



The CIA Probe

Part Three

"The Allende regime died of its own errors, of its incapacities, of its loud talk and not because of any black conspiracy of the CIA. The people had lost faith and that was all," Jean-Edern Hallier, the disillusioned French communist, wrote after a visit to Chile. Nevertheless America's leftist media and the new Representatives whom *Valeurs Actuelles*, the Paris economic weekly, described as having come "straight from the anti-war-in-Vietnam barricades to the benches of Congress," screamed that CIA had worked against Allende in Chile and had meddled in Iran by frustrating Mossadegh in 1953. Chile and Iran, where the losers were marxists, were the examples the baiters harped on. In the case of Iran, General Hassan Arfa, author of the book, "Under Five Shahs," states that CIA's agent, Kim Roosevelt, had nothing to do with saving the throne; that Mossadegh was toppled by loyal units of the Iranian army, after which the victory was turned into a vast publicity campaign to convince Americans that the agency, which should have been secret, was on the job in the world's far corners, and winning.

Had ideology, not oil, been the deciding factor, there would have been no pretense of support for the Shah, for throughout its three decades of history, from OSS to the present, CIA has been anti-monarchist. The destruction of monarchies in the name of "democracy" and anti-communist governments under charges of being "extremist" has been the leitmotif of CIA meddling in the internal affairs of colonies and nations, with no word of disapproval from the Washington Post and the New York Times.

MEDDLING TO ADVANCE THE LEFT WAS ALWAYS APPROVED. In his memoirs dealing with Italy's withdrawal from the Axis, Winston Churchill wrote of the struggle against Roosevelt's obstinate determination to sweep the Italian table clean and oust the King at once, with no leader or government on hand to replace him, and the war far from won. R. Harris Smith, in "OSS - The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency," tells how OSS agents were plotting with reds to undermine the governments of Spain and Portugal as well as Italy long before the arrest of Mussolini on July 23, 1943. He quotes an Office of War Information broadcast announcing the formation of a new government in Italy by "the moronic little King." To OSS, as with CIA, no crowned head was good, and the only use of a monarchy was as a proving ground for leftist ideas sold as "democratic."

On June 2, 1946, as a result of a referendum in which Italian-speaking Americans had been sent to Italy to campaign against the King and American Office of War Information sound-trucks blared propaganda against the throne, Italy was proclaimed a republic. OSS and Italian reds arranged for the voting to take place before the Italian Army, which was largely monarchist, was demobilized. The army had no vote. With the destruction of the traditional form of government Italy slid progressively leftward. OSS and later CIA justified American meddling in a purely internal Italian matter on grounds that King Victor Emmanuel III bowed supinely to Mussolini. Had he not yielded before the Black Shirt march on Rome, American liberals at the time would have denounced him for opposing the will of the people.

One week after the victory of OSS leftists in Italy, the king of Thailand was assassinated by Pridi Panomyang, a Thai OSS agent whose code name in the Donovan organization was "Ruth." OSS officers flew to Washington to seek support for Pridi's seizure of power, but failed, and Pridi took refuge in red China.

CIA ACTION IN MOROCCO. Labor unions were the favorite arm for CIA meddling in the internal affairs of nations in Africa and Europe, and as determined a team of spoilers as ever encouraged massacres if they would sweep statesmen out of power and labor agitators in, were the agents. It was the world's misfortune that the weight of the most powerful intelligence body on earth -- money-wise -- was behind them. Irving Brown and his teammate, Jay Lovestone, were able to wreak the havoc they did because CIA had been conned into thinking that labor leaders would help CIA and America. Instead, they used CIA to help labor into political power abroad. Until March 1962 Brown was American labor's itinerant trouble-maker while Lovestone regimanted votes in UN. On March 29, 1962, Brown became American labor's representative to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels, and the ICFTU's representative in UN, and Lovestone took over the foreign affairs department of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

With one hand Brown lined up the have-nots in UN and with the other strengthened the grip of the monster union-of-unions in Brussels - which today is in the red camp. He reached into France's internal affairs through the union, Force Ouvrière (FO), which in turn called on other unions for "labor solidarity," while the combination lobby and pamphleteering organization, FRANCE-USA, funded by American labor and the U. S. embassy, ran a "personality cult" campaign in praise of Brown which rivaled Stalin's. The man Brown and CIA picked to head the Moroccan Republic they were going to create was a shoddy character named Mehdi Ben Barka, who would never have been more than a coffee-house politician on his own. By wafting him to Washington for newsworthy meetings with Eisenhower, and using TIME-LIFE as publicity organs, the build-up of Ben Barka grew. In August 1953, however, an opportunity presented itself to use the Moroccan throne to weaken the government in France, condemned by leftist standards as colonialist. France had exiled the Sultan Mohammed, first to Corsica and then to Madagascar, and put Sultan Ben Arafa on his throne. Unionized workers regimanted by the union CIA and Brown had set up were thrown into Moroccan streets, carrying Sultan Mohammed's picture and clamoring for his return.

It cost a lot of money to get the brother-in-law of the French Prime Minister, Edgar Faure, to become the ex-Sultan's lawyer and "arrange" for Mohammed to come back and Ben Arafa to be deposed. Communications with Mohammed were passed through India's representative in Madagascar and, since the exiled Sultan did not have large sums on hand, funds were advanced by the wealthy Margaret Biddle, in Paris. In creating troubled waters into which to fish in other countries, CIA often used wealthy people, or those who could be made to appear wealthy, as "pay-masters." When the European end of the campaign to undermine His Majesty Bao Dai in Vietnam was underway, Kenneth Tabor Ripley's cover, while taking the license numbers of all cars arriving at the Emperor's home in Cannes and subverting the Emperor's couriers, was that he was "married to a wealthy wife." Mrs. Biddle had other reasons for securing Sultan Mohammed's gratitude. 24% of the capital of Zelidja mine in Morocco, the richest zinc mine in the world, belonged to Newtown Mining Corporation, and Newtown belonged to Mrs. Biddle. When the wave of confiscations started, Zelidja was never touched. Everything went as planned. Sultan Ben Arafa abdicated on October 30, 1955, in favor of Sultan Mohammed. A convenient lull followed before the CIA-labor orchestrated drive started against "feudalism," at the top of which was the throne. Only the timely assassination of CIA's pawn, Ben Barka, in Paris on October 29, 1965, as he was about to leave for Havana to set up the communist terrorist organization, the Tricontinental, saved Morocco for the time being.

EMPEROR-TOPPLING IN VIETNAM. In "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks boast of how Edward Lansdale rigged the referendum which deposed the Emperor Bao Dai in 1955. It was an unpardonable act of high-handedness, but CIA, Senator Mike Mansfield, American labor and a handful of Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) activists were determined that they would decide who was going to run South Vietnam until it was time to let the reds take over through a war which America constantly assured the enemy she did not intend to win. A wave of anti-Bao Dai propaganda flooded America, picturing destruction of the throne as a victory for democracy. Colliers Magazine of September 30, 1955, carried a feature story by David Schoenbrun, CBS television's bureau chief in Paris, warning that the Vietminh had been in touch with the Emperor and that if he were not deposed he might help the reds. Beating his chest with mock anti-communist fervor, Schoenbrun declared that Bao Dai not only had to be removed but must be removed "in such a way that he no longer has any usefulness as a symbol of Vietnamese unity."

All the usual names were in on the act. CIA's Margaret Biddle, busily weakening the governments of France and Morocco by toppling one sultan and installing another while CIA's labor front was grooming a "President," was running Colliers' Paris office. Schoenbrun, whose CBS documentaries later extolled the Algerian FLN, was among the principal TV and press commentators considered linked to CIA. Less than a month after Schoenbrun's hatchet-job was published in Colliers, Bao Dai was deposed, and a week later Sultan Ben Arafa was forced to abdicate in Morocco. Secretly Schoenbrun must have held his sides with laughter as he conned the "yokels" into thinking that destroying the Emperor Ho chi Minh wanted removed was a step ahead for democracy. Twelve years later, in 1967, Ho chi Minh gave Schoenbrun and his wife a trip to Hanoi, after which Dave threw off the mask and, in his book "Vietnam - How we got in, How to get out," told how Ho chi Minh had been his close friend since 1946, in Paris, when he invited Ho to his home for dinner.

"Neither side can win a military victor," Schoenbrun wrote for the edification of the anti-war demonstrators he was to harangue in universities and colleges. No line was more dishonest than the CIA-CFR theme which leftist professors passed on as education; namely, that neither side could win a military victory. By making no-winism a policy they imposed defeat on the army that could have won, and assured victory for Hanoi. South Vietnamese morale was destroyed and when the debacle came, our Schoenbruns and Mike Mansfields and Edward Lansdales had won. By a strange coincidence, at the very moment when South Vietnam collapsed, a book by a French lieutenant named Erwan Bergot, who had been a prisoner at Dien Bien Phu, appeared in France. In "The Forgotten Heroes" Bergot called Lansdale Ho chi Minh's "Pygmalion." The American press had never brought up the fact that CIA's evil genius in Vietnam got his start with Ho chi Minh, or that the French had barred him from Indo-China in late 1950. Against the background of those years and at the moment of South Vietnam's retreat in panic with mass killings of civilians by advancing reds, Bergot told how Lansdale had purged the Vietnamese army of experienced officers, destroyed the anti-communist native militias and private provincial armies, and toppled the Emperor to whom Saigon officials appealed for help in April 1975, when it was too late.

By that time, Allen Dulles' personal representative to Saigon was far away, and Americans had forgotten that from 1954 onward he justified every step of his dismantling of South Vietnam by saying there was no threat from the north, that the menace was from the dirty colonialists trying to stage a comeback. A statement no intelligent or honest editor would have repeated.

IN TUNISIA, as in Morocco, the revolutionary selected to replace the hereditary Bey was labor's man. Tunisia was in Irving Brown's territory and Habib Bourguiba was the "find" he and CIA wafted to San Francisco to an AFL-CIO convention in September 1951, for a leftist press to sell to America. Labor and CIA having decided that Tunisia was

going to have Bourguiba, come tophet or high water, Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone applied pressure through French unions, and on July 30, 1954, Pierre Mendès-France, the socialist, granted Tunisia internal autonomy. A few weeks earlier Mendès-France had betrayed the Montagnard allies who controlled four-fifths of the area claimed by Ho chi Minh and left them to be massacred as soon as Ho and Vo nguyen Giap could replace the army they had lost at Dien Bien Phu. (LES HEROES OUBLIES, by Erwan Bergot) In a sense, Tunisia was a precursor of Vietnam. On April 10, 1957, the Bey was pressured into appointing Bourguiba, CIA's and Walter Reuther's man, Prime Minister. When the word was given, Bourguiba deposed the Bey. The usual blah followed about Bourguiba introducing democracy. The only opposition leader in the country was Bourguiba's longtime friend, Salah Ben Youssef. He was driven into exile and on August 11, 1961, Bourguiba's private secretary, Zergaioum, and a hired killer named Ali Aourok killed him in room 53 of the Royal Hotel in Frankfurt (H. du B. Reports, Aug. 1961, Sept. 1961) and calmly flew home.

With never a word about Salah Ben Youssef or the Bey, still imprisoned and prevented from leaving Bourguiba's one-party country, Victor Riesel wrote on November 1, 1962: "Away back in 1951 some AFL leaders brought this chap over. He was a lonely man, wearing a tarboosh, talking to those who would listen. I remember him sighing over tea about how wonderful it would be if his land were as peaceful and prosperous 'as your country.' His name was Habib Bourguiba, now President of Tunisia, a democratic land, a friend of freedom." This of the bloody tyrant who suppressed all opposition and made himself President for life! ".....Some AFL leaders brought him over" - as though Riesel did not know who and why.

IN FEBRUARY 1959 IT WAS CAMBODIA'S TURN. Prince Norodom Sihanouk received his first shove toward Peking in June 1958, when South Vietnamese units pursued survivors of the anti-communist private armies Lansdale had crushed in 1955 over the Cambodian border. At some points they moved the border markers inland several miles. In America the press reported that Cambodia had invaded South Vietnam. When John Foster Dulles refused to ask his protégés to pull out, Peking offered to guarantee Cambodia's territorial integrity, and Cambodia's first step into the Peking orbit was taken. By February 1959 the CIA plot to topple the monarchy in Cambodia was ready to roll. Dop Cchuan, the Siem Reap military commander, was killed with the papers implicating CIA on his person. Four hundred pounds of gold flown into the country to bribe the army was captured, along with American communications equipment and South Vietnamese operators. The London OBSERVER of February 22, 1959, explained, "The Americans prefer the idea of internal revolution rather than pressure from the outside." First to hear of Dop Cchuan's defeat and capture of the papers which led to confessions by the leading conspirators was the French embassy. From there a translator working for the Americans rushed to the U. S. Information Office. The Information Office chief appeared stunned for a second, then exclaimed to his assistant, "Everything is lost!" Strangely enough, the New York Times and the Washington Post, so ready to make an issue of the wildest charges of American plotting against marxist dictators, remained silent. From Cambodia let us take a look at Mr. Braden's doctrine of "support for the non-communist left" in Europe.

