigners know of their American counterparts only as "kooks" and "extremists."

In July 1974 the conflict in the Aegean provided an opportunity for the Common Market to make itself receiver for a bankrupt Greece. The target date for full Greek membership in EEC had been 1984. According to the TIMES of London, the collapse of the dictatorship automatically set off the "defreezing" of Greece's ostracism. On September 6, Greek Prime Minister George Mavros met President Giscard d'Estaing to lay the groundwork for full membership "in the next three or four years."

NEGOTIATION FOR PORTUGUESE MEMBERSHIP began on May 3, 1974, when Mario Soares, Portugal's socialist Minister of Foreign Affairs, met with three other socialist members of the Common Market Commission - Altiero Spinelli of Italy, Henri Simonet of France, and George Thompson of Britain - to press for Portuguese entry. Crisis at home had paved the way for a takeover by men acceptable to the World Left.

BANGLADESH KNOCKS AT THE DOOR. On September 5 Foreign Minister Kamal Hossein announced that his country was seeking a commercial cooperation agreement with the Common Market. While crisis-wracked Bangladesh was filling out her application papers, a poll taken in Denmark disclosed that after less than two years in the Common Market an absolute majority of 53% would vote against Danish membership, if given a chance. On August 3 a Brussels communique announced that a number of top European Commission officials had been invited to Moscow, and Russian diplomats were making overtures to EEC policy-makers in Brussels. No longer will Russia make noises against the growing European "State." After January 1, 1975, no EEC country will be able to negotiate trade deals on its own with the communist bloc, because all such matters will be handled by the Common Market Commission. What is not mentioned is that members of the Nine who are not desirous of deals with the communist bloc will be bound by the Commission's decisions.

THE AMERICAN GET US OUT DRIVE BEAMED AT UN and the similar campaign against the Common Market led by Enoch Powell, Christopher Frère-Smith and Member of Parliament Richard Body took on greater importance the day Nelson Rockefeller was appointed Vice President of the United States. On September 9, 1974, former Prime Minister Edward Heath addressed the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on the future of European and American relations. He had been invited months before "by his friend, the banker, Mr. David Rockefeller, brother of Mr. Ford's nominee for Vice President," reported the London Daily Telegraph of September 12. Mr. Heath's message on returning to England was, not surprisingly, "the U. S. wants us in."

In 1973 the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of French Masonry declared, "We are working toward a universal Republic and that Republic starts with France." On July 1 France took over her seat as President of the Common Market, for a period due to end on December 31. President Giscard d'Estaing, who in 1967 was a member of the Committee for a United States of Europe, called for a strengthening of the Market's powers of decision and complete political, social and monetary union by 1980.

On a visit to Copenhagen his Prime Minister, Monsieur Jacques Chirac, brought up the matter of "transfer of sovereignty."

If the GET BRITAIN OUT campaign and America's "Get US Out" workers are going to do anything constructive before it is too late, they had better get together soon.

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TERRORISM INTERNATIONAL

In 1961 President John F. Kennedy sent Professor Edwin O. Reischauer to Japan as his ambassador, with instructions to open a dialogue with the Japanese Left. Reischauer, married to a Japanese wife and more devoted to a "democratic" Japan as visualized by leftist intellectuals than to the country he represented, found a ready audience in the violent university left which had taken to the streets the year before in protest against the renewal of Tokyo's security treaty with America.

By 1967 the young leftists Reischauer encouraged had formed a hard core known as the Red Revolutionary Army, and declared war on the world. Their mentor, by then, was being quoted in Human Events of April 15, 1967, as calling for "a strong red China," the great mainland force Japan's young revolutionaries believe that they will someday lead. Already revolutionary literature from around the globe was pouring into Japan when, one cold day in January 1970, a man who called himself el Bassam - the laughing one - arrived as the representative of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) to work the ground Reischauer had prepared. Until then the Red Army of Japanese students, professors, lecturers and drop-outs, had concentrated on organizing demonstrations against America and inducing American servicemen to take the road to Stockholm, via Russia. Sitting around Bassam they formed an alliance with the Palestinians. Soon they were producing the most effective Molotov cocktail developed to date, and a 34-year-old perpetual student named Fusako Shigenobu and her friend, Kozo Okamoto, from Kyoto University, were corresponding with terrorists in Algiers, Libya, West Germany, Italy and Beirut.

Bassam went on to North Korea, and two months later Kozo Okamoto's brother master-minded the hijacking of a Japan Airlines jet to Pyongyang. Miss Shigenobu was arrested but released for lack of evidence. That fall word reached Tokyo that Bassam had married Leila Khaled, the graduate from the American University in Beirut who had hijacked a TWA Boeing to Damascus and destroyed it. Police interest in the January meetings revived, but failed to turn up any evidence against Fusako Shigenobu, and in late 1972 she was permitted to leave the country. She said she was going on a honeymoon. Her destination was Bassam's HQ in Beirut. By day she worked in a hospital for Palestine refugees and at night ran "the first headquarters of the Japanese Revolution abroad." Discredited by their outrages at home and tracked by the police, other members of the Red Army fled to Europe and the Middle East. A central office was set up in Paris with lines spreading to Brussels, Frankfurt and Stockholm. Italy was considered the softest country in Europe but Sweden most ideal, because of the opportunity it offered for preparing American draft-dodgers and deserters for missions when they return home.

Other Red Army militants roamed Europe in groups of three or four, living in expensive hotels and finding anonymity among the flood of tourists from prosperous Japan. Miss Mariko Yamamoto, a smiling 34-year-old graduate of Tokyo's Women's Christian College, went to Paris to work in the Mitsukoshi gift shop on Avenue de l'Opera. Had the attention of French police been drawn to the fact that she made a trip to Japan every three months, they might have discovered that she was the Red Army's key agent in France and

leader of her own "VZ 58" group, named after the automatic weapon used in the Lod Airport massacre in 1972. She was one of the couriers through whom red cells in Japan sent monthly contributions to Miss Shigenobu in Beirut for Palestinian terrorists. Japanese Red Army members arriving in France went to Mariko for shelter and orders. How many members there are in their army is hard to say. In 1972 they were estimated to have around 300 hard core militants divided into cells of five and supported by sympathizers that run into the thousands. Internal divisions have created schisms but the most important branch is still the Sekigun-ha, the Red Army faction, dedicated to armed revolution throughout the world. Since 1972 its numbers have grown because of publicity given to acts which the PFLP owns or disowns according to public opinion. "The brain" behind operations in Europe and the Middle East is Miss Shigenobu in Beirut.

Shortly after her arrival there in October 1971 she helped produce a film called "Declaration of World War by the Red Army and the PFLP." It was sent to Japan where Kozo Okamoto showed it at Kagoshima University, in Kyushu, in his campaign for recruits. On February 29, 1972, Okamoto boarded a Canadian Pacific plane in Tokyo for Montreal. From there he went to New York and Paris, on his way to the massacre at Lod. It would be interesting to know whom he saw in New York. An embarrassed press prefers to forget that it oversold America on Arab assassins when they were fighting the French. CIA, American labor unions, student organizations, State Department, and even pro-Israel groups and papers worked to make friends for those who, when the Algerian war was won, turned their attention to the destruction of Israel.

Kozo Okamoto stayed at the Hilton Hotel in Montreal and the Grand Hotel in Paris on his arrival from New York. From there he went to Beirut to join Miss Shigenobu and the man she had married in order to get out of Japan. He also met a third man who was to take part in the senseless massacre in Tel Aviv. PFLP officers took the three in hand for training. Next stop for the trio was Frankfurt, where members of the German Red Army Faction were awaiting them. Experienced "technicians" from the notorious Meinhof-Baader gang produced false passports on which the three Japanese traveled to Rome by train to board the Air France plane which would take them to Lod Airport, outside Tel Aviv.

THE BAADER-MEINHOF GANG, or West Germany's "Red Army Faction," took its name from Andreas Baader, a 30-year-old revolutionary who burned a department store in October 1968, and Frau Ulrike Meinhof, the journalist who led the shoot-out which liberated Baader from the library of a West Berlin prison on May 14, 1970. While German police were looking for Baader after the department store burning, French members of the international terrorist fraternity hid him in the apartment of Regis Debray, at 4 Avenue de la Porte Brancion, in Paris, where they were paying the rent while Debray was in prison in Camiri, Bolivia. Though Che Guevara and Debray had made Bolivia the proving ground for revolutionary theories drawn up at the Tricontinental Congress in Havana in 1966, C. L. Sulzberger of the New York Times never ceased pleading for Debray's release until the Bolivians let him go.

By mid-1972 Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, then West Germany's Minister of the Interior, estimated that 220 revolutionary organizations with some 65,000 members had been permitted to organize in West Germany under the Willy Brandt government. At least 47 were dedicated to terrorism with world revolution their objective. They had ties with the Tricontinental in Cuba, the Japanese Red Army, the Turkish People's Liberation Army, the Iranian rebels, the Irish Republican Army, various Palestinian organizations and revolutionary leaders in France, Italy, Algeria and Libya.

The introduction of Bonnie and Clyde violence into politics, and acceptance of the leftist claim that, being ideological, it was not criminal, made its big bound ahead in Germany during the student disorders of March 1968. Herbert Marcuse, the University of California professor whom General "Wild Bill" Donovan took into America's wartime OSS, was its inspiration with his call for "sexual, moral, intellectual and political

rebellion of students against the system." Marcuse advocated the creation of an international vanguard of students and among those who took him up in Germany was "Red" Rudy Dutschke, the anarchist student with the American wife. Dutschke's tactics were those of the Nazis. His aim was to inflame the West German student body into a state of permanent revolution which in turn would provoke extreme counter-measures from the police and justify further student violence. In the end he would create a spiral which would bring about the collapse of society. Dutschke and his followers had a single objective: The disruption of public order to a point where West German authorities would be goaded into reprisals. Then Dutschke's anarchists would cry "fascist!" and call on the workers to join hands with the students. In the last year of the Weimar Republic over 600 civilians were killed in the streets in brutal acts of violence which brought about the collapse of order in 1932 and conditioned a frightened people for acceptance of Hitler.

In the early months of 1968 Dutschke and his young hoodlums were convinced that by frightening the authorities into a paroxysm of furious repression they could raise the spectre of Nazi dictatorship and permit students and workers to seize power. Already Ulrike Meinhof was making notes for her book, "The Concept of An Urban Guerrilla," and the gang which was to come into existence with her raid on the West Berlin prison library on May 14, 1970, was forming in her mind. When she got it going it was to operate like the IRA and follow lines which emerged from the conjuncture of Arab and Latin American revolutionary minds at Havana in the forming of the Tricontinental. Ulrike's followers robbed banks to support themselves and stole cars to keep on the move. Through letters to newspapers, anonymous telephone calls and tape recordings they justified their increasing violence on political grounds. Their aim, they said, was to destroy society because it was rotten, and among their targets were the American military bases at Frankfurt and Heidelberg.

In an article filled with bathos the London TIMES of June 2, 1972, called them "West Germany's revolutionaries of despair." For hide-outs they selected modern apartment blocks, places where wealthy men installed their mistresses and no one paid any attention to who came or went.

GERMAN TERRORISTS AND THE ARABS. Ties between German revolutionaries and the Arabs were established in the late '50s, when a German communist named Winfried Muller took the name of Si Mustapha and set up a network in Algeria to spirit German deserters out of the Foreign Legion. No one looking at Muller could have taken him for an Arab, but CIA agents backing the Algerians got a sob story on him in NEWSWEEK of October 12, 1959, describing him as the official spokesman for the Algerian nationalists, heading the list of those marked by the French for assassination. Again on November 16, 1959, NEWSWEEK glamorized him as the "rebel leader Si Mustapha" who had smuggled 2,000 young "heroes" back to their homes. It was pure terrorist propaganda. NEWSWEEK privately stated later that they had "checked closely with intelligence and all other available sources" (Read: CIA agents who were supporting the Algerians), and were admittedly "off line." NEWSWEEK's readers, however, were never put right.

While Muller was criss-crossing Germany with red intelligence lines, using Algeria's "war of independence" as a vehicle and Hamburg's mayor, Max Brauer, whom the AFL-CIO had sent from Milwaukee to take over Hamburg with labor votes, as an accomplice, Germany's leftward-sliding students were strengthening their Arab links. The fatuous attraction of Arab revolutionaries for leftist students shouting anti-Nazi slogans in the West was worse than senseless.

HITLER'S ARAB BUREAU CHIEF, COLONEL JOHANNES VON LEERS, was running the Cairo office which trained Nasser's intelligence agents and those of the Algerian FLN. Specialists brought from East Germany by Herr Gypter, East Germany's ambassador to Cairo, served as instructors for the Algerian "Special Organization" (SO), which handled suicide assassination missions, sabotage and operational intelligence. Anyone with a modicum

of reasoning power should have known that the Arab machine being built up by ex-Nazis and East German reds would be turned against Israel when the time was ripe. This, papers like the New York Times never faced. Every Algerian atrocity was hailed as an act of heroism and each was a step towards cooperation between world revolutionary organizations which was to come.

Thus we find Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, Horst Mahler and others of their band at an El Fatah camp in Jordan for six weeks between June and September 1970, being trained by terrorists whom East Germans and ex-Nazis had instructed in the '50s and early '60s, with the complete approval of all the liberals of the West. Two years later Kozo Okamoto and his two companions were given the same training in Beirut before going on to Frankfurt for their meeting with the Baader-Meinhof gang on their way to the May 30, 1972, massacre at Lod airport, where Fusako Shigenobu's husband of convenience and one of his companions were killed.

THE LOD ATROCITY, which resulted in 24 dead and 78 wounded, was planned to take place on June 5, the anniversary of the six-day war in 1967, and had been ordered by the Tricontinental through its HQ in Algiers. This Cuban-based Tricontinental, which was to synchronize world revolution activities in Africa, Europe and the Americas, had been founded by a Moroccan named Mehdi Ben Barka. He would have remained a down-at-heel coffee-house conspirator all his life had leftists in CIA and scurrying labor agitators like Irving Brown of the AFL-CIO not taken him up.

Unless the files have been destroyed, all an honest "investigative reporter" would have to do to write a book on the origin of the organization behind the international gangs committing crimes for one another and kidnapping diplomats to effect the liberation of comrades who have been caught, would be to go through the files of TIME-LIFE in Rockefeller Center in New York. There he could spread out before his eyes the build-up of Mehdi Ben Barka, from the first minor items of twenty-five years ago and watch the space accorded him increase. They were not news stories: They were part of a public relations job to sell the American public an Arab revolutionary. It was a period when CIA was pursuing its so-called Thomas Braden doctrine of supporting the "non-communist left" around the world, though this left's objectives and communism's constantly merge.

Red governments came into power all over the globe as a result of this policy of Mr. Braden's. Mr. Nelson Rockefeller loaned its architect \$125,000 in 1957 to buy a newspaper, and Henry Kissinger spent Christmas with him in 1973. Hypnotized by dishonest propaganda dished out as news, the American public swallowed everything they were told when the State Department brought Mehdi Ben Barka to Washington in March 1957 for red carpet treatment at the White House and a tour of the country. TIME of September 9, 1957, called him "Morocco's hope." On September 21, 1959, TIME went into raptures over the launching of Ben Barka's "National Union of Popular Forces." Any non-brainwashed reader should have known it was a sugar-coated term for communism. As Ben Barka was about to leave for Cuba for the formal opening of the Tricontinental which he was to head, he was kidnapped on Boulevard St. Germain, in Paris, on October 29, 1965, and presumably killed in a Paris suburb by agents of the Moroccan king. His brain-child was organized in early 1966 without him.

Milan, Italy, became the pivotal point for Tricontinental terrorism in western Europe, and the reason Tricontinental leaders in Algiers gave orders for the Lod shooting to be speeded up, instead of waiting for the outbreaks which were to accompany it in Europe and the Middle East, was that Italian police had put counter-intelligence services and anti-terrorist brigades on the alert. Between February and April, 1972, Italian police seized over 7,000 weapons, six tons of explosives and a million cartridges. Obviously civil war was being planned. Milan's 35-year-old Police Commissioner, Luis Calabrisi, was ordered to investigate the Tricontinental and the revolutionary left. On the morning of Wednesday, May 17, 1972, he was killed as he

left his home. Police suspected that the killer was a gunman on loan from the IRA or the Baader-Meinhof gang. An Irish girl named Dolores (Dolours) Price, later imprisoned for bomb killings in London, was seen that morning near the place of the shooting. Italian police were bitter over Calabrisi's murder, since nothing had been done to stop the terrorists they had already reported.

Milan police had presented a detailed file to the government in early 1970. The Tupamaros had made their appearance in Munich and Berlin and were in contact with revolutionaries in Italy, but Emilio Colombo, the Christian Democrat, was President at the time and he suppressed the report lest it help the Italian right in the coming elections. Two years later, on June 1, 1972, Frankfurt police arrested Holger Meins, of the Baader-Meinhof gang. Italian police assured them that Meins had had a hand in the murder of Commissaire Calabrisi, and the further they probed the more clear it became that the lines led back to Algiers.

ALGIERS, REVOLUTION CAPITAL OF THE WEST. Fidel Castro, under whose auspices the Tricontinental was formed, visited Algeria's Colonel Haouri Boumedienne on May 8, 1972, and declared, "Algeria is the best pillar of revolution in the Arab world." Only two weeks before NEWSWEEK of April 24, 1972, had reported that a secret conduit based in Algiers was moving 20 tons of Czech arms, costing \$130,000 from Prague to Ireland for the IRA. Some three dozen revolutionary movements, including the American BLACK PANTHERS, were working out of Algiers headquarters, financed by the Algerian government, with the "General Staff" of the Tricontinental exercising overall command.

Djelloul Malaika is Boumedienne's liaison officer with the Tricontinental and its satellite groups. It was he who in early June 1972 welcomed the Black Panther, William Holder, and his white girl friend to Algiers with the half a million dollars they had extorted from Western Airlines. Over the protests of Eldridge Cleaver, the money was returned. Tricontinental commando schools, run by Palestinians and veterans of the Algerian war, were training fighters in Lebanon and South Yemen. In their camps were Arabs, Uruguayan Tupamaros, members of the IRA, the Turkish Popular Army of Liberation, the German Red Army Faction and the Japanese Red Army, along with Italians, Frenchmen and Americans.

The "Lenin Guerrilla School" in South Yemen uses English as a language because English is used in the advanced schools in Russia and China. Seven guerrilla movements, including three Palestinian, have offices in Aden. Others are in Syria and Libya. Each group is a reservoir from which the Tricontinental is able to draw commandos for operations in countries other than their country of origin. The creation of such international reservoirs was made possible by the radicalization of students.

HOW TRICONTINENTAL LEADERSHIP WAS FORMED. In 1967 scandal hit America's National Student Association (NSA) and the explanation of the ease with which Arabs who were students in the 50s became terrorist leaders on the international field was brought into the open. Former NSA officials testified that CIA money began reaching them in the early 50s.

On February 21, 1967, the New York Times carried testimony by NSA leaders that CIA had brought "about 20 Algerians a year" to American colleges and universities, and that similar "scholarships" were obtained for students from Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.....Money was also provided to send several representatives of the two groups to meetings of student exiles in Europe. Overlooked was the fact that the Algerians brought to America on planes routed so that they would not touch French soil had been selected by communists.

By financing their trips to student congresses abroad CIA widened their contacts and bought them leadership. One of those involved in paving the way for this was the American counterpart of Germany's "Si Mustapha."

AHMED KAMAL: Michael K. Clark, in his book, "Algeria in Turmoil," tells how an American who had taken the name of Ahmed Kamal handled Algerian propaganda, technical and financial assistance and arms purchases in partnership with Ahmed Bioud (alias Bayoud), who had been Hitler's leading Arab propagandists. French intelligence reported that Kamal was CIA's Arab specialist as well as advisor on American affairs for the Algerians, while shaking American oil firms down for contributions to prove that they were pro-Arab.

Kamal's principal power-base was Jamiat-al-Islam (Organization of Islam), which he had set up in San Francisco. It is significant that Sirhan Sirhan, the assassin of Bobby Kennedy, was recruited in California for training in the Qataneh camp, near Damascus, in 1964, under Algerian and Palestinian instructors. In April 1966 he returned to Egypt for a period in the Ma'adi Center for military training before moving on to a more advanced camp at Gaza, where he joined Canadians from Quebec and Black Panthers from America.

None of this the American press and TV cared to bring up.

BY OCTOBER 1974 A NEW WAR WAS IN THE MAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Security services had no idea how many Japanese were being hidden in Europe for the reason that, instead of handing them over to their own countrymen to be spirited home without so much as a paragraph in the press when they were arrested, officials had simply expelled them to some other country to get them off their hands.

With France and England torn by strikes and Italy on the verge of revolution, Mr. Francois Mitterand, the leader of France's "non-communist left" who when it came to elections was the socialist-communist candidate, took off for Cuba to visit Fidel Castro and terrorism's international holding company, the Tricontinental.

Accompanying him was Regis Debray for whom C. L. Sulzberger, of the New York Times, had pleaded for a visa so he could go to Berkeley campus only a few months before. Officials who would not let Debray enter America were "ninnies," Mr. Sulzberger wrote.

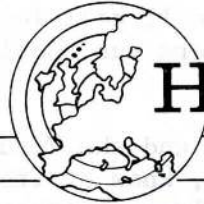
The lesson the West seems destined to learn in the months ahead is that the Tricontinental, for all its reservoirs of faceless and international killers, may be much less dangerous than its seemingly respectable and powerful friends.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



A Genteel Coup in Portugal

Newsweek, May 6, 1974

An insider in the radio station gave the signal for the coup by playing a banned song, "Grandola, Vila Morena," the words of which should have given pause to a non-communist general. Then went: "Grandola, brown earth, village of fraternity. It is the people who command."

One hundred and fifty-eight days later, on September 30, 1974, the comedy was over and the provisional President was toppled. How smoothly it was managed should provide a lesson for the West. H. du B. Report of June 1974 told how Appolonio de Carvalho was sent to Lisbon in February 1949 by the Russian bureau in Mexico City, to reorganize red lines between Spain, Portugal, Latin America and the communist exiles in France. Paulo Moraes and Enricos Lister, known in the KGB as General Listytsin, and a military specialist using the code name "Cordon" followed him, to take over the Iberian Peninsula apparatus of the Kominform.

Handling American Intelligence in Paris, as head of the Research and Analysis branch of State Department, was the former secretary-general of the Communist Party USA, Mr. Jay Lovestone. This was the preparatory period for red takeovers in Europe and Africa. In Brussels a monster union-of-unions known as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), was financed by American workmen to exert pressure through labor unions in over a hundred countries. Jay Lovestone left his intelligence job to drum up support in UN for labor unions against governments, while his friend, Irving Brown, worked as roving ambassador and money-bearer to revolutionary unions until March, 1962, when he became ICFTU representative in UN and American labor's "ambassador" to the ICFTU. Lovestone became American labor's "Minister of Foreign Affairs" and the AFL-CIO propaganda machine proclaimed that the "non-communist left" was defeating communism. TIME, of October 19, 1962, carried an Irving Brown letter praising "the staunchly anti-totalitarian, anti-communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions," and the Aden Trade Union Congress which he and the ICFTU were currently inciting against the British.

The result was as Brown's operations everywhere: The British were run out and Aden became part of the South Yemen police state with two exports: People and revolution. In Portugal forces they were supporting bored from within and probed for trouble spots where social unrest could lead to political upheaval. Funds from the ICFTU and appeals for world-wide labor support were forthcoming each time the Salazar government cracked down on labor action that was purely political. Within the administration civil servants gave the surface appearance of loyalty to the Salazar regime but followed the directives of international organizations outside the country. In May 1960 a Portuguese Communist Party manifesto called for "a union of all opposition forces." Isolated demonstrations were not enough; "action both legal and illegal must be used," Portuguese workers were told.

In 1964 plans were drawn up in Algeria, the scene of Irving Brown's latest victory, for infiltration of the Portuguese army, government, universities, officers' schools

and clergy. "Never express a political opinion until cell-leaders give the order," the sleeping cells were told. From six to ten years was considered necessary for preparation.

IN FEBRUARY 1974 General Spinola's book "Portugal and the Future," was due to appear. Rear Admiral Americo Thomaz, Portugal's president, knew of its contents and had been informed that a plot was brewing, but he was unable to prevent publication of the book. Prime Minister Caetano approved it because it recommended a solution he had proposed ten years earlier, when he was Minister of Overseas Territories, under Salazar. The moderation of the book made it ideal for the communist cause. Spinola thought that a Lusitanian confederation linking Portugal with her former African provinces, each with its own government, would be acceptable to the anti-white racists UN and the red bloc were egging on. He suggested that eventually Brazil might join the confederation as well.