CIA IN WEST GERMANY. Elections were due in September 1961. Britain's Conservative Government favored Ludwig Erhard, the Vice Chancellor and Minister of German economy, to succeed Conrad Adenauer, the ageing chancellor whom a militant Socialist Party, grown out of labor unions organized at American expense, were undermining. Franz-Josef Strauss, the indefatigable Minister of Defense who stood alone for atomic weapons and a rearmed Germany when Willy Brandt, the socialist, was clamoring for neutrality, was the man German anti-communists wanted. Brandt was the candidate CIA and the labor union fronts marked for power. How they advanced him does not come under the heading of CIA's toppling of kings, but as an example of CIA meddling in the internal affairs of another country at the expense of men valuable to their country and the West, it is worth examining.

Adenauer was to visit Washington in April 1961. Moving quickly, CIA and its labor arm arranged for Brandt to steal the ageing chancellor's thunder. Brandt arrived in New York to a barrage of publicity beamed to convince Americans and Germans alike that America's interests and Germany's would be best served by a socialist government under Brandt. It was at once the Braden doctrine and the cardinal tenet of socialism in practice; namely, that it is the duty of all socialists to help socialists into power elsewhere, and once in power socialist leaders must open the way for foreign socialists by stalling in negotiations with anyone else. Victor Reuther gave Brandt an Americans for Democratic Action dinner in Washington on March 13, CIA's Leo Cherne, under his International Rescue Committee identity, followed with a dinner in New York on March 16, at which the man who later permitted the KGB to honeycomb West Germany was given the Admiral Byrd Award "as a free nation leader." It was a phoney award, created by CIA and designed in this case to show Germans that America wanted Brandt. The implication was clear; make Brandt chancellor and we'll tone down our demands for marks and more German NATO soldiers. (See H. du B. Reports, March-April, 1961) The ploy worked, and the penetration of Russian and East German spies at the very top level of German government which followed was made possible because, as Brandt's henchman Egon Bahr, put it, "Socialists do not investigate socialists."

Sticking strictly to the long history of CIA's anti-monarchism and the clearing of royal terrains for red takeovers, we will skip the unceasing campaign against the Franco government in Spain and the Salazar and Caetano regimes in Portugal, where PIDE, the police organization, was never mentioned without being prefaced by the word "dread," an adjective never applied to PIDE's more frightful successor.

ATHENS - DECEMBER 13, 1967. A group of colonels led by George Papadopoulos had seized power in April and proceeded to work toward destruction of the throne. On December 13 King Constantine attempted a counter-coup and failed. It was a year and a half before definite information on the reasons for the failure of the King's desperate move came out. The TIMES of London reported on May 21, 1969, that Constantine had informed the Danish royal family of his plans. CIA agents had tapped telephones in Athens and knew of both the King's call to Copenhagen and the fact that Greek agents were aware of the call. "The CIA did not inform the King, however, because it was United States policy to support the present Greek regime," the TIMES story continued. C. M. Woodhouse wrote in the London OBSERVER of February 20, 1972, "The only prospect of changing the (Greek) Government lies with the Americans. Nothing will shake the general conviction that the colonels were brought into power by the CIA, the only reason being the undoubted fact that their power-base lay in the CIA's Greek equivalent, the KYP." Opinion in Western Europe was that the regime of the colonels was temporary and that it would be followed by a leftist reaction. The London OBSERVER of July 1, 1973, indicated that the government of the colonels was a half-way point between monarchy and something else when it reported, "The charge is that not only did the CIA engineer the coup that brought the colonels to power on 21 April, six years ago, it still may be concerned in such moves as last month's second 'revolutionary coup,' which replaced King Constantine with Papadopoulos as Head of State."

According to British writer Charles Foley, "CIA engineered the colonels' coup in Greece with Papadopoulos as its front man," and then "used secret knowledge of his wartime collaboration with the Nazis to keep its grip on the regime." When the King was irretrievably eliminated, NEWSWEEK of August 19, 1974, turned its heat on the CIA station chief in Athens for continuing "to handle dealings with the Military-police boss Ioannidis." By then preparations for the Greek coup in Cyprus were in the works and wheels were in motion which would provide a pretext for cutting off American military aid to Turkey, the nation on the front line against Russia's mighty divisions poised to roll westward.

LONDON, MAY 1973: Cord Meyer, Jr., arrived in the U. S. embassy as CIA station chief for Europe. The TIMES of London reported on January 25, 1975, that Meyer was a "labor

specialist on temporary assignment to oversee the British situation." What was the "British situation?" Overall, it was disastrous. Communist teachers, students and labor unions had brought the country to the brink of the abyss, but more specifically, defenders of British sovereignty were girding for the fight to take Britain out of the Common Market. In this case Cord Meyer was not in Britain to sweep out a monarchy, but to throw CIA's weight in the fight to reduce monarchy and Parliament to the status of provincial institutions. The aim was to turn back the clock and create a Britain ruled from Brussels, with no more sovereignty than the colony once ruled from Rome. What can one call it but meddling in an internal British affair when CIA sent to London the Thomas Braden recruit who founded and became first president of the United World Federalists, dedicated to everything British patriots were fighting against? This is the Cord Meyer who wrote "Peace or Anarchy," on "the anarchy that threatens us in the unbridled growth of nationalism and in the insistence upon sovereignty of nations." Since membership in an ever-expanding superstate designed to eventually include America and Russia is a Council on Foreign Relations goal, in the Cord Meyer appointment CIA is shown to be a CFR and Rockefeller political arm, leftist and non-communist but not anti-communist.

WHILE BRITONS OF ALL PARTIES FOUGHT TO RETAIN THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, in late March the spotlight moved to Riyadh, in Saudi Arabia. We have told how, in 1971, the leftist CIA analyst, R. Harris Smith (who had campaigned for Eugene McCarthy) went to Berkeley campus of the University of California to write a book on "OSS - The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency." Smith's first acknowledgement of aid and encouragement was to his leftist friend, Paul Seabury, the professor of political science who got him a job as lecturer on political science when the book was being written. While the tenor of Smith's book was pro-communist, it was particularly bitter in its vituperation of kings, as we pointed out at the beginning of this report. By a strange coincidence, an Arab student from Seabury's and Smith's department went home and in March 1975 shot his uncle. The student's name was Prince Faisal ben Museid.

THE INSTANCES LISTED are examples of CIA meddling in the internal affairs of other nations by destroying the natural bastions against communist subversion. The solution is not to liquidate CIA but to staff it with anti-communist patriots instead of men of the non-communist left, which is never a constant. Granted, James J. Angleton and his counter-intelligence operational arm uncovered such spies as Kim Philby, who helped organize CIA, and Philby's friends, Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean. The espionage against Russia by satellite and the uncovering of KGB agent Rudolph Abel and the British secret service agent, George Blake, were victories, but they are not enough.

The monopoly CIA granted leftist student organizations, labor leaders and think tanks, and the immunity from investigation accorded subversives in America are more responsible for the tragedy in Vietnam than any feat of arms by Hanoi. Being anti-Russian in the counter-intelligence field will not save America. But how, with her present Congress, can America build an intelligence agency that will be anti-communist and still permitted to operate?

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Vietnam: Conspiracy?

"The U. S. evacuation from South Vietnam closes a chapter in the American experience," President Ford announced on April 29. He called on Americans "to close ranks, to avoid recriminations about the past." "I agree with President Ford that we should put Vietnam behind us," Senator Mansfield added, with reason, for of all the rodents scrambling to get off the sinking ship, he was one of those most responsible for the tragedy he and the President were sweeping under the rug. It is not a matter of recriminations. Those who gave their lives in a war they were prevented from winning deserve an accounting.

IT WAS THIRTY YEARS AGO that leftist officers in America's Office of Strategic Services (OSS) got Ho chi Minh out of a Chinese prison by changing his name. Then Ho changed the name of his communist party so that with the help of men like Major Archimedes Patty and Professor Robert Knapp (the latter is now at Wesleyan University) he could dupe America into thinking his sole aim was independence. A report called "The War in Vietnam," compiled by Fred B. Rhodes, Jr., for the Senate Republican Policy Committee and reprinted in the Congressional Record of May 9, 1967, took out recrimination-insurance for some of the culprits by stating that Ho's Vietminh had "fought on our side - against both Japan and Vichy France." Nothing could be further from the truth. The red army Americans armed and trained avoided the Japanese and stashed its American arms away for the revolution.

General Matsumoto went to the Emperor Bao Dai: "The Americans are forming a communist army for Ho chi Minh," he said. "It is not bothering us, but it is going to make trouble for Your Majesty. At present there are not many of them and we know where they are. Say the word and we'll cut their heads off." The Emperor replied, "No, I cannot ask you to kill my countrymen, even if they are my enemies. Already I am being called a puppet of the French. If I let you wipe out the communists for me, they will call me a puppet of the Japanese." It was Bao Dai's greatest mistake.

General Claire Chennault, in "Way of a Fighter," told how the French allies who had helped him in Indo-China were cut down by the Japanese on March 9, 1945, while General Wedemeyer prevented his anguished pilots, less than an hour away by air, from answering their pleas for help. By May 1975 the 200 communists whom the 8-man OSS mission had trained in the jungle camp 75 miles north of Hanoi in June 1945 had swollen to 23 divisions. Twenty-two of them were in South Vietnam, closing in for the kill, and it was of vital importance that Americans be prevented from asking who set the ruthless machine in motion and saved it from bombings when it was staggering, protected its sanctuaries and eliminated every leader, American or Vietnamese, who wanted to defeat it. John Graham wrote in London's leftist OBSERVER of May 4, 1975, that he had "rarely met an American who knew that Ho chi Minh's first relations with the United States were during the war, when his little army in the Tonkin mountains was financed by the OSS to rescue American pilots shot down by the Japanese." Graham and leftists on both sides of the Atlantic were scrambling to get the first word in and rewrite history before accusations could start. No American was ever rescued by the Vietminh, but

Commandant Marcel Mingant and two of his network members were grudgingly given the Freedom Medal for saving American pilots while being hunted by the Japanese and the Vietminh. Newsmen, professors and politicians clamored about the public's right to know when purloined papers were being published and officials subverted in the drive to destroy the presidency and stack Congress with leftists. In April and May 1975 they closed ranks to protect those responsible for what was happening, and Watergate's exposers became distorters on Vietnam. The full story unfolded in two phases. It took France's conspirators nine years to get their war-weary country to accept defeat. It took America's twenty-one years, almost to a day.

ON MAY 8, 1954, NEWSPAPERS ALL OVER THE WORLD announced in huge headlines that Dien Bien Phu had fallen. French communists rejoiced as though it were their own victory. The same sort of people did the same thing on Berkeley Campus twenty-one years later. The international left knows no frontiers. France's leftists used Dien Pien Phu and America's used Watergate. The objectives were the same: Leftists in office and the country's acceptance of defeat. On page S-6574 of his Congressional Record report, Mr. Rhodes wrote of the end of France's war in Indo-China, "The Vietminh controlled three-quarters of all Vietnam, and Ho was confident he could capture the rest." On the contrary, in March 1954, 50,000 Montagnard tribesmen were on the move in northwest Indo-China in a tribal alliance against communist domination. Four-fifths of the territory claimed by Ho chi Minh was occupied by them, and the tricolor floated from the Chinese frontier to the jungles and valleys of the South. Only 4-1/2% of the French Expeditionary Force had been engaged in the battle, and Ho had no reserves with which to continue the war. He and General Giap had sacrificed their army to win a victory which would permit Pierre Mendès-France to topple the government in Paris and consummate the sell-out which from the first had been their joint objective. So ended phase one of the conspiracy which cleared the way for American entry into Indo-China.

AMERICA TAKES OVER. "During the Geneva Conference Bao Dai had persuaded Ngo dinh Diem to become premier of his government," the Congressional Record we have quoted told its readers. The truth was, the Emperor Bao Dai was harassed and pressured by those who later opted for defeat until, in desperation, on June 16, 1954, he appointed Ngo dinh Diem Prime Minister. What finally made him yield was a letter from Mike Mansfield to Diem, promising that America would save South Vietnam from the reds if he were head of government.