When Admiral Thomaz learned that a group of leftist officers and civilians was preparing to take advantage of the unrest publication of the book would cause, Prime Minister Caetano blocked investigations, because he wanted to "liberalize" the regime. Caetano was under pressure from Portugal's "Association for Economic and Social Development," which in turn was worked by some 300 powerful international groups, including the American Council on Foreign Relations, all dedicated to the idea that the resources of former colonies should be administered by and to the profit of a world body such as UN. Portugal's communists had only to ride a wave that was going in their direction. How they made the army their servant merits study by the West.

THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. Portuguese communists applied a long-range plan to their army which Russia had perfected for the infiltration of western churches. The methodical undermining of churches in the West started around 1949, under the direction of Vasily Gorelov, a former Czarist priest in the thought-control center of the MVD. Gorelov agents compiled lists of fellow-travelers who could be counted on in countries marked for subversion. From there he proceeded to recruit. The search was on for young men who would become pastors, priests and rabbis for the express purpose of destroying the West from within. Anti-communist religious leaders were denounced for their "excesses" and pro-communists praised for their "moderation." Parallel movements were set up to infiltrate schools, universities, labor unions and other organizations, all in the name of "peace."

In Portugal a drive was launched to bring sons of working class families into the army, sons of workers whom ICFTU propaganda and money never ceased inciting against their government. There was no need to discipline such recruits. Party instructions were to obey orders, to make no trouble, to gain the confidence of superiors and climb upward. By mid-1973 the Armed Forces Movement had some 200 young officers it could count on. Their political theorist was Colonel Vasco Gonçaves, a Communist Party member since 1949, the year Appolonio de Carvalho began restoring Portuguese links with the Kominform. By early 1974 Gonçaves had 800 officers up to colonel level, each commanding units that would obey their orders. From these the four-man "Committee of Liaison and Revolutionary Vigilance" was formed to serve as a link between the politically naive Spinola and the Armed Forces Movement. Head of the committee was Captain Otelo Sarava de Carvalho, a stocky revolutionary who, as soon as the coup was successful, jumped from captain to general.

THE FIRST TEST OF STRENGTH. A bearded infantry major named Vitor Alves called together a group of conspirators from the "Young Officers Movement" in a barn outside the farming town of Evora, in southern Portugal, one warm night in September 1973. Their principal ally was the "Armed Revolutionary Action" group, the fighting arm of the Moscow-directed Portuguese Party. They had planned to attempt a coup in August 1973, when word came down from above that General Spinola was bringing out his book on February 22, 1974. Orders were to set a new date, after publication of Spinola's

book, to take advantage of the furor it was expected to cause.

The first edition of the book sold out at once, and on March 14, 1974, Spínola was removed from his post as Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army. Two days later rebel officers attempted to lead 250 soldiers from the Caldas da Rainha garrison in a march on Lisbon. The mass movement they hoped to trigger did not materialize. Obviously, the army, navy and airforce would not rally to a group of young unknowns. What they needed was a man from the top, with prestige. Spínola, the booted, monocled, leather-gloved national hero with a swagger stick was the answer.

SPINOLA WENT ABOUT IT AS THOUGH HE WERE PLANNING A MILITARY OPERATION. One of the first men he took into his confidence was Joseph M. A. Luns, the Secretary-General of NATO. Luns approved of his plans and the naval command of NATO was kept informed from then on. Luns informed Prince Bernhard, and a Bilderberg meeting was called for April 19 to 21, 1974, in Megève, France, to prepare for the new situation which a change of government in Lisbon would present in Europe. With Luns and the Bilderbergers protecting his rear, Spínola went about his next step. He had carefully preserved his links with the General Staff. On March 29, fifteen days after being relieved of command, he put out feelers to friendly contacts in Madrid, Brussels, Brazil, Capetown and The Hague. "What do you think of the solution outlined in my book?" he asked.

Replies were unanimous: "A political solution to Portugal's colonial problem will be welcome. If you can liberalize the regime it will clear the way for Portugal's entry into the Common Market." Misled by foreign liberals and conspirators at home, the honorable 63-year-old general prepared to lead a cabal of young officers whose principles were not his own. On April 15, he sent Monsignor Pereira Gomez, leader of the leftist wing in the Portuguese clergy, on a secret mission to the Vatican. Cardinal Villot, Secretary of State of the Holy See, gave the projected coup his blessing and sent back word that the general should proceed. Spínola went to Madrid himself. Madrid was too important to be entrusted to a lieutenant. His first meeting was with Prime Minister Arias Navarro. Then he went to General Díez Alegria, the Spanish Chief of Staff, and Mr. Eduardo Blanco, the former head of Spanish security services, currently in charge of the Spanish Sahara. Spanish negotiations were touchy because of the Iberian Peninsula Security Treaty, and Spain had to be assured that the risk Spínola was taking would not undermine Madrid. Mr. Navarro was not enthusiastic but he promised that Spain would not interfere. General Díez Alegria was easier. And he was important: One of his brothers, the leftist Jesuit priest, was living in a hippy community in Madrid, and the other was commander of the Spanish Civil Guard.

Certain leaders of European industry and finance had to be won over also, lest they throw their weight on the side of the government. Spínola's emissary to big business and banking was Thorsten Anderson, a Portuguese of Scandinavian descent, head of the Lisnave shipyards in Lisbon. Nothing was left to chance. A week after Spínola's talks in Madrid and Monsignor Gomez' mission to Rome, Spínola summoned fifteen top agents to a secret meeting, on Monday, April 22, 1974, in the frontier town of Villanueva del Fresno, southeast of Lisbon. When they parted, each had a sealed letter, to be delivered in person on receipt of a coded message. There was one for each of the principal ministers of foreign affairs in Western Europe, one to Washington, and one to Pretoria, South Africa. Others were addressed to top officials in Portugal's three African provinces. The messengers were driven to Madrid, via Toledo, to board planes for their destinations.

COMMUNICATIONS. The following day, Tuesday April 23, the general and his secret staff set up a communications system through which contact with conspirators in the army and emissaries abroad would be maintained. Key link was the Brazilian Embassy in Lisbon, which permitted Spínola to use its telex. Arrangements for this had been made on March 16, when Spínola spent the night there, the day after he was ousted

from the General Staff. On Tuesday, April 24, German, American, French and British naval units dropped anchor off the coast, near Lisbon, where Portuguese warships were waiting for the combined NATO maneuvers scheduled to commence on the morning of the 26th. Since Luns, the Secretary-General of NATO and Prince Bernhard's closest collaborator, had given Spinoła the green light over a month before, there is reason to believe that the gathering of the NATO fleet in Portuguese waters on April 24 was to lull the Caetano government. A big question since the communist takeover is: Did NATO's Supreme Commander for Europe, General Andrew J. Goodpaster, know about the plot when he attended the Bilderberg meeting in Megève four days earlier, officially listed not as an American but as an "International?" How much were Nelson Rockefeller and Helmut Sonnenfeld, Counselor of the Department of State, told about the plan when they were sitting with Luns and Prince Bernhard in Megève?

IN LISBON. While attention was focused on the NATO fleet off the coast, Spinoła made last-minute preparations in his command post, with Galvao de Melo, a 47-year-old reserve officer, acting as his Chief of Cabinet. When all was ready Spinoła went to the Brazilian Embassy to pass the night. Early on April 25, before the putsch started, the German, British, American and French ships raised anchors and disappeared, on orders from the naval commander of NATO, while the Portuguese vessels headed for the Tagus. At 3:00 A.M. commandos occupied the airport and the state-owned radio and television.

OUTSIDE PORTUGAL. Spinoła's fifteen agents were waiting in their assigned spots. Shortly after Caetano turned power over to Spinoła, they handed their sealed letters to the governments concerned and requested recognition of the new junta. Spinoła, bearer of the highest military decoration of Portugal, the grand cordon of the "Torre Espada," did not know it, but he had served his purpose. In Paris Mario Soares, the socialist, packed his bags and flew to London for talks with the Socialist International before flying home. Alvar Cunhal, the communist, headed for Lisbon after twelve years of grooming in Moscow and Prague. Irving Brown rushed from New York to celebrate the "victory" he had worked for through ICFTU, UN and the AFL-CIO for years. The same crusade - with the same results - in Algeria had taught him nothing.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT. The seven-man junta and seven members of the Young Officers Movement picked by Spinoła joined five civilians to form a Council of State which, in theory, would govern Portugal pending election of a Constitutional Assembly. From the beginning the cards were stacked. Communications and the media were in the hands of the left. Mario Soares, the socialist, told correspondents before accepting the post as Foreign Minister, "As long as the junta keeps its promises it is O.K. for foreign governments to recognize it." One of the leaders of the seven young officers of the Council was Major Vital Alves, who had been planning to use Spinoła as a front since the previous September; the highest ranking member was Colonel Vitor Gonçalves. Spinoła could not have put Portugal back on the track if he wanted to, for the simple reason that the army was no longer dependable. In the chain of command between him and it were Gonçalves, Alves and a host of others who had climbed upward with revolt their objective.

OTELO SARAVA DE CARVALHO, the 40-year-old hunter of "fascists" who jumped from captain to general, was a Spinoła man on the day of the coup. As soon as it was successful he threw in with the Young Officers' Movement and became chief of COPCON, "The Operational Commandment for the Continent," set up for the establishment of police control at home. De Carvalho went on a man-hunt for members of PIDE-DGS, the former regime's secret police, through his "Committee for the Liquidation of Fascist Activities."

As Caxias prison outside Lisbon filled, de Carvalho moved upward, arresting politicians and industrialists who had had anything to do with the Caetano or Salazar governments, or who had expressed anti-communist sentiments. Bank accounts of those denounced as enemies of the left were blocked. There is no way of estimating how

many are in prisons, since there are no charges or trials. Posters and press announcements invited the people to denounce "fascists," while members of the red militia administered "justice" in the streets. Commandant Sanchez Osorio, Spinola's Minister of Information, declared as he handed in his resignation, "On April 25 we were not making a communist revolution of a socialist one. General Spinola thought he could transform Portugal into a western democracy. He did not take into consideration the captains."

THE LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM PORTUGAL is worth studying, particularly in America, where Senator Lowell Weicker (see TIME of August 13, 1973) prevented American military intelligence in Heidelberg from investigating subversion among American civilians and military in subversion-rife Germany. When Spinola was putting over the coup, Otelo Sarava de Carvalho's "Committee for Liaison and Revolutionary Vigilance" bided its time. The minute Caetano fell, de Carvalho took charge of watching over the "revolutionary orthodoxy" of Spinola.

Moscow estimated that Portugal would be the last country in Europe to fall. The Kremlin figured that Yugoslavia would be theirs when Tito dies and Spain with the passing of Franco. Italy could be taken any time but Portugal not before 1981 at the earliest. No one was more surprised than Moscow when Spinola, the national hero, did their work for them. Brezhnev's first move was to transfer Ambassador Kalinine from Cuba to Lisbon. The Central Bank of Portugal reported that Moscow had transferred \$55 million to the Portuguese Communist Party between May and September. Russian arms were reaching red cells in the provinces. Trainloads of Portuguese workers indoctrinated by French reds began pouring home. Soviet labor boss, Alexander Chelepine, drew up a program for Labor Minister Pacheco Gonçaves, a communist, and 800 red shop organizers were soon regimenting Portugal's 1,200,000 workers for political action. Before April 25 the weekly Moscow-Stockholm-Lisbon flight arrived nearly empty. After the coup three flights a week reached Lisbon loaded with Russians.

By July Spinola realized he was being used and ordered his Prime Minister, Mr. Palma Carlos, to try to move up the elections planned for late 1975. "Traitors who have nothing to do with Portugal are trying to set the nation on fire and create a country that will no longer be Portuguese," Spinola declared as he maneuvered to gain six years in which to bolster the country against the reds by holding elections at once. Seeing which way the tide was running, Palma Carlos not only failed to push the election issue but left Spinola defenseless before his enemies by resigning and taking four non-communist ministers from the 15-man Cabinet with him. The field was cleared for the reds and Vasco Gonçaves, Moscow's man, became Prime Minister, beating Spinola's friend, Lieutenant Colonel Mario Miguel.

Spinola still hoped his prestige would enable him to get the monster back in the vase. He tried again in August, by having General Costa Gomes, the number two man of the junta and head of the Armed Forces, propose limiting the powers of the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, which Vasco Gonçaves and three pro-red ministers controlled. Gomes signed the appeal but assured the committee, on the side, that he was with them.