Allen Dulles, then chief of CIA, sent Colonel Edward Lansdale to Saigon, not to find out if the Vietnamese would buy Mike Mansfield's man, but to make them accept him. When sectarian passions have cooled, all Americans will admit that it was absurd to think we could maintain a northerner over the South because Mansfield and Kenneth Young's friends in State Department wanted him, or a devout Catholic over a country that was 90% Buddhist because people in America were sold on him, or think that because Diem's brother was a union leader the support of American labor could compensate for the lack of a party at home. The harder the Vietnamese balked, the fiercer became the press campaign to sell Mike Mansfield's solution to America.

Scoffers at the conspiracy theory should study that campaign in retrospect. Kenneth Todd Young in State Department took orders from the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Foreign Service took orders from him. Mike Mansfield was the puppet of labor unions which elected him and they in turn obeyed the AFL-CIO. It threw its weight behind the man the CFR and CIA wanted because their man's brother was the labor leader in South Vietnam. Politicians and the press were obedient to labor and the CFR. No one bothered to mention that the first time Bao Dai met Lansdale it was with Ho chi Minh, when the Emperor was a prisoner and Lansdale was an advisor. One by one Lansdale broke every barrier against communism in South Vietnam because each barrier against communism was also a barrier of the people against the man he had been told to force on South Vietnam. The commander of the army was run into exile, officers were purged, and the three private armies which protected Saigon, Tay Ninh Province and the Mekong

Delta were destroyed. America furnished the money and guns and Lansdale gave the orders, but a bear-like Vietnamese named Duong van Minh was Lansdale's tool in the resistance-crushing and to him went the glory.

"BIG" MINH is a name we are supposed to forget, now that "no recriminations" are in order. He was born on February 16, 1916, among the delta people he shot down in 1955. In 1940, when the French were fighting the Japanese, he joined the French army and, because of his size rather than his intelligence, by 1945 he was a lieutenant. After V-J Day he and his brother Duong van Nhut, joined the red army the Americans were forming. Duong van Nhut remained with Ho chi Minh, but "Big" Minh, his brother, was captured by Colonel Jacques Massu and expressed a desire to "rally" to the French cause. It was the first of a succession of "Big" Minh rallyings, each of which was a betrayal of the previous one. In 1947 Minh got his lieutenant's stripes back and shortly thereafter was made a captain. In 1952 he applied for transfer to the Vietnamese army of the Emperor he was to betray in 1955, after he was promoted for crushing the Binh Xuyen forces which kept the reds out of the Saigon area, and the Hoa Hao army which defended the delta.

Joe Alsop later wrote of this period (column of July 13, 1971) that Ambassador J. Lawton Collins advised John Foster Dulles to drop Diem and his family, but Dulles had to continue backing them because of the "row Mansfield and the (New York) Times would surely have made if Ambassador Collins had not been over-ruled." Lansdale justified his destruction of those opposed to the man Mansfield and the New York Times were backing by reporting to CIA that only President Diem could prevent a communist takeover, according to Alsop. At the same time Lansdale justified his crushing of the anti-red leaders in the country by declaring that there was no threat from the north, that the only danger was from the dirty colonialists trying to make a comeback. The first was untrue because the communists had no army left after Dien Bien Phu, and the latter was false because French socialists and communists, not Ho chi Minh, had forced the pullout in the first place. Many suspected that Lansdale's vindictiveness against the French was inspired by their having barred him from Indo-China in late 1950. For thwarting Vietnamese attempts to pick their own leader, purging the national army of its best officers, destroying the anti-communist Binh Xuyen, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao armies, and rigging a referendum against the country's Emperor, the Dulles brothers brought Lansdale home to a hero's welcome, gave him the Distinguished Service medal and made him Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

ON NOVEMBER 11, 1960, a colonel and a lieutenant-colonel threw troops around the presidential palace and prepared to bring about a bloodless change of government. Instead of acting at once, they let the palace stall for time. Colonel Tran thien Khiem took off from Mytho, south of Saigon, with his tanks, radioing as he approached the capital, "Don't move. You haven't enough fire-power.....I'm coming to help you." Khiem brought his tanks into the circle around the palace and turned his guns on his comrades. It meant exile for some, torture and some executions the New York Times never reported for others, but Khiem got a promotion and for the next fifteen years never ceased to ride upward. Just a few days before South Vietnam went under he resigned and quietly disappeared, while his friend "Big" Minh took over, to handle the surrender to the reds.

Diem was Khiem's godfather when the latter became what the army called a "latter-day Catholic," to help his career. In late October 1963, three years after he double-crossed his fellow officers in the previous coup attempt, it was Khiem who master-minded the coup d'etat of November 1, 1963, which made "Big" Minh Head of State. It was generally assumed that the 1960 betrayal was not held against him because he was CIA's man. By the time the country went under he was a Buddhist again.

THE COUP OF NOVEMBER 1, 1963, was supposed to be a purely Vietnamese affair. CIA and Henry Cabot Lodge, the ambassador, had been felt out and had promised to keep their

hands out of it. Still the generals couldn't be sure that the Americans might not make a deal behind their backs. At least five times before, Vietnamese leaders had tried to unseat the family Mike Mansfield, Kenneth Todd Young of State Department, the Dulles brothers and American labor unions had foisted on them, and been thwarted by American intervention. General Nguyen Khanh owed his life to the fact that CIA chief John Richardson did not know he was leader of the coup plot Richardson and Khiem had informed on three months before. The five men whose necks were at stake trusted no one. They gathered around the table, "Big" Minh, General Tran van Don, the acting chief of staff (he got his start upward as the favorite of Madame Nhu's mother and later of the Tiger Lady herself), Ton that Dinh the III Corps commander, Huynh can Cao, of the IV Corps at Mytho, and General Le van Kim. Tearing a sheet of paper, they made five ballots for a secret vote, and when they pulled them out of a general's cap they were four to one for execution.

It was CIA's past interferences, not CIA prodding, that cost Diem and Nhu their lives. Three months and ten days later Captain Nung, the executioner, was murdered, either by one of Nhu's henchmen out for revenge or by the generals, to keep him from talking. Thus "Big" Minh, the man who did Lansdale's dirty work in '55 became Chief of State and Khiem found himself in command of the Saigon area, the center of power. The coup left America bewildered, embittered and divided after the years of conditioning by the New York Times, the flood of propaganda from CIA fronts, CIA-funded books, and CIA committee-member Leo Cherne's "advice" that Americans invest their capital in South Vietnam. Overnight the same "coca-cola" campaign swung into high gear to sell "Big" Minh. Little was said of the fact that for the past five months Nhu and his wife had been negotiating on their own with Hanoi.

DUONG VAN MINH had popularity for the moment but not a party, so he started promoting lower rank officers, among them an obscure lieutenant-colonel named Nguyen van Thieu, whom he jumped to general. Each had a CIA man on his coattails, whispering that with the Emperor deposed democracy had come to stay and there was no reason why he should not be Head of State. At the same time, American labor leaders ranted against "military men in politics" and pulled strings to get Tran Quoc Buu, the labor boss, into politics and the presidency. Everywhere Minh turned he was in quicksand and during the night of January 30 to 31, 1964, he ordered Khiem to arrest General Tran van Don, the new Minister of National Defense, and his brother-in-law, General Le van Kim, the very men who had put him in power. For good measure he had Khiem arrest the head of the security police, General Mai Huu Xuan, who was supposed to protect him against coup d'etats, and General Nguyen Vy, an old intriguer just back from exile in France.

With leftists running our universities and the press, the vast majority of Americans will never know that handpicked men under American direction were responsible for every convulsion in Vietnam, which newspapers and leftist politicians then used to create the feeling of hopelessness and defeatism which permitted the sellout in the end. Khiem, who had turned his guns on his friends in November 1960, and betrayed General Nguyen Khanh's coup plot to CIA chief John Richardson in mid-1963, did as he was told and when the generals were under lock and key he immobilized the helpless Minh and brought in General Nguyen Khanh.

COUP D'ETAT NUMBER TWO. In 1946 Nguyen Khanh had been an aide to one of Ho chi Minh's generals, and Khanh's brother, Nguyen Long, was still a general in Hanoi, but nothing was said of this. A deal was worked out whereby Minh would remain President and Khanh, with Ambassador Maxwell Taylor's advice, would run the country. It lasted six months, from February 1, 1964, to August 30, when rioting students and Buddhists toppled both of them. On August 30, 1964, Khanh flew to Dalat and the CIA boys produced a nonentity they had been holding up their sleeves until the time was ripe.

NGUYEN XUAN OANH was a find they had picked up fifteen years before, when the French were still in Indo-China. It was a period when Francis Cunningham and George Sheldon

were preparing the struggle for "liberation" from behind American consulate desks, and the talent scouts were looking for young Vietnamese to send to Harvard. Young Oanh came out of Harvard a Keynesian and went on to become a teacher at Trinity College, in Hartford, where he was called "Jack Owens" and all but forgot his native tongue. After "Big" Minh's coup on November 1, 1963, "Jack Owens" was flown back to Saigon, on an American passport, it was claimed, and made Minh's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economy. When Khanh fled to Dalat the American team's Harvard grad was made Head of Government. He lasted five days.

Most Vietnamese saw the Jack Owens farce as another instance of American stupidity. Not until later did they remember that Oanh had been the head of a "people to people" mission formed to bridge the gap between North and South and assure Hanoi that South Vietnam did not want to perpetuate the war, that there were those in government with whom Hanoi could talk. "No-winism" had come into the open, but no one recognized it at the time. Khanh flew back to Saigon on September 3, 1964, and Oanh was out. The American public should have known a plan of the insiders had gone astray, from the cries of rage that went up from the press. Mauldin vented his fury in a cartoon picturing Khanh as a punctured balloon into which Ambassador Maxwell Taylor kept pumping air. Khanh declared he was going to strengthen his grip and fight the war. Immediately American newspapers and TV screamed that he was killing "democracy." In his rear the generals who had been Minh's fellow-conspirators in the November 1, 1963, coup and brought Khanh in three months later were conspiring again. Khanh put four of them, including Tran van Don and Ton that Dinh, under house arrest and packed Tran thien Khiem off to Washington as ambassador.

Invisible fingers pushed a button and out came the students, labor unions and Buddhists into the streets. Khanh ceased lambasting the French and accused the Americans of preventing the army from fighting. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor was telling him to pipe down when, on October 9, 1964, he demanded that the army be given a free hand to win the war. The New York Times and the Washington Post tore him to shreds and the drive was on to run the military men out of power and install a civilian.

PHAN KHAC SUU, the courtly old lawyer, became Chief of State on October 24, 1964. He was honest and a patriot but his health had been undermined when Ngo dinh Nhu kept him for ten months in an underground dungeon with a caged tiger over his head, before sending him to the famous "tiger-cage" island. There was no protest from liberal congressmen and newsmen then. Tran van Huong, the mayor of Saigon, became Prime Minister and Khanh was left in command of the army. On the side, American agents began building up "Big" Minh as the neutralist leader of the future who would handle the transition from independence to reunification under the North. When the anti-communists saw what was going on, they pressured the government into exiling Minh to Thailand on a Prime Minister's salary.

On November 1, 1964, the anniversary of the coup d'etat which toppled Diem, Hanoi guerrillas who had been infiltrating the south for months launched a murderous rocket attack on Bien Hoa airbase, fifteen miles from Saigon. For forty minutes their mortars rocked Bien Hoa, killing five Americans, destroying five B-57 bombers and damaging twenty-two others.

The next day Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen cao Ky and Prime Minister Huong went to Bien Hoa to look over the shambles. Ky was an aviator and what he saw made him fighting mad. He demanded permission to lead an attack on the enemy. What followed was a rude awakening. He was told to be quiet: The American election was only a week away and nothing must rock the boat while the media were picturing Goldwater as a trigger happy warmonger and Johnson a man of peace.

The votes Johnson was after were in the camp that wanted Hanoi to win. It was up to the Saigon government, already faced with public indignation over the Bien Hoa raid,

to keep Ky gagged until Goldwater was beaten.

On January 27, 1965, Phan khac Suu sacrificed Huong, the Prime Minister, and again the faceless team in the U. S. embassy managed to install the Keynesian from Harvard, whose job it was to immobilize Ky and anyone else who wanted to win the war.

THE SCENE, FROM WHERE KY WAS SITTING. The flamboyant air vice-marshal was learning politics fast. On February 6, 1965, Prime Minister Kosygin arrived in Hanoi and to show him what they could do Hanoi guerrillas hit the big American base at Pleiku, in the Central Highlands, on February 7. Eight Americans were killed, 108 wounded and several planes destroyed.

Because McGeorge Bundy was in Saigon with a fact-finding mission at the time General Westmoreland was given permission to hit back. American bombings hurt and the reds had something better than anti-aircraft missiles for stopping them. Hanoi sent out a cry for help to peace organizations and sympathizers all over the world. The line used was never valid, but it worked. Those who wanted Hanoi to win repeated incessantly that the war was unwinnable. When America retaliated after the raid on Pleiku, Hanoi apologists screamed that the American strike had been planned before Pleiku was ever hit. The Pleiku dead were forgotten.

Anything America did towards winning the war sent leftists into the street around the world. When leftists moved too openly towards a sellout, patriotic Americans stirred. Fifty-five thousand boys had to die before the patriots were weary enough to give up. Those who wanted a Hanoi victory were called "doves." Those who wanted to fight a "limited war" - just hard enough to keep Hanoi from winning at once - were called "hawks." Not a single TV chain or mass-circulation newspaper came out for victory and not an advocate of victory was permitted to participate in the mock debates where fake hawks such as McGeorge Bundy faced pro-Hanoi doves.

Hanoi said the fight was military, but Hanoi supporters in America maintained it was political, and there the matter stood when in mid-February, 1965, Nguyen cao Ky, the aviator with his arms tied, and his friends got the Harvard-formed carpet-bagger out of the prime minister's seat for good. They were to pay an awful price for it in the end.

- To be continued -

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Students \$10 per year. Supporting subscribers \$15 per year. Extra copies 30¢ each.

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Vietnam: Conspiracy?

Part Two

On February 16, 1965, Nguyen cao Ky and his supporters got rid of Nguyen xuan Oanh, of the CIA "scholarship" to Harvard. Into his place went Dr. Phan huy Quat, who had been a friend of Edward Lansdale since 1953. Almost at once the Catholics started demonstrating against Quat, and Hanoi regulars moved towards the Central Highlands while guerrillas slipped towards Danang. They had not yet struck when General Westmoreland bombed the Xombang munitions dump, ten miles inside North Vietnam, and the harbor at Quang Khe, on March 2, 1965. Hanoi called for a mass movement to make Washington halt all bombing. Bombings hurt, and Hanoi partisans wherever they were answered the call. Professors incited their students to riot and Joe Kraft wrote, "Bombing by the U. S. only makes North Viets more determined." It was untrue. Hanoi was made more determined by the demonstrations in America and the constant assurances that negotiations, not military victory, was all America wanted. To Hanoi negotiations only meant talks to ratify terrorism. While one propaganda line claimed that bombing hardened the enemy's will, another harped on its cruelty and a third claimed bombing was ineffective. With civilians hostile to American victory conducting the war and limiting the targets, the third line was largely true.

THE FIRST BOMBING PAUSE came on May 13, 1965. President Johnson tried to buy peace from rioting students by calling a 5-day halt and offering a billion dollars for reconstruction if Hanoi would leave the South alone. All the bombing pause did was remove pressure from Hanoi's defeated troops, badly in need of a rest. As the 5-day halt drew to a close, Hanoi's Paris representative, Mai van Bo, begged Etienne Manac'h, the Director of Far Eastern Affairs in the French Foreign Office, to do something to make it permanent. The factors were favorable. America had run the French out of Indo-China; now de Gaulle was playing the Hanoi card and intended to run out the Americans, with the aid of a government in Washington which seemed dominated by sociologists and traitors.

"Make them stop!" Mai van Bo begged Manac'h, who later became ambassador to Peking. The American press took up its cue and chanted: "Continued bombing will isolate America in World Opinion." It should have been self-evident that what would really isolate American in world opinion would be an ignoble sellout of an ally and the collapse of confidence that would follow. Manac'h answered Mai van Bo's appeal by telling Philippe Devillers to pack his bags for Washington.

PHILIPPE DEVILLERS, fortyish and well-mannered, is a likeable person. Had the office of the Premier of France not selected him as its leftist intellectual to publish FRANCE-ASIA, he would have remained an insignificant indoctrinator of students in some university. As editor-in-chief of the Palais Matignon's quarterly he could scoff at the domino theory and be treated with the politeness due officialdom. On his staff was Jean Lacouture, who also wrote for *Nouvel Observateur*, the far-left weekly dedicated to anything good for Hanoi and against the war. In issue 201 of FRANCE-ASIA Devillers expressed astonishment that a great power like the United States, which considered itself a champion of the rights of man, "should wage war against a peasant country

which asks for nothing but recognition of its independence and liquidation of a discredited colonial regime." As though South Vietnam had no right to be non-communist and the north did not have all that Devillers said she asked for.

Johnson's 5-day bombing pause of May 13, 1965, was about to expire as Devillers reached Washington and was taken to see Walt Rostow, whom no American advocating victory in Vietnam could have reached if he tried. From Rostow's office he was escorted to the Executive Office of the President for talks with Chester Cooper and James C. Thompson, Jr., who were on McGeorge Bundy's National Security Council. (Three months later Devillers was back in New York to plead Hanoi's cause with William Bundy and UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, who had already announced that America was not out for military victory in Vietnam.) Who else Devillers saw, and what was said, Hanoi knows but not the American public.

NGUYEN CAO KY, still smarting over not being permitted to hit the enemy, decided that if he was going to fight a war the only way to do it was by seizing power. Accordingly, on June 12, 1965, the 35-year-old Air Vice Marshal, born on September 8, 1930, near Hanoi and trained in Marrakech, Morocco, Avord, France, and finally in America, took over. General Nguyen van Thieu replaced Phan khac Suu, the lawyer, as president, and Ky, without political experience, became prime minister. Tran thien Khiem, CIA's master of coups and double-crosser of friends, was Vietnam's ambassador in Washington at the time. With him as press attaché, since October 1964, was Albert Pham ngoc Thao, Ho chi Minh's old-time intelligence chief for the Saigon region, who had infiltrated the Saigon government under Diem and who was having no trouble doing the same thing in America.

Shuffle the evidence as you will, nothing but conspiracy can explain Thao's being smuggled into Vietnam with American connivance, a few days before Christmas in 1965, to try to seize power. Shortly after Ky took control, security forces tracked Thao down and killed him. Newsweek of July 26, 1965, carried a letter he had written to Lloyd H. Norman, Newsweek's Pentagon correspondent, on June 4, shortly before his death. Thao admitted that he had gone home to topple the government. His brother was an official in Hanoi and the coup he attempted in February was to put himself in position to negotiate a settlement which would bring in a government acceptable to the communists and let America out. It was the solution Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford was to push with LBJ.

Newsweek did not state to which Vietnam Thao was patriotic, describing him only as "a passionately patriotic Catholic." Thao wrote that the Americans had originally fought him but afterwards realized that he was right. "With the aid of the Americans, including CIA," Thao said he was "confident his socialist movement would triumph." If it did not triumph now, it would later, he declared. "It would be better to lose half of South Vietnam and begin again.....than to continue with a government of military chiefs." But Thao himself was a colonel, and a red one. It would be interesting to read the parts of Thao's letter which the Newsweek correspondent, in effect his accomplice, deleted.

Washington sent Henry Cabot Lodge to Saigon to replace General Maxwell Taylor as ambassador and Lodge tried to bring "Big" Minh back from Bangkok, but Ky would not let him land. Two months later Edward Lansdale arrived to be Lodge's advisor. Lansdale, who had directed the plot to kill General Le van Vien in April 1955, and in 1961 drew up a plan to kill Castro, at the request of JFK and his brother Bobby. Ton that Thien, who later became Minister of Information, stated in the London ECONOMIST of October 2, 1965, that Lansdale had been sent to Saigon to remove Nguyen cao Ky. Beverly Deepe wrote that Ky's government was only an "interlude." The American public was told that Lansdale and Lodge were there to wage the war more effectively. Walter Lippman said, "Vietnam belongs in Red China's Orbit." The Washington Post and others carried Joe Kraft's column of August 25, 1965, which implied that Lansdale had a plan for victory. Kraft argued that it would be tragic if Lansdale's new plan was success-

ful. If it was, "the American military might convince themselves that they have a crusading mission in Vietnam, then there will be added one new obstacle in the only path that can lead to peace - the path of compromise and negotiation." Kraft had been in touch with the communists himself as a self-appointed negotiator and had already tried to recruit Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon.

BEHIND THE DETERMINATION TO DESTROY KY WAS A STRANGE STORY. He had been given a squadron of F5 Freedom Fighters armed with air-to-ground missiles, but the missiles were without warheads, to prevent Ky from attacking the enemy. Ky flew his Freedom Fighters to Danang and demanded that warheads be put on the missiles. The commander of the greatest American base in Asia enjoyed the power of decision of an office boy and had to ask the embassy in Saigon for instructions. The result was a life-saver for the enemy. A general alert was sounded and all movement at the base stopped as each man went to his post. Suddenly it was found that there were no armorers to put warheads on Ky's worthless missiles. They had evaporated into thin air. Ky flew his Freedom Fighters back from Danang without warheads, and he never forgot it. Neither did those planning Operation Sellout. On July 15, 1965, he again demanded permission to hit the North. "If the war is prolonged, it will be because of the U. S. doves," he declared. At the same time he broke off relations with the French.

KY'S QUARREL WITH FRANCE went beyond Manac'h's sending Devillers to Washington to call off the bombers. De Gaulle had been playing for a Hanoi victory since May 1963 when France's ambassador to Saigon, Monsieur l'Allouette, became intermediary between Madame Nhu and her husband and the North. The North broke off negotiations in September 1963, and three days later Madame Nhu flew to Belgrade to propose that the Eastern European bloc replace America and support a government which her husband would head. The French pro-Hanoi group's line to Ho chi Minh was through Jean Sainteny, who had changed his name from Roger during World War II lest he fall into the hands of the notoriously anti-Semitic Gestapo. Sainteny was an old friend of Ho chi Minh, whom Ho had duped again and again. In December 1946, when the Vietminh were preparing to massacre French men, women and children, house by house and block by block, in Haiphong, Sainteny and Ho were still writing poetry to each other, and Sainteny thought of Ho as friend and ally, fighting against his own hardliners who did not want peace.

On December 19, 1946, two days before the carefully prepared plan was set in motion, Ho sent Sainteny another letter assuring him they would have luncheon together soon. Ho made a fool of Sainteny at will, but the latter never held it against him, as he did the hard treatment OSS leftists gave him after the war, when they failed to recognize him as one of their own.

ONLY CONSPIRACY CAN ACCOUNT FOR THE CHAIN OF EVENTS which took place in widely separated areas following Ky's seizure of power. This was the period when Henry Kissinger became interested in Vietnam. Madame Sainteny went to Harvard for a summer course and Henry Kissinger was her professor. Friendship developed between Kissinger and Sainteny, of "French Friends of Hanoi," who sat at the VIP table beside France's leading communists at every fund-raising dinner for movements against America. It was in his syndicated column of December 5, 1968, that CFR-member Joseph C. Harsch wrote: "Kissinger was one of the first among top experts to conclude that military victory in Vietnam is neither possible nor desirable." It would be interesting to know whether it was during his talks with Sainteny that Kissinger reached the conclusion that military defeat in Vietnam was desirable. It would be unjust to say that France worked for America's defeat, just as it would be to say that America wanted to sell out Vietnam. A small but powerful group in each case imposed its will on disorganized majorities. Raymond Cartier, one of France's most respected writers, wrote in Paris-Match of July 10, 1965, "Three senators, Morse, Gruening and Church, represent 3% of the Senate but are quoted ten times more frequently than their 97 colleagues." Cartier quoted Ky as saying, "They (the Americans) want negotiations; we want victory."

A vast web of interrelated movements spread over Europe and America, denouncing all things military and calling for negotiations as the sole road to "peace." Not negotiations in the accepted sense, but talks which would formalize the ground-yielding by America and lead to military victory for Hanoi.

THE FIRST TRAP KY WALKED INTO was a meeting with LBJ in Honolulu on February 6, 1966. American pressmen and TV commentators who had called him "Saigon's corrupt and unpopular dictator" gushed over him - for about ten days - as a friend of America whom Johnson had embraced. At once the "American puppet" cry was raised at home, and Buddhists began rioting. The objective of the Honolulu meeting was to lure Ky into committing himself to a 1967 election. The moment this was accomplished the media in America renewed the drive to tear him down. On April 15, 1966, the New York Times charged that "he had failed to accomplish a true social revolution at home." What could a leader fighting communist aggression do, short of surrender, that would satisfy the New York Times?

ON JANUARY 16, 1967, came the planted "leak" in U. S. News & World Report which indicated where the insiders were heading. "Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, is trying to talk Premier Ky out of the idea of running for office on his own when the time comes to dissolve the military government. The United States would prefer to see civilians, not military men, running things in South Vietnam." On January 22, Senator Fulbright demanded that America "kick out Ky" if he refused to negotiate along our lines. On February 1, Joe Kraft assured Americans that the FLN was "an independent South Vietnamese entity." Ky's "power moves" were endangering a negotiated peace, wrote Kraft. "Still the danger is manageable, for Premier Ky cannot make a move against the will of the American command." Carl T. Rowan, who led the drive to expel Moise Tshombe's representative from America in 1962, came out with a column on February 8 accusing Ky of having "secret contacts with the communist Vietcong." Ky had no such contacts but many of Rowan's friends had been conniving with the Hanoi government and the Vietcong for years.