The airforce was with Spinola, but Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo, the Chief of Staff of the navy, was with the reds. On September 10 Spinola, in desperation, called on "the silent majority" to take a stand against totalitarian extremism and set Saturday, September 28, for a demonstration of support in Lisbon. Though a watch was put over Vasco Gonçaves the game was already lost. Red unions tied up buses and trains to prevent Spinola supporters from reaching the capital. Teenage militants with red arm-bands went down bumper-to-bumper jams of cars at roadblocks on roads leading into Lisbon. Occupants were searched, questioned and handed a list of "fascists" marked for arrest, with a hint that their names would be added if they did not turn around and go home. There was no organized defense of liberty. The communist Minister of State, Alvaro Cunhal, phoned General Vasco Gonçaves and asked, "What should I do

about the barricades?" The Prime Minister answered, "Hold them. I'll sent the army to help you."

The reds justified their takeover by cooking up a story that the right was planning to seize power. A few guns were confiscated from the pigeon-shooting club, to back their charges, and whisky bottles from a political club were offered as proof that Molotov-cocktails were being prepared. Once more "Grandola, Vila Morena," went over the air as a signal that the reds had won, followed this time by Vinceremos, the revolutionary song Allende's followers adopted in Chile.

Communist units occupied the Ministries of Information and Defense and the office of telecommunications, and the country was theirs. To avoid civil war Spinola resigned on September 30. The three right-wingers of the junta who supported him were summarily sacked and General Costa Gomes made himself President, with the aid of the two members of the junta who remained. General Vasco Gonçalves continued as Prime Minister and announced, "In the coming elections fascist reactionaries will not be permitted to vote." When leaders of the Christian Democratic Party begged for protection, he refused to receive them. In his resignation speech General Spinola declared, "My sense of loyalty prevents me from betraying my people, for whom new forms of slavery are being prepared under the false flag of freedom."

On November 19, two days after the new government had started purging anti-red officers and retiring generals over 62, which included Spinola, to make them ineligible for any active role, the Washington Post reported that U. S. Ambassador Stuart Nash Scott felt there was no danger of Portugal going communist. By then the campaign denouncing Spinola as a hidden reactionary and friend of capitalism was in full swing, and General Otelo Sarava de Carvalho was arresting anyone who got in his way.

Spinola himself was reported to be far from Lisbon, working on a new book. No one knew where Irving Brown was, but his ICFTU was locked in fraternal embrace with the communist "World Federation of Trade Unions," opposition to which was supposed to be ICFTU's reason for existence.

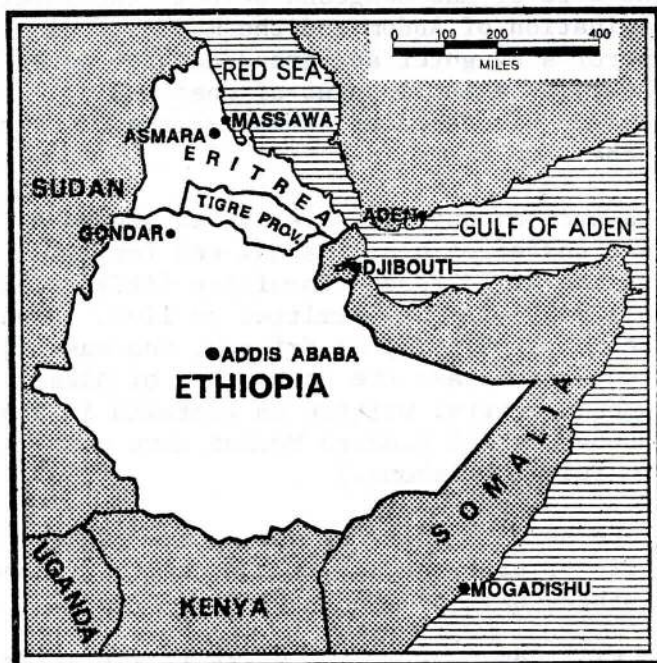
That same November 19th Teddy Kennedy was in Lisbon, singing "Grandola" with the victors, accompanied on the guitar by Minister of the Interior Colonel Manuel da Costa Braz, the head of Vasco Gonçalves police machine, which, when the truth is known, will make Caetano's look permissive.

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Prelude to civil war

It is summer in Ethiopia. The *bouzou zinab*, the great rains, ended in September and the days are warm and clear. On Friday morning, November 22, soldiers began piling out of jeeps and troop carriers in front of the home of Lieutenant-General Aman Mikael Andom, in the compound of a hospital named after Haile Selassie's daughter, the Princess Tsehai (her name means "the sun"), who died in childbirth.

All day they stayed there, keeping the 50-year-old Eritrean who, until a few days before, had been their commander as well as Defense Minister and Chairman of the Provisional Administrative Council, under house arrest. Events were moving more rapidly and drastically than they had in Portugal, but there was a parallel. Andom,

until he resigned in a huff eight days before, had headed the 120-man Armed Forces Committee (AFC), known as the Dergue. Since February he had been directing the creeping revolution which slowly drew a net around the 82-year-old Emperor and finally imprisoned him. With the Emperor and the country's elite in their hands, Major Mengistu Haile Mariam and the young officers and non-coms of the AFC no longer needed Andom, and in the late afternoon of Saturday, November 23, they sent a messenger to tell him he had fifteen minutes in which to give himself up. Andom knew what was awaiting him, and had told a friend that when it came he would go down fighting. The battle lasted over two hours. Recoilless rifles mounted on jeeps and light arms on Saracen armored cars had little effect on the two-foot-thick walls of Andom's house. A tank smashed through, and in the breach Andom was killed by a bullet through the head.

THEN THE MASSACRE. It was a typical African operation. Fired by their taste of blood, Mengistu's men went to the old palace, the "Grand Guebi," constructed on the top of the hill overlooking the city by the Emperor Menelik, who conquered the Italians in 1896 at the battle of Adoua. (Mussolini's desire for revenge is said to have stemmed from the fact that his own father was among those castrated after that battle by Menelik's tribesmen in search of souvenirs.)

Some 260 prisoners had been confined since October 22 in the damp cellars, underneath the banquet hall of Menelik's old guebi, "for their own safety." It was getting dark when 57, including Haile Selassie's grandson, Rear Admiral Iskender Desta, were hauled out, with the explanation that they were being transferred. At the prison near the headquarters of the Organization for African Unity they found a police officer and an execution squad waiting for them. Those who could stand were machine-gunned in groups of ten. Ras Asrate Kassa, whose father had led an army against the Italians in 1935 and '36, was dragged from a hospital bed and shot in a wheelchair. The Emperor's

treasurer, Blatta Admassu Retta, dying of cancer, was shot on his stretcher. The dying Lieutenant-General Isayas Gebre Selassie was in a coma and did not know what was going on when the bullets hit him. Next day the bodies were thrown into a common grave. For Iskender Desta, the Emperor's grandson, death came as it had for his father, whom jeering Italians led to a firing squad, on February 24, 1937, his arms bound behind him, without a semblance of a trial. Iskender had been designated over the sick Prince Asfa Wasson as heir to the throne. Princess Tenagne Werk, Iskender's mother and the Emperor's only surviving daughter, was under guard along with other members of the imperial family, including Iskender's sister, Princess Aida, the wife of Ras Mengeshe Seyoum, the ruler of Tigre (of which more later.) After the elimination of Andom and the massacre of the 57 members of the country's elite, the Emperor's daughter and granddaughter were moved with a number of others to an army barracks, as a gentle hint of what would happen to them if the Emperor refused to hand over his deposits abroad -- the deposits which, as much as ideology, were a reason for the revolt.

On December 1 a UPI dispatch out of Addis Ababa stated that His Majesty had signed a letter "of his own free will," authorizing the transfer of his personal and family fortunes. As long as Mengestu Haile Mariam and the Armed Forces Committee (AFC) think he is not squeezed dry, Haile Selassie and his family will be permitted to live. Among those imprisoned is Ras Andargachew Messai, the former Viceroy of Eritrea, who was Lij Andarge Messai until he married Ras Desta's widow and became the stepfather of Aida and Iskender. (The Ethiopian holy book with wooden covers, written on goatskin in the Geez language - the language of the Queen of Sheba - which Andarge Messai gave your correspondent in 1936 is on loan to a museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma.)

A bloodbath was inevitable. The country had been held together by the sacred figure of the Emperor, the power of tradition, and the grip of priests whom the man on the throne was forced to play against each other; now all three have been destroyed.

INTRIGUE AND "ISHY-NAGA." Ishy-naga means, roughly, "Okay, tomorrow." It is a form of politeness as each drawn-out trading session ends and the buyer delays as long as possible the paying of any money. Constant in the mind of the buyer is suspicion, and in the end it is his market. He can afford to wait. The slow encirclement of Haile Selassie by the AFC was cunningly Ethiopian. So natural are conspiracy and subterfuge to the Ethiopian mind, even among families words are crowded together in written messages lest something be inserted to change the meaning. Since there was no one the masses could trust among themselves they were given a figure to revere. With all the faults of the old system, what will follow will be worse.

HAILE SELASSIE, the 223rd descendant of the son of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon, King of Jerusalem, was born Ras Tafari, in Edjersso, in his father's province of Harrar, on July 23, 1892, the first day of the sign of the lion. He was the great grandson of King Sahle Selassie, of Shoa, and his father, Ras Mahonnen, was chief advisor to Menelik II. At the age of 16 Tafari became governor of Sidamo and later of his father's fief of Harrar, with a French priest in charge of his education. When Menelik died on December 12, 1911, it was four years before his subjects knew it. Ras Tafari became regent, plotting with the French and British to oust Menelik's wild grandson, Lij Jassou. The stories of Lij Jassou are legion. Riding through Addis Ababa with his guard of Galla horsemen, he might see a strange tribesman of powerful build, from the provinces, and have the man brought to wrestle with him, to maintain his boast that he could beat any man in the Empire.

Lij Jassou's final undoing was the donning of a turban for his marriage with a girl from one of the moslem provinces. A photograph of the wedding was circulated among the clergy, to get him deposed by the Abouna (patriarch) of the Ethiopian Coptic Church, after which Lij Jassou fled to the Danakil country, to the great relief of France and Britain, who feared he would join the German-Turkish alliance. Zauditu, Menelik's daughter, was proclaimed Queen of Kings, with Ras Tafari, the regent, as her

heir. It was a period of intrigue. Hapta Giorgis, the war minister, incited the clergy against Tafari, because of his plans for modernization, and Ras Gugsa, Zauditu's husband, plotted for his wife. Menelik's name was magic to Ethiopians and if Ras Gugsa or the war minister could bring Lij Jassou into their game the country would be theirs. Tafari captured Jassou in Tigre, in January 1921, and put him in the custody of Ras Kassa, the powerful governor of the province. For the next fourteen years stories of the whereabouts and treatment of the last male of Menelik's line were whispered in coffee houses and tukols. An old man told me, "When he was taken through the town, we were ordered to close the doors and shutters and stay inside, but we watched. Lij Jassou sat on his horse like an eagle rides and he wore golden chains."

On October 7, 1928, Ras Tafari was proclaimed king (Negus) on the death of Hapta Giorgis. Zauditu died on April 2, 1930, after a last attempt at revolt by her husband, and on November 2, Tafari was crowned King of Kings, with the title of Haile Selassie I, in the octagonal church of old Menelik, in rites which went back to David and Solomon.

ACCESSION TO THE THRONE did not stop the conspiracies. On the contrary, it encouraged them. A year after the coronation, Ras Hailu, the wealthiest chieftain in the country, was invited to the palace for dinner, and after the last course, at a clap of the new Emperor's hands, was led away in chains. As they sat at the table, trucks loaded with silver Maria Theresa thalers for use in his conspiracy which Haile Selassie had patiently watched develop, until the moment came to strike, were being seized in the provinces.

THEN CAME MUSSOLINI. The clash between Italians and nomads at the watering place of Ualual, on the Ethiopian side of the border with Italian Somaliland, on December 5, 1934, was never anything but a pretext for conquest. The League of Nations, like UN, was powerless, and as Il Duce's columns drove on Addis Ababa from Eritrea in the north and Italian Somaliland in the east, embassy secretaries, military attachés and war correspondents converged on Addis Ababa from all over the world. Japan sent a mission to offer to save the country in return for the right to exploit its resources. Sir Sidney Barton, the British ambassador, riding high as Ethiopia's most trusted friend, told the Emperor to send the Japanese packing. He had given Britain's word, and a country protected by Britain was as good as saved.

Russia's chief war correspondents, Sardov and Borisov, to use the names they were going under at the time, were military specialists from the Russian embassy in Berlin. Sardov soon struck up an agreement with the French communist in charge of the radio station which enabled him to see each day's files. There were gaffes. The proud Amharas are not negroid but semitic descendants of invaders who crossed the Red Sea. The worst insult to give an Amhara was to imply that there was any relation between him and negroes. Captain Mead, the U. S. military attaché, on making his introductory visit to the palace, told the dignified Emperor that his grandfather had been a general in the Civil War, to free the negroes in America. A doubly embarrassing statement, since slavery was an Italian propaganda issue. Haile Selassie's face remained impassive.