BUNKER EXPECTED TO BE ADVOCATE OF RECONCILIATION, the Los Angeles Times of March 19, 1967, headed its story on the appointment of Sukarno's friend as ambassador to South Vietnam. Henry Cabot Lodge's job was finished. Ky had agreed to the election; it was up to Bunker to see that he did not win. "National reconciliation" was repeated seven times and "necessity of a civilian government" three times in the Los Angeles Times story. Bunker tried to bring "Big" Minh back from Bangkok and again Ky would not let him land. As soon as Ky was forced out of running for the presidency, the drivel about civilian government was forgotten and on September 3, 1967, General Nguyen van Thieu was elected President, with Ky as his number two.

KISSINGER WAS READY FOR HIM. Your correspondent was in Saigon, trying to convince Ky's righthand man that a sellout was in the works, on July 21, 1967, when Kissinger's French friends, Herbert Marcovich and Raymond Aubrac (real name Samuel) took off from Paris for Hanoi bearing a message for Ho from Kissinger and Johnson. Aubrac, like Sainteny, was an old and devoted friend of Ho chi Minh. Kissinger had met him through a Pugwash Conference in Poland. Bunker, at his end, was Thieu's advisor as military officers and civilian officials believed loyal to Ky were replaced by Thieu supporters. Never did Bunker permit an offensive against the enemy as savage as the one he ran against Ky and the commanders who wanted victory.

A PSY-WAR CAMPAIGN TO SELL SURRENDER was at work in America. The New York Times of July 12, 1968, took it up in a story on Milton Eisenhower's commission of psychiatrists meeting in Washington to study violence and conflict. Americans should put less emphasis on winning and learn that it is at least as important to be a good loser, declared Dr. John P. Spiegel, of Brandeis University. Insistence on military victory, he argued, is nothing but a glorification of violence. "Losing need not mean the surrender of all power, but rather a graceful concession that could resolve potentially dangerous conflict." It was a solution he never for a moment would have suggested to General

Moshe Dayan, but America was being conditioned to accept humiliation in Vietnam. In September 1968 Tran thien Khiem, who had been in every conspiracy since November 1960, flew to Bangkok to arrange "Big" Minh's return. At last the team in the embassy had put it over. "Bunker Takes Tough Stand with Saigon" was the heading to Keyes Beech's column of October 23. South Vietnamese objections to the "peace package" being offered Hanoi "have received little sympathy from statesman-like Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker," Beech gloated. Bunker and Thieu got Ky out of Saigon by sending him to Paris to the "peace" negotiations. In effect, Ky was to "hold the bag." Before he arrived Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford threatened that "if the South Vietnamese remain obdurate the U. S. might go ahead and negotiate a military agreement with Hanoi on its own." In the New York Times of November 12, 1968, Gene Roberts accused Thieu and Ky of ingratitude. After the U. S. Mission had helped Thieu get elected and aided him in getting rid of Ky's supporters, Roberts complained, Thieu and Ky were ganging up against the U. S. and accusing LBJ and the Mission of trying to sell them out.

The Washington Post of November 14, 1968, published an editorial they should be made to eat today: "When Thieu says 'our existence is at stake,' what in fact is meant is the existence of his government, not the existence of the South Vietnamese people or the integrity of the nation." TIME of December 27, 1968, described Clark Clifford as an allout advocate at White House luncheons, where he "pressed his views relentlessly, singlemindedly - and often singlehandedly - on LBJ. Clifford's view was that all bombing should be halted, that without bombing Hanoi would become reasonable. TIME did have the honesty to add: "There is an undeniable heavy risk in Clifford's position. He has no assurance that Hanoi really wants a settlement or that the enigmatic enemy will honor a troop-withdrawal agreement."

When Ky refused to let Clifford serve his country to Hanoi on a platter, Senator McGovern called him a "tinhorn dictator, playing around the plush spots of Paris while Americans were dying to prop up his corrupt regime." (Ky had been out once since his arrival, to dine with Averell Harriman.) In mid-1969 reports hinted that sensational developments were in the offing. The (National) Research Institute Report, of June 13, 1969, published by Leo Cherne, of CIA's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the CIA front, "American Friends of Vietnam," stated that "White House Aide Kissinger believes private talks with Hanoi can get Paris off dead center." Obviously, the friend of Vietnam had been recycled and was pushing sell-out.

KISSINGER'S BIG BREAKTHROUGH, when it came, was really Hanoi's. Not until three years later did the true story on Kissinger's "break-through" get out. Even then no one appeared to understand the full implications. What happened was: Jean Sainteny was in Washington in July 1969. Who he talked to besides Kissinger and why he was there we do not know. Suffice to say, it was to this key figure in the French circle working for Hanoi victory that Kissinger turned for help in arranging a meeting with Hanoi's man in Paris. Sainteny flew home carrying a letter for Ho chi Minh from President Nixon.

With Sainteny as go-between, the reply was favorable and on August 4, 1969, Xuan Thuy, head of the Hanoi delegation, went to Sainteny's apartment to meet Kissinger. We can assume the apartment was bugged. Sainteny introduced the two and left them alone. This was the break-through Kissinger regarded as a victory.

SAIGON'S ONLY HOPE WAS A LINE TO MIDDLE AMERICA. There was still a possibility that an American with a voice might find out what was going on and alert his countrymen. In November 1969 Governor George C. Wallace went to Saigon for talks with President Thieu which your correspondent had set up in Saigon and Mr. Dwight Coffman had organized in America. Thieu's delegate to UN flew to Alabama to confirm the meeting.

One thing had been overlooked: As the situation grew more desperate, Ellsworth Bunker's grip on South Vietnam's President tightened, even to telling him whom he could and could not see. When the governor arrived in Saigon a wall had been thrown around

President Thieu. The one man who might have carried the story of the sellout to the American people Thieu was never allowed to see. While lower-rank officials from the embassy occupied Wallace's time with trivia, a group of Christian Science Monitor reporters and some American labor union delegates were driven to the presidential palace. Every day evidence of a conspiracy became more open.

IMMUNITY FOR TRAITORS. On June 15, 1970, the White House announced that no investigation would be made and no files compiled "on about 250 State Department employees who signed a petition opposing the Nixon Administration's policies in Cambodia." It was a green light for subversion. In the CIA headquarters in Langley, the "braver" analysts wore black armbands in protest against the war, R. Harris Smith, the CIA analyst boasted, while the boys in Vietnam were dying. On January 4, 1971, Cyrus Sulzberger told his readers, "Every President since Truman has accepted the Wilsonian credo of peace without victory." He said this was the idea at the core of Nixon's Vietnamization program, which is to say that Vietnamization also meant seeing that the Vietnamese did not win. Sulzberger quoted a paper by R. G. Shreffler and W. S. Bennett, of the Los Angeles Scientific Laboratory, as stating categorically that "military victory, like concepts of 'unconditional surrender', has been recognized as obsolete since World War II. We must structure our policies accordingly."

THE END WAS AS PLANNED. When it was too late to stem the tide, Tran thien Khiem resigned from the Prime Ministry, then Thieu stepped down and "Big" Minh took over to await the victors. On May 8, the anniversary of Dien Bien Phu, Minh said, "I am happy to become a citizen of an independent Vietnam." Joe Kraft's "only path that can lead to peace - the path of compromise and negotiation" - had reached its destination. Kurt Waldheim was ready. He flew Kissinger's old link with Ho chi Minh, Raymond Aubrac, to Hanoi as UN's liaison man. Within hours of Hanoi's occupation of Saigon, Associated Press' prize photographer, Ky Nhan, went on the air and American newsmen learned that he had been a Vietcong official all the time. It was clear why the pictures with most propaganda impact on American TV screens and in the press were provided by AP: General Nguyen ngoc Loan shooting a guerrilla leader during the Tet offensive of 1968, the naked little girl running toward the camera, her clothes burned off "by napalm" but her body untouched, with three sauntering soldiers in the background, and so many others.

The London Daily Telegraph of April 30, 1975, saw the end as utterly shocking and disastrous. "The terms on which the communists are ending the war are finely calculated to extort the last drop of humiliation...It is world communism's biggest victory, and the free world's biggest defeat," went the editorial.

Kissinger has his Nobel Peace Prize. The New York Times and Clark Clifford and Mike Mansfield and the rest have played their roles. New actors are now on-stage, men like Jean Sainteny and Vu van Thai, the pro-Hanoi Vietnamese to whom Daniel Ellsberg gave a set of the Pentagon Papers with impunity. If it wasn't conspiracy it was against all the odds of chance.

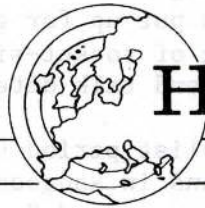
Mr. du Berrier will be in the United States from mid-July to mid-September and available for lectures or seminars. He may be reached through P. O. Box 786, St. George, Utah 84770.

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Students \$10 per year. Supporting subscribers \$15 per year. Extra copies 30¢ each.

Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



Recipe for disaster

For the first time in the history of the world a great nation made defeat its objective. Worse, we told the enemy that was our aim. Letters-to-the-editor pages of American papers and news magazines kept Hanoi's dispirited troops fighting. It was also a case of turnabout. Americans incited the revolts which permitted Europe's colonies to become red satellites under one-party systems and life presidents. U. S. Information Service made films of the British, French and Dutch being defeated by Indians, Vietnamese and Indonesians as proof for other Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians and Africans that they could do it too.

Today communist parties hold America's defeat at the hands of Asians as proof that other allies will be left in the lurch also. On June 23, 1968, Governor Nelson Rockefeller declared over NBC's "Meet the Press" - a TV program that reverberates around the world: "The Paris negotiations offer the only path to an honorable peace (in Vietnam)." Look at what has happened and ask: Who wants to depend on a country that would have him even for an unelected Vice-President?

Newsweek of December 21, 1970, reminded the White House: "Richard Nixon was elected on a promise not to seek military victory." When the President had kept his part of the bargain, Katherine Graham's Newsweek and its parent publication, The Washington Post, got the incumbent anyway, because Vietnam was in the bag and the line-up for a new game was starting. Not all Americans wanted a defeat that would frighten the rest of the world into making an arrangement with the reds. A lot of professors, and Mary McCarthy, who boasted that she was "looking for material damaging to American interests," undoubtedly did. Now the heart is torn out of our army, our universities radicalized and Congress filled with pro-reds under the protection of Jack Anderson. It is time for a nation by nation appraisal as the new game starts.

BANGKOK IS FRIGHTENED. Thailand can neither count on America nor risk writing us off. The solution is to let America court Thailand if she wants to while Bangkok courts Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. A nation that lets rioting students and revolutionary professors prevent it from winning a war that could have been ended in two months is not going to be victorious against communists anywhere, the Thais have concluded. No anti-communist leader is likely to forget that THE WASHINGTON POST declared on November 14, 1968: "When Thieu says 'our existence is at stake,' what in fact is meant is the existence of his government, not the existence of the South Vietnamese people or the integrity of the nation." And not a voice has asked on whose authority that statement was written.

Asians assume that the same people will say the same thing of them if it comes to a showdown. By mid-July over 100 KGB agents had been assigned to the Soviet embassy in Bangkok. They had taken over the Thai student movement and infiltrated the labor unions. A minor import-export firm was found to have 19 KGB agents in its Bangkok office. Twice a week an Aeroflot flight arrives loaded with Russian "tourists" who move into small, backstreet hotels to replace those whose entry periods are expiring. Cam Ranh Bay, which nature made one of the finest deep-water harbors in the world and

which America built up for Hanoi to take, is being turned into a Russian naval base along with hundreds of others which the West has put up for grabs. While communist parties undermine nations which the closing ring of rocket-sites and submarine bases encircle, Moscow leaders keep their hands clean and talk détente.

BURMA WILL GO UNDER WITHOUT A RIPPLE. The socialist period has run its course. There are now more Russian aid officials and technicians in Rangoon than their programs justify. Fanning out through Burma the Russian teams extend Soviet influence by a combination of internal subversion and external threat. This is accepted as Moscow's right while the same right is not accorded to the rest of the world or claimed by the so-called capitalist press.

The immediate Russian program calls for a secessionist movement in the small Burmese state of Arakan, on the coast south of Chitagong. The Arakanese are ethnically related to the people of Bangladesh. Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi are providing them with Russian arms via India. When the break-away movement is successful Moscow will control the Bay of Bengal. Another link will have been forged in the chain Russia is drawing around the world's seaways and the disintegration of Pakistan, which is an Indian aim as well as a Russian, will be a step nearer.

THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC has provided bases for two full Russian infantry divisions and a tank regiment for the past three years. One month after the fall of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia another infantry division, more tanks and seven fighter squadrons moved into Outer Mongolia. 7,000 Russian officers live in a heavily-guarded quarter in Ulan Bator with its own schools, hospitals and commissaries. This is the command center for forces dispersed over an area three times the size of France.

Since there is no threat to Mongolia, Western experts ask why Russia is pouring in troops, tanks and planes so soon after the takeover in the South and while the Kremlin is talking détente. The answer appears to be dispersal - to mass striking forces in too many places for the West to hit in the short period before anti-war forces can immobilize the democracies from within. This is a rough picture of post-Vietnam in the Far East.

IN EAST GERMANY Russia's military position was strengthened before troop reduction talks in Vienna could get under way. No drive against militarism has been permitted to weaken the morale of Russia's 400,000 troops in advance positions in East Germany. Western Intelligence estimates them at 22 divisions supported by as many as 2,000 modern T-62 tanks. A new tank, the T-72, is about to go into production in Czechoslovakia to replace the T-62s. It is highly secret but western experts know it is faster (43 m.p.h.) and more modern than any tank in NATO. Armed with a new 122 m.m. smooth bore gun firing a fin-stabilized projectile and two machine-guns, one designed against aircraft, the T-72 will be able to knock out the British Chieftain, until now considered the West's most formidable tank. It is believed that the T-72 will carry a missile-launching rail above the gun barrel, allowing it to fire guided missiles against opposing tanks or missile-armed helicopters being adopted as tank-hunters by NATO. The weight of this monster with its 1,000 h.p. diesel engine is about 40 tons, which gives it a better power-to-weight ratio than any tank NATO can throw against it.

Even without the T-72 the Warsaw Pact nations have more than 26,000 tanks in the field, compared to NATO's 10,000. To claim that adoption of a new tank, more modern and powerful than any possessed by NATO, is a defense measure is absurd, particularly since defense cuts have already eroded the West's lead on land, at sea and in the air. At present the Soviet Union is spending 20% more each year on military research and development than the U. S., 25% more on weapons and 60% more on strategic nuclear forces. At the same time, communist-directed "anti-war" organizations conduct a campaign against nuclear weapons in the West. "Pacifist" movements demonstrate in any port where an American nuclear-powered submarine appears. Russia, with more nuclear

submarines than the rest of the world's navies put together, is never criticized. An East German Army of 190,000 Soviet-armed troops is massed on East Germany's western border. Behind it are the 400,000 Soviet troops we have mentioned. They are backed by 7,000 tactical nuclear warheads, as many if not more than America has stocked in Europe. While Europeans are reminded that their defense is in the hands of a nation that a peasant army in Asia was able to defeat, Russian forces at sea and behind the East German spearhead provide the threat which will back the ultimatum some third party - probably East Germany - will deliver.

Americans who were described as doves during the war in Vietnam will run a new drive for concessions and negotiations, in the name of peace. These are only a few of the realities of the post-Vietnam world. This is the line-up in the new game which started because America elected to lose in Asia. There are coincidences which make the loss of the game and the stacking of the cards against the free world in the new one extremely interesting.

THE INTER-UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE FOR A PUBLIC HEARING ON VIETNAM was never meant to be a committee to discuss Vietnam or provide a hearing for different viewpoints on the Vietnam war. It was set up by leftist professors and students to flood 129 universities and colleges with anti-American propaganda over closed-circuit TV. The National Educational TV Network helped seep the poison into the nation's bloodstream through its 91 affiliates and at least 30 radio stations. It was at University of Michigan on March 24, 1965, that the "Inter-University Committee" movement started. It proved so successful its motivators planned a National Teach-in in Washington on May 15, 1965.

Now that the scramble to get out from under is in full swing, those who were referred to as "the knowledgeable people in Washington on Vietnam" are unlikely to remind Americans that the reason for Johnson's 5-day bombing pause of May 12, 1965, was to take the heat out of the May 15 National Teach-in. Hence, the National Teach-in took the heat off North Vietnam. David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory, of the Los Angeles Times, wrote in their book, "The Secret Search for Peace," of the trip Philippe Devillers made to Washington to see McGeorge Bundy and others during the May 12 bombing pause. They knew they were being dishonest. Devillers did not fly to Washington as part of any secret search for peace. He went because the Gaullists were playing the Hanoi card and Mai van Bo, Hanoi's representative in Paris, pointed out that Devillers, as editor of the quarterly put out by the office of the French Prime Minister, could be sent to McGeorge Bundy as a French authority on Asia. If they sent him while pressure from the National Teach-in - which Kraslow and Loory did not mention - was still on, Devillers might be able to make the bombing halt permanent. The whole exercise was an example of the role international communists and pro-communists played in the "Anti-war" movement in America, which was never anything but a movement to aid and abet Hanoi.

McGeorge Bundy, the man the anything but disinterested French "authority" was sent to see, had chosen speakers to represent the government at the big Teach-in. He invited Max Lerner, John P. Roche and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. The first two declined and when the Teach-in took place Bundy did not show up. Schlesinger blasted the Administration and the others who were supposed to be defending it did no better. Not a one of them mentioned victory. All of them prattled about "negotiations" and "peace." Their names read today, in the light of what has happened since, give one a jolt.

Leo Cherne, of CIA's 11-man Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the Research Institute of America, was there with Daniel Ellsberg. The same Cherne who as a director of a CIA front worked to destroy the anti-communist regional armies in Vietnam in the mid-fifties, then in February 1958 advised Americans to invest their savings in Vietnam. In October 1962 he came out against all neutrality laws. At the National Teach-in, in Washington, he and Ellsberg were for negotiations. By the time Ellsberg was photocopying stolen Pentagon papers for the New York Times, the Soviet Embassy and Hanoi's Vu van Thai, Cherne's 30,000-circulation Research Institute Report was preparing the

public for a Hanoi victory. There with Cherne and Ellsberg was Wesley Fishel of the Michigan State University team which made Vietnam a testing ground for its socialist ideas and destroyed the anti-communist elements of the country in the process. Paul Seabury, the Berkeley Campus professor who guided R. Harris Smith when he was writing his left-slanted history of OSS, was there with Zbygniew Brzezinski, Robert Scalapino and Walt Rostow, who said that the day of nations and nationality is past. And these were supposed to be hawks! The man who brought this bunch together was Presidential Advisor McGeorge Bundy, who on December 24, 1965, talked the President into grounding the bombers for 37 days while the enemy had a clear field to rest and build up stocks for an offensive. Not the slightest interest did Hanoi show in negotiations or peace. This is a small incident among the unpardonable many which made the events of early 1975 inevitable. Now to return to the new game of "post-Vietnam."

IN EUROPE collapse of confidence is total. Communist morale is high. 462 Soviet and Warsaw Pact warships patrol the Baltic with 12 armored divisions deployed along the shore. If students and professors and phoney hawks could defeat America in Asia no American Administration is going to frighten the Russians in the north.

THE WORLD'S SEALANES are patrolled by Russian ships based in ports from which American anti-colonialists drove our allies too brutally and too soon. Hitler had 50 traditional U-boats in 1939. Today Russia has over 400, many of them nuclear-propelled and difficult to detect. No part of the globe is beyond striking distance from a Russian base. NATO's western flank is collapsing with the communist takeover in Portugal. Irving Brown, America's roving "labor ambassador" was one of the first to arrive for the victory celebration when the government he had worked against was toppled. The process was classic. When breast-beating Irving Brown and his socialists had cleared the field the reds moved in and installed something worse. NATO's eastern flank with its Turkish bases and early warning systems is crumbling because Congressmen John Brademas, D.Ind., and Paul Sarbanes, D.Md., of Greek descent, seized an opportunity to settle scores for the country of their parents by cutting off military aid to Turkey. 83-year-old Congressman Ray Madden, of Gary, Indiana, likewise preferred to strip the West's front line of defense for the sake of Greek votes in Indiana. Spanish and Italian communist leaders chose this moment to implement "Operation Velvet Glove."

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPE met in March 1975 to plan future actions under the new conditions created by America's impending humiliation in Vietnam. The big fear of Signor Enrico Berlinguer, secretary-general of the Italian CP, and Senor Carillo, his Spanish counter-part, was that their comrades in Portugal would frighten Italian and Spanish socialists, whom the reds were counting on to front for them. They begged Senhor Domingos Abrantes, the Portuguese delegate, to ask his colleagues to go easy. Berlinguer and Carillo are working towards a communist Mediterranean when Franco is gone. Until it is achieved they must put over the idea that Italian and Spanish communism is different. This is Operation Velvet Glove. Berlinguer plays the same role in this plan as Prince Bernhard in the Bilderbergers: He is the cultured nobleman - a marquis from Sardinia - who provides respectability. He gives the communists "class" while the clenched fist is played down.

ITALY'S MID-JUNE ELECTIONS were a triumph for Operation Velvet Glove. Legal and secret campaign actions were handled by Armando Cossuta, who holds Italian cities, ports, and the regions which the Common Market created in a tight grip. Sergio Segre, the man who controls relations between the Italian CP and Russia's secret networks across Europe, is Berlinguer's liaison man with communist parties elsewhere. Segre assured a British newsman that if a communist government comes to power, Italy will not necessarily leave NATO. Of course she won't. Russian orders are to stay in NATO and bore from within, after the pattern of RITA - Resistance Inside the Army - which Russian-controlled movements sponsored during the war in Vietnam. (The Rockefeller Commission reported that it could find no communist links with the anti-war dissidents.)

Today Turin, Italy's second largest industrial city and the home of Fiat has a communist mayor. Rome, Naples, Milan, Florence, Venice and Genoa have communist city councils. Berlinguer's pretense of moderation and promises that freedom of speech, press, religion and private enterprise will be guaranteed have paid off. He promised the socialists a place in government if they would help oust Amintore Fanfani and his Christian Democrats. Berlinguer called it Italy's "historic compromise" as he talked of socialists and communists working shoulder to shoulder "after Franco." This is the game the Portuguese are endangering. Italian and Spanish reds held a war council in Leghorn on July 12. They swore that "plurality of political parties, individual liberties and national independence" is all they are after. The socialists were still wavering when French Communist Party boss, Georges Marchais, told French reds that his alliance with the socialists in the last elections was "merely a means to a communist end."

BERLINGUER WAS SAVED BY THE APOLLO LINK-UP WITH SOYUZ. "If even the Americans can collaborate with Moscow in such sensitive matters, surely it is reasonable to give Italian communists a place in government," he argued. Within a week the National Council of the Italian Christian Democrat Party dropped Fanfani, and the way was clear for a new boss willing to cooperate with the reds. This was the immediate result of the handshake in space which cost the US some \$250 million, provided communist parties with a precedent and Russia with an undreamed of opportunity for technical espionage. For ever-present with Russia's political bound ahead is the technical and industrial advance aided by western traitors.

CONCORD IS AN EXAMPLE. On July 9, 1975, Mr. Tom Normanton, Conservative British member of Parliament for Cheadle, told the European Parliament in Strasbourg that all of the plans for Concord had been handed over to Russia by unionized workers in the European Community whose firms were doing business with the East. A former machine tool company chairman himself, Mr. Normanton told Common Market parliamentarians: "It is common practice at worker level to 'drop a copy to Moscow' when new design information comes out." Dr. Guido Brunner, the Common Market Commissioner for Research, was asked for assurance that precautions would be taken to prevent secrets from falling into the hands of those wishing to destroy the West. Dr. Brunner replied: "The Community, in principle, does not have any secret operations and is very willing to cooperate with third countries."

BRITAIN MADE A FINAL EFFORT, in her death spasms, to get out of the organization which Dr. Brunner admits is a sieve for the West's secrets. In June 1975 she held a referendum. The campaign to keep Britain in was directed by Mr. Ernest Wistrich, present head of the European Movement. Like Joseph Retinger, who founded the movement with American money provided by Mr. John J. McCloy, Wistrich is a Polish-born socialist. Top man in the American-European Conference Movement in Britain, which is working to bring America in, is Joseph Godson, another Polish-born socialist, only Godson is naturalized American. One of Godson's helpers is Dr. Paul Seabury, the Berkeley professor of political science who sat with Daniel Ellsberg and CIA committee-member, Leo Cherne, at the National Teach-In, in Washington on May 15, 1965, where victory in Vietnam was never mentioned. At Wistrich's side in the drive to close the escape-hatch on Britain was Lord Harlech, JFK's old friend from London School of Economics days. They raised funds, recruited, regimented youth groups, sportsmen's organizations and the whole gamut of fronts which, with the Labor Committee for Europe and Trade Unions Committee for Europe succeeded in keeping Britain in.