THE WHEELS OF GOVERNMENT STOP. The first objective of the Italians was to "liberate" Menelik's grandson. If Mussolini could put Lij Jassou on the throne as a puppet bolstered by his grandfather's name, he could divide and subjugate the country. As the two-pronged Italian advance drove forward in the winter of 1935-36, Haile Selassie disappeared for three days on a mysterious trip in his personal Fokker. No one knew where he went, or why, but after his return a terse communiqué announced that Lij Jassou, the unmanageable prince, was dead. During the period that Haile Selassie was away, there was no government. He was Ethiopia. No one doubted the cause of Lij Jassou's death, but neither did anyone dispute its necessity. In the end it was gas and aerial bombing that won the war for the Italians. On May 1, 1936, the Djibouti train was flagged to a halt on the outskirts of Addis Ababa and the Emperor boarded it with his suite, on the road to exile, first in Jerusalem and then in Britain.

To the end the Italian advance was Machiavellian. A wave of sheeftas (brigands) preceded the advance column of four battalions advancing from Eritrea in a long column of trucks - mostly American, though America would not sell Haile Selassie a propeller for his Beechcraft, "lest it involve us in war with Italy." The idea was to force the foreigners in Addis Ababa to call on the Italians for protection, thereby enabling the fomenters of terrorism to make propaganda out of restoring order. As the line of trucks rolled into Addis Ababa the British ambassador, in a fit of futile rage, slapped the face of the American minister, who had gone to the British embassy for safety. A few months later Haile Selassie's London bank account was turned over to the King of Italy, who was by then Emperor of Italy and Ethiopia. Haile Selassie, in a speech which his American advisor, Everett Colson, had helped to write, told the League of Nations on June 30, 1936, "If you allow the injustice which has been done my country to pass, I tell you now and I tell you without rancor, the West shall perish." Only Ras Desta and a few scattered chieftains, fathers of the men executed on November 3, 1974, remained in the field, until February 1937 when Desta was captured and executed.

WORLD WAR II and Italy's entry into the war brought the Emperor his chance to return. Britain needed a new front, an uprising against the Duke d'Aosta's forces in Ethiopia, to prevent an Italian drive on Egypt through the Sudan. It was in Britain's interests but it was Haile Selassie's only hope. In the Sudan the Ethiopians found the young Eritrean, Aman Andom, born in Khartoum on July 21, 1924, and graduated from the Sudan's St. George Military Academy. The Ethiopians were his people's traditional enemies, but it was a chance for Andom to start his military career as a second lieutenant. He joined up.

After the war he rose rapidly. By 1956 he was a division commander and in 1962 a major general. Haile Selassie liked the handsome Eritrean, and in May 1964 sent him to Washington as military attaché. It was a fatal mistake. In Washington Andom entered liberal Howard University for a B.A. degree in government and came out imbued with the popular conviction of leftist professors that all kings are bad, anachronisms to be replaced by left-leaning democracies.

IN ETHIOPIA ALSO THE TERMITES HAD BEEN AT WORK. In 1941 when Haile Selassie returned with the British, Ethiopia had reverted to the chaos of 1930. It needed roads, schools, hospitals. There was no economic or administrative infrastructure. General Maxwell, the American, gave the Emperor a plane so he would not be completely dependent on the British, and Haile Selassie made the general a present of his coronation sword. Outside aid was slow in arriving after the war, and it was then that the Russians stepped in. Striking while the American-manufactured crusade against colonialism was in full swing, Russian agents spread over Africa. Priest-ridden Ethiopia was ideal for penetration through the clergy, since the Coptic Church is first cousin to the Russian Orthodox.

The United Nations had not yet become an organized bloc against the West, but with its exaggeration of the virtue of being black, brown or yellow and its conception of eternal indebtedness to the people formerly colonized, it was well on its way. No longer could Ethiopia's ruling Amharas look down on negroes. Even on the colonialist angle they were vulnerable, with newly-acquired Eritrea in the north and a province of Somali-speaking subjects in the east, to say nothing of the tribes of Gallas, Garragis, Somalis, Danakils and others ruled by a semitic Amhara minority. Only a change of tack could save Ethiopia from being lumped with the enemies of Black Africa, and Haile Selassie made it. Overnight he became more African than the poor natives of Ghana whom American labor's "roving ambassador," Irving Brown, and Lawrence C. McQuade, the New York lawyer, told in 1958: "Unite! You have a continent to regain and nothing to lose but your chains!"

Industryless Ethiopia was given her Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, which were nothing but arms for subversive regimentation, and in 1963 the Organization of African

Unity was formed, with Addis Ababa as its seat.

GRADUALLY POWER CHANGED HANDS. Ethiopia's estimated 26 million members of disparate tribes, like most Africans, hold an inherent respect for authority backed by power. Power, rather than the democratic process, is what counts, and as the sacred figure on the throne aged, power eroded beneath him. During that period a friendship sprang up between Andom the Eritrean adventurer who got his start under General Wingate and went on to Sandhurst, and Mengistu Haile Mariam, ten years his junior, a member of the Galla tribe, born in Shoa. All the elements for a bloody revolution were there: power-hungry officers, indoctrinated students, marxist labor unions, a subverted clergy, and, shimmering before the insatiable lot of them, the gold in foreign banks which was theirs for the seizing.

THE FORTUITOUS FAMINE. There was nothing that should have shocked Ethiopians about the Emperor's riches abroad. Theoretically he was the proprietor of his empire. In 1935 it was with checks drawn on his personal accounts that such arms as he could purchase were bought. The drought in Wollo Province and failure of the government to cope with it provided the long-awaited opportunity. Those doing the clamoring would have handled the crisis no more efficiently nor compassionately than the government in power, but they knew that wealth - and the prospect that there might be some of it for everyone - was the argument that would bear weight. Consequently, in February 1974, the campaign to destroy the sacred figure of the Emperor started. Day after day, over radio and television went stories of the existence of an unbelievable fortune which should belong to the people. It reached its peak in August. Then Lieut. Gen. Aman Andom and Major Mengistu Haile Mariam, of Andom's 3rd Division, began their slow closing of the net. Andom was to be Ethiopia's Spinola.

Biding its time through the power-stripping period, the violent fringe of the revolution was always present. Africa is cruel, and to the violent fringe no revolution is worthy of its name or capable of succeeding unless it comes in with a wave of bloodshed brutal enough to leave no doubt that its leaders mean business. The stages were classic. Mengistu and the lower-grade officers and non-coms let their handsome general, imbued with the ideas he had brought back from Howard University, front for them. Patiently they waited until he had destroyed the Emperor to a point where the process could not be reversed and the power of the Emperor resuscitated to save the general. When that was reached they killed Andom and those of the ruling class they had put under arrest "for their safety."

That accomplished, leaders of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, who had been using the whittling-down by the military as a ground-clearing operation for themselves, demanded civilian rule in the form of a "people's government," composed of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals. The military ignored them and proceeded to send the students into the country to "educate" the masses. Tamed by the massacre of November 23, they went without a murmur. The role of the students is to whip up a demand for the Emperor's head, so that the new Chief of State, Brigadier-General Teferi Benti, behind whom Mengistu and the real rulers of the country are hiding, can announce that "the people have made the decision."

It is worth nothing that when Lieut.-Col. Adela Katew, of the Emperor's Guard, was brought before a military court martial on December 10, in the palace where Haile Selassie and about 180 others were then being held, the helmeted soldiers lining the halls were carrying Russian automatic weapons. Katew is a starter in the "trials" which will lead upward till they reach the Emperor, and probably his daughter and granddaughter. The fate of the prisoners in Mengistu's hands is sealed. The question is: "What next?" The answer is "civil war."

THE DAY OF RECKONING will arrive because of a number of factors. First will come the counter-revolution. Mengistu, for the moment, is on top. He wants a military junta.

Allied with him until the throne and Andom were destroyed were the labor leaders, students, part of the airforce and the army engineers. They want to execute the Emperor and all of his associates and relatives and form a marxist popular government. A third group, of which Andom was the leader, is fractured but capable of joining Mengistu's enemies.

FIRST: SOMALILAND. The enemies are powerful. General Said Barre heads the military regime in Somaliland. He covets the neighboring Ogaden region of Ethiopia, and is backed by Russia. In July 1974, President Nikolai Podgorny flew to Mogadishu to visit Barre, who had already accorded Russia a base in Berbera. 2,500 Russian instructors and a flow of Russian equipment have given Somaliland one of the most powerful striking forces in Africa. The build-up started with Russia's growing interest in the Indian Ocean and Defense Minister Marshal Gretchko's four-day visit to Somaliland in 1972. When the American company Tenneco discovered natural gas in the area Somaliland is claiming, Russian interest increased. In mid-1973 Haile Selassie tried to get arms from the U. S., Britain, France and Israel and failed. America's explanation was that Washington did not want to increase tension in Africa. The rejection by the four powers contributed to the weakening of Haile Selassie at home and served as a green light for Russia.

FOR 13 YEARS A HIT-AND-RUN WAR HAS BEEN WAGED BY THE ERITREANS. As with the Portuguese in Africa, war-weariness spread in the Ethiopian forces. In February 1974 troops in Eritrea went on a strike for more pay and were given a raise of 50%. It was too easy. Officers like Andom and Mengistu saw that the man in the palace was helpless. As Ethiopian morale dropped, Russia, Somaliland, Libya, South Yemen and Iraq increased their aid for the rebel Eritrean Liberation Front (FLE). Outside intervention is certain when the fighting mounts. Wedged between Eritrea and Somaliland is France's Territory of the Afars and Issas, with its strategic port of Djibouti commanding the entrance to the Red Sea and the railway to Addis Ababa. Occupation of Djibouti will give Russia command of the Red Sea. A change in the balance of power in the entire region appears inevitable as Russians and Arabs fuel revolts and the Chinese watch and wait.

WITH THIS FORMIDABLE LINE-UP AGAINST THEM the hot-heads in Addis Ababa threw the wife and mother-in-law of Ras Mengesha Seyoum, the ruler of Tigre province, in prison. Threats to execute them did not deter him for a minute. Tigre borders on Eritrea, so he formed a Tigre Liberation Front, made an alliance with the Eritreans and started preparing to fight. Some three million Ethiopian tribesmen hold firearms. These are the men Mengistu and the Armed Forces Committee sent students into the country to "educate," which is to say, subvert. A lot of them will opt for the old order, and join Seyoum.

The result of civil war in Ethiopia will be tragic, whether treasonable officers, the red-dominated coalition of labor leaders and students, or the forces of Ras Seyoum come out on top. Eritrea and Somaliland's horn of Africa, jutting into the Indian Ocean, will be swarming with Russians. Kenya and the Sudan will be next in line. It could seal the fate of Israel as well.

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The CIA Probe

"Sad is what you have to feel about the blue ribbon panel established by President Ford to look into the latest charges against the CIA," wrote Joseph Kraft on January 9, 1975. And sad Mr. Kraft undoubtedly was, burning to join the pack and help get the foes they really wanted - the FBI and the House Internal Security Committee (HISC). On the other hand there were the old CIA friends in labor organizations, the Newspaper Guild, National Students' Association, National Education Association, publishing houses and dozens of newspapers and organizations who had helped Kraft glorify terrorists in Algeria, Black Africa, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and everywhere else where America and her allies were under fire. Only in the overworked words "blue ribbon" to describe the stacked panel selected to turn the New York Times story of December 22, 1974, by Mr. Kraft's fellow leftist, Seymour M. Hersh, into an onslaught on all branches likely to investigate subversion, was there no division of loyalties. An honest picture of the agency Seymour Hersh and his ilk were attacking in their feint to get the FBI and the House Internal Security Committee would surprise a lot of Americans.

THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES (OSS) was the grandfather of CIA, as most Americans know. It was the offspring of COI, the Coordination Office for Information which President Roosevelt founded five months before Pearl Harbor to be headed by William Joseph (Wild Bill) Donovan, the New York lawyer. Six months after Pearl Harbor the propaganda side of COI was turned over to the Office of War Information (OWI), formed for that purpose, and the Office of Strategic Services, America's first central intelligence agency, was born. With Herbert Marcuse analyzing German social structures and Cora Du Bois preparing the ground for postwar operations against "European colonialism in Asia," OSS's port list was pronounced from the start.

By V-J Day a hard-core group of leftists who knew where they were going had OSS firmly in hand. The unorganized patriots without experienced direction were being weeded out long before President Truman signed the order on September 20, 1945, which officially ended the existence of OSS.