Charles Guggenheim, who received an Academy Award for his film on Bobby Kennedy and produced another showing George McGovern as an honest under-dog crossing the prairies in a beat-up Chevrolet, was brought from America. Guggenheim was their psy-war specialist, paid \$3,000 a week and expenses to introduce the sort of hard-hitting, emotional TV programs used by American leftists. "One of America's top political film-makers with an almost legendary ability to sway elections," London's leftist OBSERVER

called him as Guggenheim helped stack the deck against Britain's patriots. Victory in Britain cleared the way for Velvet Glove and the master plan drawn up on Moscow.

THE PONOMAREV PLAN is named after Boris Ponomarev, acting member of the politburo who for twenty years has directed the party's relations with communist parties in nations marked for takeover. Throughout these years the Kremlin's bosses never ceased to press for the security conference which ended in Helsinki on August 1. Aside from recognizing Russia's conquests since World War II the Helsinki meeting was meant to help disarm the West by inducing a spirit of neutralism. Détente is the government theme. The party's directives were outlined by Ponomarev in an article in the magazine, "Problems of Peace and Socialism," published in Prague in June 1974. Russian, German and British editions carried it, but it was blacked-out in France and Italy lest it frighten socialists out of "the union of the left." Ponomarev gave five prerequisites for the seizure of power: Creation of power centers working parallel with the party, formation of a single union under party control, development of a tactical alliance with the army, elimination of the opposition press, and destruction of private enterprise. Détente, according to Ponomarev's article on "The World Situation and the Revolutionary Process," is "a means of intensifying the ideological and revolutionary bound ahead." The socialist parties of Western Europe knew about the article when it was published but not a one of them let out a peep. Not until the reds in Portugal took over a socialist newspaper was Ponomarev's "Mein Kampf" published in the Quotidien de Paris of June 23rd.

French reds screamed that it was a fake. Moscow published a Tass communique stating "Portugal's socialists have passed the line dividing politics from provocation of the police." Ponomarev's lines on the tendency of "reactionary governments" to count on their armies and police "as ramparts of conservatism which they attempt to isolate from the people and inculcate with a spirit of anti-communism" are worth studying. "The reactionaries will use the armed forces without the least hesitation when their power is really threatened," he wrote. "That is why, even when the revolution is pacific, it is necessary to deprive the existing government of such levers of power as the army and to create a new apparatus of State. The army cannot be permitted to remain free from politics....Lenin has taught us that the masses must be liberated from the ideological influence of reaction. This applies not only to the revolutionary struggle in general but also (and the two are inseparable) to the struggle against war and imperialist aggression through affirmation of the principles of pacific coexistence."

-----And the Rockefeller Commission said there was not a shred of evidence that communist movements and the anti-war dissidents were related!

What cannot be disputed is that Vietnam is over. The game was lost in Washington. Befuddled Americans let a handful of key men give the enemy victory on the assurance that they were buying peace. What we bought was an all but unsurmountable handicap in the new game.

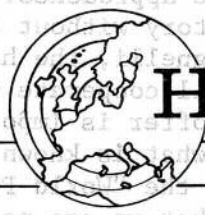
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A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER



H du B REPORTS

PARIS

VOLUME XVIII - LETTER 5 - SEPTEMBER, 1975

THE WEST'S DEFENCE DILEMMA

The EUROPEAN INFORMATION CENTER is a name cover for the French language newsletter, "La Lettre d'Information," published by Mr. Pierre de Villemarest, a former intelligence officer and one of Europe's leading authorities on Russia, her leaders and the KGB.

During the period when de Gaulle was destroying the French right and initiating what he predicted would be France's bloodless slide to communism, Mr. de Villemarest was imprisoned for a year and a half without charges or trial. On his release he retired to his country place, "La Vendomière," at Le Haut Cierrey, in the Eure Department of France. There his Information Letter, articles for Historia Magazine, the weekly La Monde et La Vie, and two other Paris publications, Spectacle du Monde and Valeurs Actuelles, are written.

In the present pre-confrontation stage of Russian expansion, Pierre de Villemarest's book, "Soviet Espionnage en France, 1945 to 1969," covers a wide field but its details on Moscow's penetration and subversion of western churches remains one of the most authoritative examples of KGB long-term operations ever written. It is regrettable that it has never been translated into English.

On May 1, 1975, after the fall of Saigon and 14 days after the Reds took over Phnom Penh, de Villemarest and a small group of friends who had consistently called for American victory while de Gaulle, Malraux, Sainteny and others in the Gaullist camp played the Hanoi card, wrote a letter to 227 anti-communist Frenchmen. Among them were writers, politicians and veterans of the French war in Indochina. "Will you cooperate," they asked, "in the publication of a collective work entitled "Chant Funèbre pour Pnom Penh et Saigon?" (A funeral chant for Phnom Penh and Saigon) Those appealed to were given 30 days in which to get their thoughts on paper and into the hands of the men who hoped to put out in a month the sort of book which Americans who were equally torn by the martyrdom of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia did not think of producing. As fast as material came in, it was set in type, and on July 7, 1975, the dignified 428-page book, bound in a plain white cover with a funeral wreath encircling the title, appeared in the bookstores of France.

Of the 227 appealed to, 112 failed to reply. 17 excused themselves for a variety of reasons. Only one opposed the idea. Five who accepted did not get their contributions in on time. Among the 92 who responded were General Raoul Salan, Colonel Antoine Argoud, whom de Gaulle's secret police kidnapped from Germany in the '60s, Erwan Bergot, author of "The Forgotten Heroes," and Roger Holeindre, whom CIA officers in the American embassy in Paris refused to help when he started a French movement in support of America's position.

Pierre de Villemarest contributed 25 pages entitled "A Short History of a Deliberate Abandonment." In it the role of the Bilderbergers, the Council on Foreign Relations and Henry Kissinger's choice of Raymond Aubrac, Ho chi Minh's friend, as a secret emissary to Hanoi, were covered. So much for the background of the publisher of "La Lettre d'Information."

DE VILLEMAREST'S SUMMING-UP OF THE SITUATION IN EUROPE is worth study as the period international terrorists have set for a fall offensive approaches. The maneuver is global, its aim, according to de Villemarest, is "victory without armed conflict but always under the threat of armies." In Italy Signor Agnelli, the head of Fiat, has passed word to the Italian Communist Party that he will cooperate with Italy's reds in solving the problems of Turin and Piedmont. This offer is important because Agnelli is associated with Signor Aurelio Peccei, founder of what is known as the Club of Rome. Peccei declared in "The Futurist," the publication of the "World Future Society," in August 1971, "The time has come to show the Soviets that we are not out to weaken them but, on the contrary, to help them strengthen themselves as our companions and allies."

Peccei enlarged on the Club of Rome's intentions in an interview with Figaro, the Paris daily, on October 12, 1974: "I have taken note of Russia's willingness to hold a world conference....I am glad they are willing to take part in a Committee for the Future.... This committee, designated by the divine rights of its initiates, will find a way by which we can face the future together."

In early June 1975, as Italian elections approached, the Club of Rome held a four-day working session in the Italian capital to draw up a program its experts would sponsor at the September session of UN. The role of the Club of Rome is to bridge the gap between communism and capitalism. They hold that the threat to the world is no longer opposition between East and West, but between the rich nations and the poor. A global redistribution of the revenue and wealth of the rich nations is a necessity. (This has been a marxist demand for almost a century.) They want to set up a world authority with power to control the raw materials, food production, energy, economic policies and moneys of the world. It is planification in favor of non-producers. Before the elections which followed the early June meeting of the Club of Rome, Italian reds held 200 seats in the National Assembly. When the votes were counted they had 247. From 27% of the electorate they had climbed to 33.4%. Administration is now in red hands with a pretense of democracy maintained for the purpose of lulling the West until it is time for the all-European bound ahead that will come when Franco is gone.

While Agnelli and the Club of Rome talk of cooperation, over 700 KGB agents issue orders to Italy's "uncontrollable left," under the noses of helpless police. Assassinations, kidnappings and acts of provocation are carried out for the purpose of accusing the Italian right of fascism if society takes action to protect itself, according to de Villemarest. The Marquis Enrico Berlinguer, son of a noble Sardinian family, is Italian communism's front of respectability, just as Prince Bernhard of Holland is for the Bilderbergers. While Berlinguer gives communism an aristocratic image, his associates, Signor Pajetta and Sergio Segre, maintain contact with the Soviet apparatus through a labyrinth of secret channels. For three years, between 1966 and '69, Segre and Berlinguer were Willy Brandt's secret intermediaries between Moscow and East Germany when Brandt was promising Moscow an "opening to the East" in return for red support in his 1969 accession to power. An idea of Berlinguer's importance in Russia's plans for the takeover of Western Europe may be gained from the fact that he was the only West European communist to stand beside Moscow's great on the wall of the Kremlin when the parade of May 1, 1975, unfolded. Through Berlinguer Rome is the key point in Soviet plans for 1975 and '76.

De Villemarest links the Club of Rome with the Council on Foreign Relations and points out that both are involved in the campaign to picture Berlinguer's communism as moderate. Therefore the West must help men like Berlinguer into power because they will be "reasonable." With communists like Berlinguer heading nations in the Common Market and urging "moderation" on the Portuguese, communism will no longer be a danger in Europe -- this is the line.

Berlinguer contributes to the farce by declaring that he sees no reason why a Socialist-Communist Italy should not remain in NATO, which is reasonable with NATO headed by

Prince Bernhard's man, Joseph M. A. Luns, and Moscow more interested in penetrating NATO than dismantling it.

SPAIN IS THE DETONATOR. What the European conspirators for whom Berlinguer is the front are waiting for is Franco's passing. Here again de Villemarest points out the similarity between New York Times' reporting on Spain and its assurances that democracy was triumphant in Portugal. When the Portuguese revolution went sour, the Paris-based International Herald Tribune of May 16, 1975, reported that Spanish communists, unlike the reds in Portugal, were the most democratic in Europe. This is not true. It is simply that Spanish reds have not yet come into the open.

James Reston stated in the New York Times of June 21, 1975, that "when Franco is gone things will undoubtedly be better in Madrid." Mr. de Villemarest predicts that an inner group of "one-worlders" - he calls them the "masters of High Subversion" - will come into the open, led by the Princess Irene and her husband Carlos Hugo of Bourbon Parma, the Carlist pretender, as soon as Franco dies.

Irene is the daughter of Bilderberg leader, Prince Bernhard. Supported by the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party, Irene and her sister-in-law, Teresa, spearhead the movement for "a Spain midway between capitalism and socialism." In a statement of principle the Spanish Worker's Socialist Party declares: "We are not communist but we have nothing against them." This is Bilderberg jargon. Reds will take over when Bilderbergers and socialists have divided the country in the fight to advance themselves. At the risk of laying Spain open to social disorder and clenched-fist mobs, communists and Bilderbergers together are sapping the existing order. Other fronts aid them.

THE TRILATERAL COMMITTEE was recruited by David Rockefeller. According to de Villemarest it is financed by the Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie Foundations and international banks specializing in loans to the USSR. As its chairman David Rockefeller recently visited the Prime Ministers of East Germany and Czechoslovakia before going on to Moscow.

Permanent assistant to David Rockefeller in the new "world commission" is Zbigniew Brzezinski, of Columbia University's research institute, the man who sat beside Daniel Ellsberg, Leo Cherne, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Berkeley Campus' noted leftist, Paul Seabury, and others, at the treasonable "National Teach-in" against the war in Vietnam, in Washington on May 15, 1965.

The three British committee members are the Labourites Roy Jenkins and Patrick Gordon Walker, and Sir Kenneth Younger who formerly headed the Royal Institute on International Affairs, the parent body of the CFR. Signor Agnelli, the associate of Club of Rome founder Aurelio Peccei, is a member, along with Leon Lambert, the Belgian banker, Yoshira Inayama, the Nippon steel king, and Akio Morita, of Sony, are members. It is estimated that enough Club of Rome men are in David Rockefeller's "Trilateral" to swing a vote, in a pinch. Newsweek's Swiss-British contributor, François Duchene, is prominent among the bankers, industrialists, labor bosses and one-worlders David Rockefeller has enlisted.

Duchene is secretary-general of London's "Institute for the Study of Conflict," which Mr. Bernard D. Nossiter describes in the Herald Tribune of July 24, 1975, as a front funded by British Intelligence Service. Mr. Duchene's closest collaborator in the Institute for the Study of Conflict is its founder, Mr. Brian Crozier, a frequent traveler between Washington and London, who goes to great pains to point out that he is not a man of the right. Like Gordon Hall of Boston, whom Mr. Crozier praises in the London CIA-financed monthly, ENCOUNTER, of March 1962, Crozier regards the anti-communist as an extremist. This accounts for his vicious attack on the John Birch Society as "American neo-Nazism" with its own Horst Wessel. That a CIA-financed publication and editor printed Crozier's hate outburst is in accordance with former CIA Deputy-Director Thomas Braden's policy of support for the "Non-communist Left."