STRATEGIC SERVICES UNIT (SSU) followed, but not until February 1946 did the effects of the change make their appearance abroad. Philip Horton, who later became editor of Max Ascoli's far-left weekly, The Reporter, headed the SSU office in France, where French reds, using labor unions as shock troops, were preparing to hamper the supply of munitions for French troops fighting a red army in Indo-China which OSS had armed and trained. Richard Helms was station boss for the new and reduced version of OSS in Germany, where the installation of socialist Willy Brandt, first as Mayor of Berlin and then in the chancellorship, was to become a CIA goal.

In Italy Office of War Information sound trucks and American agents openly campaigned to destroy the monarchy and with it the barrier provided by tradition against the reds. Our man in charge there was one James Angleton.

For over a year the purging of non-leftists from the old OSS continued, on grounds that in peacetime America needed no ponderous intelligence service. Then, on September 8, 1947, President Truman by a stroke of his pen introduced America's Central Intelligence Agency, and a recruiting drive - under new personnel directors - started. The story of CIA between that date and the day when men in CIA itself met openly with the political arm of the Rockefellers, referred to as "America's invisible government," and decided that the agency had served its purpose and would be thrown to the mob, will be gone into later. It is the establishment of a precise date on which the decision to destroy CIA was taken, and the reasons, that for the present are important.

THE DRIVE AGAINST CIA: Seymour M. Hersh's New York Times story on CIA surveillance of Americans could not have touched off the present storm had not powerful forces already decided that a follow-up on Watergate should break when and as it did, and that CIA would be the target. The same editors who published the Pentagon Papers as a prelude to the attack on the President which would end in a successful drive against the system, on the eve of a mid-term election, carried the ball. In the wave created by the debacle everything went as planned -- a new crop of turbulent young liberal Congressmen and Senators, right out of Allen Drury's "Come Nineveh: Come Tyre," was swept into office.

A half-page story by Louis Heren in the London TIMES of January 13, 1975, told Britishers, "The journalist who wrote the surveillance story was Seymour Hersh, who broke the My Lai story and uncovered many of the Watergate scandals. He is probably the best investigative reporter in the United States." That Seymour Hersh's My Lai story, which tore the heart out of the American army and advanced the pullout from Vietnam was financed by Philip Stern, the nephew of Alfred K. Stern, who fled to Russia to escape arrest as a Soviet spy, readers of the London TIMES have not and probably will not be told by any British correspondent in Washington.

CIA: THE FALSE IMAGE. The success of the plan to dismantle the FBI and the House Internal Security Committee, by first inciting the mob against the CIA, was contingent on putting over the idea that CIA is an anti-communist arm of the right. Considering that the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies (CENIS) and Rand Corporation were set up by CIA to provide berths for men whose records were so blatantly red they never could have had security clearance for a job in CIA itself, this may have seemed next to impossible. But the media to date have been successful.

Richard Beeston, the Washington correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, quoted former CIA Director James Schlesinger, on January 9, as complaining that the Agency was "run like an Englishman's club." Schlesinger and the man who quoted him were playing on the popular American conception of an English gentlemen's club. Louis Heren carried hypocrisy a step further in the London TIMES of January 13. "Given that the United States is the hope of the world, which most Americans believe, it is seen to be necessary to so order the world that the land of the free and the home of the brave continues to flourish," he wrote. "This is what motivates those decent chaps with their pipes and tweeds at the CIA."

Thus the press charges CIA with compiling files on Americans guilty only of dissent, though it is only empowered to operate abroad. It is accused of meddling in Chile, Iran and Cuba, and of being an unscrupulous enemy of the left. A different picture is provided by former CIA analyst R. Harris Smith in "OSS, THE SECRET HISTORY OF AMERICA'S FIRST CIA." Smith boasts of how CIA men flocked to join Eugene McCarthy in the 1968 campaign. The agency, wrote Smith, "has been a repository for anti-war sentiment in Washington throughout the Vietnam build-up of the Johnson administration. CIA reports challenged the myth that the Viet Cong movement was controlled and sustained by the North Vietnam leadership in Hanoi....In October 1969, during the Vietnam Moratorium, a few of the younger (and braver) CIA analysts strolled through Agency

headquarters wearing black armbands, a symbol of protest against the war."

Accused of amassing files on Americans guilty only of dissent, but permitting its analysts to demonstrate sympathy for the enemy, in the middle of a war! - to say the least is contradictory. Even Kim Philby would never have dared maintain that Hanoi control and support of the Viet Cong was a "myth."

"The great victory of the CIA liberal faction," Mr. Smith wrote on page 368, "was the operational brainchild of another Dulles recruit, 32-year-old Thomas Braden, an OSS veteran who accepted Dulles' offer to join CIA in 1951 as Assistant Director....At Braden's suggestion and with the support of Allen Dulles and Frank Wisener, the CIA began its covert support of the non-communist political left around the world - trade unions, political parties and international organizations of students and journalists." What Mr. Smith is saying is that from the early 1950's on CIA recruited at home and worked abroad only with leftist men and organizations who said they were not communist. This is the non-communist left which, when it has no voice, clamors for the right of all factions to be heard. It is a left whose ideological terrain merges constantly with that of the enemy whose strength is about to surpass America's. Yet, the leftists who established a monopoly on the agency which was supposed to provide intelligence on which America's policy decisions would be based closed the door at home and abroad to any reports from the sector of the political spectrum whose interests never merge with the enemy's.

The Agency's declarations were anti-communist. There was no denying the fact that world domination under the red flag is Moscow's aim and that America is the prime target. The catch was that socialism was the only alternative offered as a solution, and CIA was as anti-anyone to the right of what leftists consider center as it was anti-red. And Thomas Braden, Mr. Smith boasts, was the architect of this policy. Now, to investigate charges that CIA compiled files on some 10,000 Americans who were against the war in Vietnam and conducted covert actions against "liberal" - read communist - governments and leaders, a panel headed by Vice President Rockefeller and described by every left-wing writer on the press as "blue ribbon" has been set up. Yet the head of that "True Blue Ribbon Panel" (Newsweek, January 20, 1975), Vice President Rockefeller, has testified that in 1954 he gave Thomas Braden \$125,000 to buy a newspaper.

The Rockefeller gift to the man R. Harris Smith credits with responsibility for "the great victory of the CIA liberal faction," brings up the matter of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), one of the leaders of which is Mr. David Rockefeller, the head of Chase Manhattan Bank and brother of the Vice President. It is no secret that the goal toward which the CFR has worked by every means from sowing revolts in colonies to advancing UN and propagandizing the European Common Market, is a socialist, one-world state in which America and Soviet Russia will be merged.

CFR AND THE CIA. Sometime in the last few years it appears that a group of faceless men in the CFR decided that America and the West had been brought to a state where the dream of the one-worlders and the anti-patriots was ready for a move forward. CIA, with its Bradens and wide-roving labor leaders and leftist writers, had helped bring this state about, but CIA was no longer needed. If, by sacrificing the agency which had not hindered communism's advance but instead had strengthened the left which all over the world is now forming popular fronts with communists, it would be possible to dismantle the FBI and the House Internal Security Committee, the step had to be taken. To fix a precise date for the period when this decision was taken is difficult, but the date at which it first manifested itself was January 8, 1968, four months after the London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH (conservative where British affairs are concerned) hailed Nelson Rockefeller as an "enigma of the Right." The body taking the lead was the most powerful group in America, with lines leading into the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London and similar organizations around the world.

On the evening of January 8, 1968, approximately a year before Victor Marchetti resigned from CIA with the suitcases of trivia which the American Civil Liberties Union was to help him publish, and at approximately the same time Philip Agee, at his CIA post in Mexico City, began squirreling away documentation which French and Cuban reds would help him bring out in print on the heels of Marchetti's book, members of the inner circle of the Council on Foreign Relations met in the Harold Pratt House, at 58 East 68th Street, New York. It is possible that Marchetti was at the meeting, for he wrote in "CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," which was the first salvo in the current offensive, "It was in an atmosphere of restiveness and doubt, on a January evening in 1968, that a small group of former intelligence professionals and several other members of the cult of intelligence met to discuss the role of the CIA in U. S. foreign policy."

It was just before Hanoi launched the Tet offensive which was designed to break America's will to continue the fight, and the speaker who addressed the CFR decision-makers was Richard Bissell, the CIA consultant who formerly headed the agency's Clandestine Services. Douglas Dillon was present, the man who as Secretary of the Treasury wasted America's gold reserves in foreign aid to no-pay countries such as India; who flooded America with printing-press money unbacked by silver and introduced the practice of putting old dates on coins in the mint. Frank Altschul, the wealthy CFR official bent on bringing America into a socialist, neutralist super-state via the European Common Market was there. So was Meyer Bernstein who in the post-war years, when CIA was financing labor unions, descended on Dusseldorf with the fervor of an evangelist and set up the labor machine which helped carry Willy Brandt into power, and with him the red spies who enjoyed immunity because "socialists do not investigate socialists," as Egon Bahr put it when red spy Gunter Guillaume was caught.

Present and taking notes was Nelson Rockefeller's former assistant, George S. Franklin, executive director of the CFR and secretary of the Atlantic Council of the U. S. Thomas L. Hughes, whom OSS veteran Roger Hilsman pushed into the job of Director of Intelligence and Research in State Department, which he still held, was present. Not to be overlooked was Joe Kraft, the New York Times man who ten years before had been a propagandist for the Algerians when CIA and the CFR were backing them. With Algiers firmly established as the revolution capital of the world, the international left turned its big guns on America over Vietnam. Again, Kraft pleaded the cause of the enemy. In his column of July 1, 1971, Kraft told how he had "seen something of the Vietnamese communists" and had gone to see Ellsberg (the Pentagon Papers traitor) in the Defense Department, back in the early sixties. This time Kraft was a self-appointed "peace negotiator," working for American defeat in the name of peace. He wanted America to topple the Saigon Government and replace it with a team willing to "negotiate peace," i.e., surrender to Hanoi. Kraft met Ellsberg again, in Saigon, in 1965, and later in Senator Edward Kennedy's home in Washington immediately after CIA consultant Richard Bissell laid out the lines of attack on the CIA before the CFR on January 8, 1968. The following year Kraft was in Paris, exchanging ideas with his friends in the Hanoi delegation, and in early 1971 he saw Ellsberg, just before the stolen papers were published. So much for the New York Times columnist who was a member of the CFR "by invitation, on the basis of business, professional or official position affording the possibility of influencing opinion in matters of foreign policy," as the organization's membership ruling puts it.

MEMBERS OF THIS SAME CFR, on May 11, 1957, decided in the home of John D. Rockefeller, III, in Tarrytown, New York, to drag America deeper into Vietnam. Nelson Rockefeller's brother David was at the meeting, along with Dean Rusk, John J. McCloy, Ogden R. Reid and Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. Henry T. Heald, President of Ford Foundation, Paul J. Sherbert, Executive Director of the Asia Society, and James J. Rorimer, President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, were with them. So were Howard C. Shepherd, Chairman of the Board of First National City Bank, and State Department's Director of Southeast Asian Affairs,

Kenneth T. Young. Exponents of the conspiracy theory who hold that America was drawn into a protracted Vietnam war for the purpose of imposing a defeat which would pull down leaders, institutions and ideals in its wake and pave the way for surrender of sovereignty to a one-world socialist state would be intrigued by the frequency with which certain names appear in the chain of events which have shaken America. Among the Vietnamese at the May 11, 1957, CFR luncheon at John D. Rockefeller III's home were Tran Le Quange, Ho chi Minh's former student leader in Paris, and his associate, Vu van Thai, another former Ho chi Minh lieutenant. Vu van Thai was the friend to whom Ellsberg gave a set of the Pentagon Papers before he gave them to the New York Times, and Thai was brought from his UN post in Dakar, Africa, to appear as a witness at the trial of those charged with breaking into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist in Los Angeles. For some reason Thai, who had sent his set of the papers to Hanoi, was never put in the witness box, as he surely would have been by an honest defense.

THE HATCHET JOB. After the CFR briefing by Robert Bissell in January 1968, the fight moved from strategy to tactics and Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks started the book which was to appear as the Watergate offensive prepared to move against the FBI and the House Internal Security Committee, with a new team in the White House and Congress. But in the book by Marchetti and Marks the agency which CIA analyst R. Harris Smith admits supported only the non-communist left, around the world, is pictured as blinded by fear and distrust of communism. In their 398 dull pages, Marchetti and Marks return again and again to the Bay of Pigs operation as an example of CIA hatred of communism. What the authors are most out to prove is that CIA is rightist, wasteful and inefficient, with the Bay of Pigs as an example. There is no suggestion that, had the invaders been sent ashore with the air umbrella they had been promised, the operation could have been successful. Neither is there any hint that there may have been shocking reasons why the air support was called off, and no Rockefeller panel is likely to bring the matter up.

SEYMOUR M. HERSH'S CHARGES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES that CIA snooped into the private lives of dissenters during the war in Vietnam we shall go into later. For the moment it is interesting to point out that the campaign against the American army in Vietnam which gave Mr. Hersh his start was financed by Philip Stern, whose uncle, as we have mentioned, was Alfred K. Stern, the Soviet spy. But Seymour Hersh's backer helped staff the Kennedy State Department and, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, sat on the board which planned the Bay of Pigs. Philip Stern's top aide during that period was Carl T. Rowan, whom Stern got appointed Director of the U. S. Information Agency, just as he pushed Seymour Hersh into the New York Times. This leads to another link between Stern and the drives to destroy the army, the presidency, the balance in House and Senate and the two valid security arms of the country, the FBI and the House Internal Security Committee. In June 1973 the extremely reliable Paris monthly, SPECTACLE DU MONDE, reported that two days after the Watergate affair Mrs. Cynthia Helms, wife of the director of CIA, attended a première in Washington where she was seated next to Carl T. Rowan. "Would you believe it?" the woman, who must have been drilled on what to say and what not to say, told Rowan, "They woke my husband up at three in the morning to tell him about a burglary." Rowan was smart enough to know that the head of CIA would never be routed out of bed over an ordinary burglary in crime-ridden Washington. From that moment the machine which was to destroy the presidency by "getting" a president and, in the aftermath, pack the Senate and House with freshmen liberals, was in motion, with the results you know. The full story would fill a book. Let us follow another trail which Marchetti and Marks leave unexplored while dwelling on the examples of duplication and waste which Marchetti had amassed for his exposé. Marchetti exclaims, "Then there was Encounter, the magazine published in England and dedicated to the proposition that cultural achievement and political freedom were interdependent.... Money for both the orchestra's tour (the Boston Symphony in Paris) and the magazine's publication came from the CIA, and few outside of the CIA knew about it." Counting on the public's ignorance, Marchetti boasted, "We had placed one agent in a Europe-based organization of intellectuals called the Congress of Cultural Freedom. Another agent became the editor of Encounter. The agents could not only propose anti-communist

programs to the official leaders of the organizations but they could also suggest ways and means to solve the inevitable budgetary problems." Marchetti and Marks knew that had they told the truth they would have destroyed their thesis. The ENCOUNTER editor they were hailing was Melvin J. Lasky, a leftist with a Lenin beard who had worked for the NEW LEADER, the political organ of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) when American labor bosses were using the money and power CIA gave them to organize unions abroad which men of their choosing would use as leftist parties. George Meany, the boss of AFL-CIO, will himself admit today that the monster union of unions he and his lieutenants built up in Brussels is worse than a dead loss. Today it is in the red camp. As was to be expected, CIA used labor unions as intelligence lines and they fed in propaganda to advance themselves. Marks and Marchetti knew what they were doing when they gave no details on CIA's London editor who had moved from the AFL-CIO political organ in America to DER MONAT, the publication formed to keep the German Christian Democrats out and Willy Brandt's socialists in, in Germany. From there Lasky went to London. From ENCOUNTER his editorship spread to the publishing house, Alcove Press, among whose writers is Arnold Beichman, the American trotskyst who provided pro-Algerian ammunition in the late '50s for unions the communists were regimenting in France. The claim that Lasky and his magazine proposed anti-communist programs distorts the facts. What they did propose and support were socialist programs which went communist when they were successful. The anti-communism of Lasky and ENCOUNTER can be judged by the fact that one of the most vicious and dishonest attacks on the John Birch Society ever printed abroad was published by Lasky in ENCOUNTER of March 1962. Using material taken from a hatchet-job book, "Inside the John Birch Society," by Gene Grove, ENCOUNTER pictured the JBS to Britishers as a neo-Nazi organization with its own Horst Wessel. The Congress of Cultural Freedom in which Marchetti boasted that CIA had placed an agent to fight communism at cultural level was headed by Mr. Murray Mindlin, the editor of Pall Mall Press, the London subsidiary of Frederick Praeger, Inc., which published CIA-funded books in the U. S. If a Washington committee were to go down the list of books published by Praeger or its London subsidiary and determine which had been funded by CIA, it would find that not one was to the right of the Socialist International or in support of a man or thesis not being backed by the CFR and the CIA. Whether the game of the moment was support for a president-for-life and his one-party system in Africa, a revolt in an ally's colony or more power for the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels, in the end Moscow profited by it. An excellent example of how leftists, such as Marchetti praises, meddled in the affairs of other countries and paved the way for communism, while making anti-communist speeches and working for socialism, is to be found in the story of Leo Cherne.

MR. LEO CHERNE is a member of CIA's 11-man Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and a director of such CIA fronts as the International Rescue Committee and the sub-front which it set up in the '50s, the American Friends of Vietnam. Whether as a vocation or a cover, he is the director of the Research Institute of America and a member of Freedom House. Mr. Cherne's constant companion in the CIA fronts he helped to run was Mr. Joseph Buttinger, the Austrian socialist leader naturalized American, whose Praeger-published books never would have paid their own way but which Mr. Cherne reviewed in the AFL-CIO's NEW LEADER in glowing terms. Cherne and Buttinger talked, wrote and lobbied to sell moves which anyone but a socialist bent on testing his theories would have known would be disastrous to Vietnam. And always in the name of fighting communism. Then in 1958 the game took a new turn, CIA's Foreign Intelligence advisor, under his Research Institute of America Director identity, ran a campaign to get American investors to put their money in South Vietnam. On June 13, 1969, a year and a half after the select group of CIA professionals and CFR members got together at the Harold Pratt House in New York to plan America's defeat and the dismantling of CIA, Mr. Cherne's Research Institute of America report stated, "The United States still wants a free South Vietnam after the war is over, but nobody in Washington talks of keeping the reds out forever, and the message is being conveyed to North Vietnam along these lines."

(To be continued)

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The CIA Probe

Part Two

"By coincidence or design, the pattern of attacks on the CIA is exactly what it would be were it the result of a master scheme," Mr. Miles Copeland, the author of "The Real Spy World" and other books on the CIA, declared in the TIMES of London on February 25, 1975. Commenting on Seymour Hersh, Copeland observed, "Agency officials concede that the New York Times' Seymour Hersh is motivated by nothing more sinister than a desire to get ahead of the Washington Post and win himself a Pulitzer Prize, but they think he and others may have been caught up in that master scheme they will be telling the blue ribbon commission and the Congressional committees about."

THE MASTER SCHEME. Let us take Vietnam alone as an example. How can one deny that there was a master scheme when in 1954 CIA sent its man (Colonel Edward Lansdale) to Saigon to purge the Vietnamese army of experienced officers, destroy the private armies which protected Saigon, Tay Ninh Province and the Mekong delta; and topple the throne, the sole catalyst of stability in the country - with the glib assurance that there was no threat from the north, but only from "colonialists" hoping to stage a comeback. (His Majesty Bao Dai, speaking of the killing of anti-communists and the sabotaging of every native anti-communist force in South Vietnam when the enemy was gathering strength for the next phase, told your correspondent, "If your country had given me a thousandth of what it spent to depose me, I could have won that war.")

How can one doubt for a minute that there was a master scheme, when Senator Mike Mansfield urged the ground-clearers for communism to go further and move faster when they were pulling out the underpinnings? (See Mansfield's article in HARPER'S of January 1956.) Then, in February 1975, when Southeast Asia was about to fall because the props that were there when America went in had been removed, the benign-appearing Senate majority leader said, "I am sick and tired of seeing pictures of Cambodian and Vietnamese women and children being slaughtered by American guns and American ammunition. The more aid we give the more killings there will be."

What else but a master scheme could have put Angier Biddle Duke, Leo Cherne and Joseph Buttinger of the Socialist International at the head of American Friends of Vietnam, the CIA lobby which hoodwinked America by saying victory was their aim, while everything they did made communist victory inevitable? Then, when South Vietnam was doomed beyond hope, we see Angier Biddle Duke appointed ambassador to Spain, where destruction of the Franco government and Caetano in Portugal was the next objective of CIA and its labor union fronts. We see CIA's Leo Cherne announcing in his "Confidential" report of June 13, 1969, that "nobody talks of keeping the reds out forever. Instead, officials say Saigon must be independent for three to five years. The message is being conveyed to North Vietnam along these lines."

Could anything but a master scheme have put the whole intelligence setup of America in Henry Kissinger's hands and given him the job of concluding the sellout when, accord-

ing to his friend and fellow CFR member, Joseph C. Harsch, (in his syndicated column of December 5, 1968) "Kissinger was one of the first among top experts to conclude that military victory in Vietnam is neither possible nor desirable?" (Emphasis ours) When did Kissinger decide that victory was neither possible nor desirable? Was it around 1960, when Vu van Thai, the Hanoi infiltrator to whom Ellsberg gave a set of the Pentagon Papers, was at Harvard? But we are getting ahead of the matter at hand. Let us go back to Miles Copeland.

Certainly, there is a master scheme, but it is not the one Copeland and his friends in Langley are likely to be telling the "blue ribbon commission and the Congressional committees about." Copeland and his friends are still too committed to the myth that the fight against communism must be fought by the non-communist left. They cannot admit that from the day in October 1969 when Seymour Hersh's spy in the Pentagon leaked him the story of the wiping out of the civilian screen which the 48th Vietcong Battalion had left in My Lai, Hersh's intentions were never anything but sinister. They were: To destroy the army, the President, the system, conservative congressmen, agencies that investigate subversion and eventually America, in that order. Hersh did not need the Pulitzer Prize. He already had it, for his My Lai campaign against the army. Forget Mr. Copeland's indulgence towards Mr. Hersh and that left which the French writer Charles Saint-Prot described as "the first echelon of subversion," a left which "enables subversion to gain ground and hasten the parallel decomposition of nations." The important thing is that Copeland uses the word master scheme, which is to say conspiracy.

MILES COPELAND, 58 YEARS OLD AND A NATIVE OF BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, was in OSS during World War II. When American agents launched the anti-colonialist drive against France in Syria, Copeland was there as a U. S. vice consul. By 1950 Copeland was an advisor to CIA, and after the fall of King Farouk he gave Nasser \$3 million in unvouchered funds. Nasser showed his contempt by using the taxpayers' money to build a useless tower. Between July 1955 when the CIA-encouraged revolt was gaining momentum in Algeria and late 1956 when America lined up with the Russians at the time of Suez, Copeland was in Washington, advising CIA and the government on North Africa and the Middle East. His work until 1957, he says, was with the CIA consultant firm of Booz, Allen and Hamilton, whose employees were still in Algerian government offices and state-run companies fourteen years later. Thirty-some revolutionary groups and an unknown number of wanted hijackers were being supported by the government Copeland's old firm was making "efficient" while Algerians whom CIA educated in America during the 50s and 60s provided liaison between government and terrorists.

By then Copeland and former CIA agent Kermit Roosevelt, of whom more later, had formed a consultant firm in London. There Copeland, through his books and letters to the TIMES, established a reputation as an authority on CIA and things American. When the present Winston Churchill, member of Parliament for Stretford, described him in words which "meant and were understood to mean that the plaintiff was, or had been employed by the Central Intelligence Agency as a spy," Copeland sued him for libel. However, in "The Real Spy World," Copeland describes himself as a founder of the CIA and one of the original experts on recruiting and organizing spies. Copeland gave his reasons in the London TIMES of February 25, "Why the CIA will Tell the Truth to Vice-President Rockefeller's Commission."

"THE PRESIDENT'S BLUE RIBBON COMMISSION will be unable to provide findings acceptable to the Congressmen and crusading journalists who are attacking the CIA," Copeland declared, because by his standards, said commission "has on it no champion of civil liberties and is composed exclusively of senior citizens whose discretion and integrity are above question. Agency members and alumni will tell the truth." Heading this repository of integrity, with no bias towards civil liberties, was Nelson Rockefeller, whose political career to date has been based on apologizing for wealth by courting have-nots. Braden, the man who made CIA a champion of leftism, was Rockefeller's protégé, since Rockefeller helped him acquire a paper. The Council on

Foreign Relations, which was a deciding factor in drawing America into Vietnam, is dominated by David Rockefeller and his family. Therefore the vice president is no disinterested third party in a sensational sequel to Watergate decided upon at a CFR meeting as far back as January 1968, with Richard Bissell, the CIA man who planned the Bay of Pigs fiasco, doing the talking. Before the investigation got started, the New York Times of January 27 quoted Rockefeller as saying he believed "the investigative commission would find the CIA had violated its charter by undertaking activities within the U. S." Newsweek of February 10 reported that Rockefeller had told TV interviewers, "I think we are going to find the answer is yes to charges that the CIA exceeded its authority by conducting domestic surveillance." It was a heaven-sent opportunity for politicians, and Rocky was putting himself on record as finding the culprit guilty in advance. Such a verdict automatically paves the way for throwing out any evidence linking anti-war dissenters in America with KGB-directed organizations abroad, on grounds that it never should have been compiled.

Since the principal charge was that CIA "had conducted a massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation," according to Newsweek of January 6, "against the anti-Vietnam war movement and other dissident groups within the U. S.," any politician who got on the bandwagon had an instant army behind him. On a platter for any demagogue was a force that had been powerful enough to disrupt universities and run LBJ out of business. Even the three non-CFR members of the eight-man panel could not fail to see what such support was worth in a pre-election year. Ronald Reagan's presence was a sop to Republicans and non-leftists without representing a threat to the seven stacked against him. After Reagan came General Lyman L. Lemnitzer (CFR) and C. Douglas Dillon, the CFR member who was at the Pratt House in New York on January 8, 1968, when Robert Bissell, of CIA, started the creeping campaign which was to lead to the commission on which Dillon was sitting. (H. du B. Report, February 1975)

Joseph Lane Kirkland, CFR member and secretary of the AFL-CIO, was in the lineup, embarrassed not at all by the fact that he would be mouthing a pious opinion on whether CIA had meddled in the internal affairs of other nations. He, whose monster confederation had sent money and agents all over the world, undermining governments and sowing revolts when labor leaders were using their connection with CIA to help leaders into political power. From Portugal to Black Africa communists had reaped the fruit. Erwin N. Griswold, the Harvard professor and former Department of Justice official was there, the man who taught subversives the use of the Fifth Amendment when cornered by congressional committees. Representing the university left was Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., formerly of the University of Virginia; followed by panel member No. 8: CFR man John T. O'Connor. Every campus rioter and pro-Hanoi TV commentator in the country could be counted upon to campaign for politicians willing to hound any agency accused of watching them, and the House and Senate lost no time in joining the chase. It is interesting, however, that no one charged the CIA with domestic surveillance prior to the late 60's.

CIA SURVEILLANCE WITHIN THE U. S. Joe Kraft wrote on January 10: "Hard as it may be for Nixon-haters to believe, it seems to have been the administration of Lyndon Johnson which initiated the CIA improprieties now in question." The London Sunday Telegraph's Washington correspondent wrote of domestic surveillance on January 5: "It was believed to have started when violent anti-war groups and other dissidents such as the Black Panther organization were suspected of having connections with foreign intelligence organizations." "---suspected of having connections!" Every investigative agent loyal to the West knew that the anti-war groups in America were worked by the most efficient subversion machine the world has ever seen. When Sam Brown boasted at the time of his Vietnam Moratorium that all he had to do was pick up the telephone and his lieutenants would know what to do, it was because Sam's lieutenants had expert guidance (other than American) behind them. The same is true of all the movements that worked for Hanoi victory in the name of peace.

For the moment let us stick to the matter of the date which political demagogues, the

press, and CIA itself considered safe. "We don't want a gestapo," Newsweek of January 6 quoted a congressman as saying when it became clear that watching pro-Hanoi subversives was to be considered a crime. The Associated Press on January 16 reported Richard Helms' statement that "The CIA became involved in domestic counter-intelligence during the 1960s." If the CIA watched and compiled files on the anti-war dissenters boosting Hanoi morale, there is no evidence that any effective measures were taken against them. On the other hand, since the mid-50s, CIA had hounded, framed and attempted to bar from travel those who opposed CIA moves which cleared the way for communist victories and massacres.

THE TESTING GROUND WAS CALLED A "SHOWCASE FOR DEMOCRACY," when CIA was destroying every native barrier to communism in South Vietnam, whether through infatuation with leftism or as part of a master scheme. For the moment let us consider the silencing operation phase in America. In 1956 a Vietnamese named Huynh sanh Thong was teaching in the Foreign Service Institute's School of Languages in Washington. Thong wrote letters to the Christian Science Monitor and the Washington Post, telling how and why America was heading for a blowup in South Vietnam. CIA got him fired. Thong then got a job with News of the Day, in New York, not knowing that it had a tie-in with CIA. He was dismissed a few days before Christmas. Thong gave them no more trouble. His wife had come into the country as a student and if he did any more writing, out she would go.

Bernard Fall, the author of "Street without Joy," who was killed in Vietnam in February 1967, was working in Washington as an advisor on Cambodia, with the International Cooperation Administration, in the late 50's. Fall wanted victory in Vietnam and began writing articles on red subversion there, with the warning that America was removing the barriers that held back the reds. CIA retaliated by getting him dismissed. Letters on American Friends of Vietnam stationery, paper of the sub-front set up by the CIA's "International Rescue Committee," which Angier Biddle Duke, Leo Cherne and the international socialist, Joseph Buttinger, were running, began pouring into government offices calling for Fall's expulsion from the country. None of these men has ever called for the deportation of an alien red. The orchestrated letters charged that Fall had been a colonial soldier and shot Vietnamese, which should have made him a hero, since the Vietnamese shot by colonial soldiers were enemies of the Vietnam which Duke, Cherne and Buttinger were supposed to be befriending.

Fall had not been a soldier; he had been in Indo-China as a Ph.D. candidate on a fund from an American university. In 1959 Fall landed an assignment to do a report on red subversion in South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Malaya for SEATO. Once more CIA got him sacked. By that time he was desperate and ready for the left's helping hand. In 1961 Rockefeller Foundation gave him a grant and sent him to North Vietnam and Cambodia for a year. Ho chi Minh and Pham van Dong received him, and he never again called for victory in South Vietnam. Nor did CIA give him any more trouble. Fall was on his way up, thanks to the master scheme the existence of which Miles Copeland is beginning to accept. After Fall was killed, his post-1961 writings became arguments for what the enemy wanted, whether bombing halts or safe havens for the enemy in Cambodia. What he wrote prior to 1961 was conveniently forgotten. Huynh sanh Thong was a Vietnamese and Fall was French, but both were civilians and their harassment by CIA was domestic, over warnings which time was to prove valid. And Fall became a recognized authority of the university left and the media after he became pro-Hanoi.

My own experience with CIA's illegal activities in America started in February, 1957, and over the next thirteen years would fill a book. A friend named Sam, who had a job with CIA, invited me to stay at his place while I was in Washington. Sam was a likeable fellow, hired not because of previous experience but because he had none and could be formed by the Agency. Though still opposing CIA's dismantling of the traditional anti-communist props and barriers in Vietnam, I was interested at the time in writing a report on a huge arms deal being negotiated in New York between a Brooklyn

dealer named Al Boyle and the Algerians, with Hubert Julian, the "Black Eagle" of Harlem, trying to edge in. No one had ever turned the spotlight on where the Algerians were getting their money and how arms purchased in America were delivered to terrorists murdering civilians and America's NATO allies. Consequently, I made several telephone calls to a New York businesswoman who was an associate of Boyle's, to find out how the Algerian deal was progressing. Years later I learned that Sam had let me use his apartment so CIA could bug the telephone and - in plain language - try to frame me by filing reports that H. du B. had been phoning New York in an attempt to buy arms for "America's enemies" in South Vietnam. At the time no organized opposition existed in Vietnam, and such opponents whom the CIA-supported leaders had not killed or driven abroad could not have bought enough guns for a tiger-hunt. No one listening to the two telephone calls from Sam's Georgetown apartment could possibly have mistaken queries on the Algerian deal for a request for arms for an opposition party in South Vietnam. These are three examples of CIA harassment in America while CIA's Lansdale was being made a general, Deputy-Assistant Secretary of Defense and recipient of the Distinguished Service Medal for destroying the bulwarks against communism in Vietnam. There were others, for CIA was never more a private club than in the manner in which its members closed ranks to silence critics. If later CIA was to operate illegally by going through the motions of domestic surveillance, the Agency's lack of surveillance and action abroad bordered on treason.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST LOYALTY TO NATION. A European intelligence analyst once wondered if CIA's crusade against western colonialism instead of Russian, with agents operating in nations and their colonies through labor unions and students, might not be part of a larger conspiracy. Stripped of their colonies the four key-nations of NATO - Britain, France, Belgium and Holland - would no longer be viable. This would leave their politicians no alternative but to relinquish national sovereignty to the super-state which the CFR, Prince Bernhard's Bilderberg group, Henry Cabot Lodge's Atlantic Institute and others were pushing, if they wanted to retain a vestige of local power. Since the super state designed to replace nations will be socialist and neutralist, the theory is advanced that France's acceptance of defeat in Algeria and America in Vietnam was necessary for the removal of national loyalties. Within weeks of the outbreak of the Algerian war, CIA sent a Yale graduate named David Thoenen to Leiden, Holland, on a "scholarship" to work with the International Students' Conference (ISC) which had become a central office for students' unions in the West. Students were to be the new proletariat which would shake governments in the streets. (In 1964 an ISC delegate was at West Point, sponsored by Prince Bernhard and Averell Harriman, for a Student Conference on U.S. affairs at a time when anti-militarism was being made a student theme in America.)

After sending Thoenen to Holland, CIA selected a pro-red from Lafayette, Indiana, named Robert Backoff to represent the United States National Students' Association (USNSA) in Paris and serve as liaison between the American Association and the communist-directed National Union of French Students. After the war in Algeria the next target became America. A few new organizations were born and some of the others changed their names but the lines to America were already in place.

IT WAS OPERATION SALAMI AMONG NATIONS, with America to be the final slice. The same student organizations and labor unions into which CIA had poured money in the 50s for the defeat of France in Algeria took up the cause of Hanoi in the 60s. By that time Thoenen, whom CIA had sent to the ISC in Leiden, had been transferred to Saigon. Out of the secretariat of the WORLD CONGRESS OF PEACE (WCP) in Vienna poured directives which the International Institute of Peace (IIP), a psychological warfare arm of the Soviet Union, beamed to a veritable spiders' web of movements working against America.

In the offices of the American Friends Service Committee, in Paris, a man who called himself "Mr. Cook" ran a drive which netted him some 300 deserters from the American Army. In 1957, under the name of Thomas Schwaetzer, the name he took when he natural-

ized himself American, "Cook" was spreading desertion and insubordination in the French Army. Calling himself William Roy Cook, Poncho Peterson, Max Watts, Tommy Stevens or Joseph Leibowitz, with a passport for each name, Schwaetzer and his team of German and American reds have planted cells in America's bases in Germany. CIA should not only have organized counter-movements against these agents and organizations which with CIA's unlimited funds would have been simple, but the flock of young revolutionaries carrying instructions back and forth across the Atlantic on "youth fare tickets" should have been watched. This was CIA's business. Had they been watched and their activities established as agents, conscious or otherwise, of an enemy psychological warfare operation, newspaper after newspaper would not have been able to report in February 1975 that CIA surveillance of Americans had been set up to determine whether peace movements in America had ties with Soviet-directed movements abroad and that no such links had been discovered. Parallel with the furor over CIA surveillance of Americans at home, which, if it existed, had no positive effects, charges were launched that the FBI had exceeded its bounds by delving in intelligence abroad.

THE FBI OUTSIDE AMERICA. The best way to explain how such charges came about is to go into the story of Roger Holeindre as an example. Holeindre had fought reds for nine years in Indo-China in the French Army. Outraged by the campaign against America he organized "The French Association For the Support of South Vietnam," which at the same time was an association to support America. When a leftist mob smashed up the center he had rented and broke the film projector, Holeindre went to the American embassy with information on the anti-American movement and a request for the loan of a projector.

After some evasion he was passed on to a CIA officer who informed him that his orders were to hve nothing to do with organizations on the right. In other words, CIA received information from and worked only with organizations from which the anti-war movements drew their recruits.

In time only the FBI came to have "security clearance" in the minds of those concerned with the fate of America and the West. Since CIA would not welcome informants who were above suspicion, the alternative was to go to the legal officer in the American embassy. Usually, he was from the FBI. FBI men abroad did not seek intelligence activity; such activity was forced upon them because CIA would not do its job. If the FBI agent did not accept information, every European well-placed enough to have information worth recording knew that no one else was going to.

Some might call it part of a master scheme. No one can deny it is why the FBI, which America knew, is being destroyed.

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