So much for the make-up of David Rockefeller's new committee.

THE DECLARED AIMS OF THE TRILATERAL are: To promote closer cooperation between the U. S., Canada, Western Europe and Japan in the realm of economic and commercial planning. In other words, to implement a planned economy.

THE POLITICAL OBJECTIVE is a single policy for the Western world. This means that the CFR, the Common Market, the Bilderbergers, the Club of Rome and other bodies to which Trilateral members belong will be merged into a single, all-powerful club. Its aim: Entente with Russia, whatever the local oppositions may be. An example: Brzezinski wrote in Newsweek of June 16, 1975, at the time of communism's bound ahead in Italy and David Rockefeller's founding of the Trilateral Committee (TC): "The essential axis of conflicts is no longer opposition between the West and the Communist world, but between industrialized countries and those in course of development."

Mr. de Villemarest's analysis of the above statement is that Mr. Brzezinski sees Russia as part of the West under the new division and demands that she be accepted as such in spite of her revolutionary doctrine. "Pluralism" is the name given to the Trilateral platform. A universal socialist society is its real aim.

Since Henry Kissinger is responsible for translating the decisions of the various groups - CFR, Club of Rome, labor confederations, Bilderbergers, Trilateral Committee, etc. - into action, the summing up of Mr. Kissinger's actions as presented to Europeans by an analyst of Mr. de Villemarest's standing is worth some thought. The following is a translation from Mr. de Villemarest's Information Letter of August 5, 1975.

"HENRY KISSINGER AS PRESENTED BY THE COMMUNISTS TO THEIR CADRES. When Anatoli Dobrynin, the Russian ambassador to the U. S., stated publicly of Kissinger in late 1973, concerning the Israeli-Arab negotiations, 'There is no use in both of us disputing, he speaks for us,' he was not joking. There are a number of indications that Kissinger was playing a double game during the second period of his political life - that which began in 1957, ten years after he had worked with the Soviet espionage network, Odra, in occupied Germany. One such indication is Gérard Challand's analysis in the French communist publication CRITIQUE, of April 1974. Mr. Challand is also a contributor to PARTISAN magazine, and publications such as Le Monde and Le Monde Diplomatique. Outside its official framework he works for the Soviet communist apparatus.

"In his PARTISAN article Mr. Challand analyzed three pieces written by Henry Kissinger in 1957, 1959 and 1967, on the international and nuclear policies America should follow. These, he observed, were precisely the policies America adopted as soon as those directing the CFR pushed Kissinger into a position of power in the Nixon administration.

"After bringing up the mistakes America had made (namely the war in Vietnam), Challand emphasized that though Kissinger was not the first to recognize that the ideals of America's heritage did not conform to the necessities of today, he belonged to the small group which, in the late 50s, perceived the causes of troubles and proposed solutions. Better, he was listened to.

"Kissinger's vision of the world, according to Challand, is not American; it is historical. That Challand approves of Kissinger's vision means that it corresponds to the marxist interpretation of history. No praise is spared for Kissinger's innovations from 1968 onward. Out went John Foster Dulles' policy of dissuasion by massive nuclear retaliation and total war. In its place came a concept of limited war, aimed not at military victory but the attainment of political objectives. War, as Kissinger saw it in Vietnam, consisted of periods of gradual losses alternating with "let up" periods for the purpose of political contacts with the enemy during which any peace would be presented as preferable to more losses."

De Villemarest gave his opinion of the Challand portrait: "When a communist theorist, writing for communist cadres, praises an act of diplomacy, the results of which we have just seen in Vietnam, and sees Helsinki as a step towards the vietnamization of Western Europe, no comment is necessary."

Challand pointed out to his readers that in 1969 Kissinger became not only Nixon's political adviser but also the man in charge of national security. After heading the committees on Vietnam and defense, in 1971 he took over the secret services of the country. Corresponding with Kissinger's meteoric rise was the climb of Willy Brandt in Germany, the beginning of Brandt's Ost-politik and new importance for Brandt's fellow socialists, Olof Palme and Bruno Kreisky. Gunther Guillaume, the East German spy, entered Brandt's brain trust during this period.

De Villemarest points out to Europeans that each step of the agitation against the war in Vietnam, the growing campaign against anti-communism and the increase of leaks of documents from the Pentagon paralleled the build-up of Watergate and the drive against the presidency and America's security agencies which were already being planned. Kissinger, however, de Villemarest points out, was never forced to hand over the tape recording on which he urged Morton Halperin to stay with him, though Halperin was a friend of Daniel Ellsberg, the passer of Pentagon reports to the Russians.

On these affairs Challand is silent. Instead he praises Dr. Kissinger for his good sense in doing away with America's obsession against communism and rejecting ideologies which contribute to conflicts and tensions, conflict and tension being present only when there is opposition to communism. Under the heading "CONSPIRACY IS NOT A MYTH," de Villemarest accuses Kissinger of concealing from the American public positive information in his hands from March 1973 to the fall of Saigon that a northern offensive was in full swing, in violation of the January 1973 agreements. That Kissinger is still at his post, de Villemarest charges, is because a mass conspiracy on the part of the media, Congress, leftists in the Pentagon and dozens of others exists to impose a new world order on America and the West.

THE BRITISH AFFILIATE OF DE VILLEMAREST'S EUROPEAN CENTER OF INFORMATION is "Special Office Brief - An Early Warning Intelligence System," published at 58 Haddington Road, Dublin 4, Ireland. Each of these reports is by subscription at \$100 per year. Just as "LETTRE d'INFORMATION" concentrated on explaining Henry Kissinger to European readers, "SPECIAL OFFICE BRIEF" has turned the spotlight on Prince Bernhard, the Dutch Prince Consort. We are reprinting the picture of Prince Bernhard which Special Office Brief of July 21 gave its readers, under the heading "SECRET CONFERENCE."

"A short time ago many of the most important western establishment persons met in Turkey at the invitation of Prince Bernhardt of the Netherlands. That particular man this office has known for 40 years. He is a German by origin of considerable energy. His wife (Queen of the Netherlands) has long been given to sundry forms of the occult and leftist political opinions. In particular she has long nursed hatred of General Franco.

After the war the Dutch Royal family wavered between great fear of Stalin and a profound hatred of Franco. Indeed, they lived under an urge to foster war against Spain and warnings by fortune tellers that Holland would be invaded by Russia. Partly as a result of this unbalanced mix the private secretary committed suicide. No doubt there were other reasons too. These conflicts were made more complicated by constant gossip about marital relationships which, in fact, were not too bad.

Very slowly Bernhardt overcame his annoyance with his wife's contradictory political tendencies and the gossip, and set himself up as a world backstairs statesman - a sort of international Lord Esher cum Colonel House. This paid off rather well and he now regularly gathers the top people for secret meetings. The trend of his activity is radical.

He is a typical German agnostic by way of philosophy with an inclination to rationalize but with all the equally typical German tendency to miscalculate. (e.g., William II and Hitler). In 1935 he tended towards National socialism. In 1975 he tends towards a form of National Marxism of a sort. In fact, he really believes in nothing other than what he reckons most likely to be expedient.

His group, which recently met in Turkey, and which both Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Healey attended (as well as many prominent American radicals), showed itself ready to accept a Moscow-Rome-Madrid-Lisbon, axis; it showed itself ready to accept a Bonn-Paris-Moscow axis and it showed itself ready for a subsequent world government controlled by the two super powers. That was the trend if precise words were not used. So far as we know Mrs. Thatcher drifted along perhaps not aware of the real trend. Remember she was a fellow guest with Healey (who was once a Communist Party member). However this attitude is essentially based on the idea that Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French Communists are really little more than effective social democrats who will not play ball with the Russian military. If events prove otherwise very likely Prince Bernhardt will think again and so will many of his friends. Mrs. Thatcher will regret her trip.

The trouble with the Prince is that he has illusions. The trouble with Mrs. Thatcher is that she does not realise the consequences of accepting such invitations - one of which is to encourage wide spread defeatism. Prince Bernhardt is really more of a political fool than a knave. However, he does make a great deal of trouble and he is encouraged by the Rockefeller brothers possibly because they have a weakness for Royals and Marxists - both. Quite why it is difficult to comprehend. Very rich men often so fancy Royals and Marxists in a strange mix. It maybe is because they are bored and the mix adds spice to life. One cannot say. Perhaps some other factors spice up their lives.

However that may be, the Prince and his Rockefeller friends do a great deal of damage and they mislead the Russians into very dangerous thoughts just as similarly circumstance people misled Hitler. It is all very well to say such people mean well. It is all extremely dangerous and the Prince would be better employed playing golf. He is not up to high international politics - nor are the Rockefeller brothers. They may be excellent business men. That is another matter. But they do not understand the Russian military. They know exactly nothing about that. The Prince has no deep knowledge of anything except perhaps how a Prince, married to a very rich Queen, can nevertheless organize a private life without too much fuss. To treat Bernhardt as a serious world statesman is really ridiculous. But he is so treated."

NOTE: The September H. du B. REPORT was delayed due to Mr. du Berrier's preparations to accompany Governor George C. Wallace on a tour of seven European countries.

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The Kremlin and U.S.

On Sunday, October 19, the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1905, Moscow issued a warning and the West ignored it as completely as it once did "Mein Kampf."

Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama was in Rome, preparing to take off for Bonn and West Berlin, that day when Pravda flashed its orders for communist parties around the world to prepare for insurrection and treason. In London, Brussels and Rome the governor from Alabama had warned against placing faith in détente. Moscow, he maintained, has never kept an agreement yet. Détente is a ruse to shackle the West while Moscow helps socialist parties into power and from their falling hands seizes complete control - this was the gist of his message.

The American correspondents following the Governor's tour were hostile, and most settled their grudge at not being invited to travel in his plane by writing that it was to prevent them from seeing the state of his health. In every capital the tour passed through there were editors, publishers and parliamentarians who admired the Governor and wanted to meet him, but were blocked by an iron schedule which administration-appointed counselors had helped prepare in advance. It is hard to escape the conclusion that it was to forestall such meetings that the agenda which took up every minute of the Governor's time at every stop was as it was. Perhaps it was absurd for an opposition candidate to expect meaningful assistance from embassies staffed by appointees of the existing administration.

FRANCE'S PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING was being greeted with full honors in Moscow about the time Governor Wallace was landing in Brussels. The Governor made no secret of his views. With microphones shoved in his face like accusing fingers each time he left a top-level meeting, he reiterated his statements: That the way to bankrupt a country is to let it go socialist, that America should place no faith in détente, and that nations should never surrender sovereignty. Also that there is no money-saving in bringing soldiers home from Europe only to keep them under arms on the American side of the ocean they will have to cross again when Russia embarks on the military adventure such a withdrawal will encourage.

About the time the Governor sat down in Brussels with Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans, who supports Mr. Kissinger's views on détente, believes in socialism and is working toward a European super-state by 1980, President Giscard d'Estaing was laying a wreath in front of Lenin's mausoleum in Moscow. Kissinger had just proposed a toast in Peking in honor of "the heroes of the long march."

GISCARD D'ESTAING'S HOMMAGE TO LENIN was to forestall the wave of strikes and disruptions communist union leaders have promised for this winter in France, but the hopelessness of trying to placate reds was soon brought home. In his first toast to his hosts, Giscard told them, "It is desirable that détente in political relations be accompanied by détente in the ideological field as well, so that the rivalry between

economic and social systems which the natures of peoples and objective facts have made different do not lead to excessive tensions."

Brezhnev reacted by letting the French President cool his heels for three days before their next meeting and on October 19 came the warning that the West is in for a fight with no holds barred.

"It is the duty of communist parties to launch general political strikes which will lead the working class to armed insurrection," the Pravda story, signed Tcherepenine, declared. "This is the highest form of the class struggle and is indispensable to the seizure of power by the people." Gone was any pretense that strikes are for the just claims of workers and not to bring down governments by force. Still, Pravda's throwing off of the mask should have surprised no one. Boris Ponomarev, who with Michel Souslov, runs the Foreign Affairs committee of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, wrote in June 1974, "International détente does not mean the pacific co-existence of the two opposing ideologies, but rather the possibility of developing and extending our ideological struggle." Ponomarev is Moscow's contact with Germany's Willy Brandt, Sweden's Olof Palme, Austria's Bruno Kreisky and France's François Mitterand in the plan to turn Western Europe into a neutralist, socialist state through socialist domination of the Common Market.

THE RED OFFENSIVE IN WESTERN EUROPE has been marking time until now, waiting for Franco's passing. The Italian elections of June 1975 showed that the country was ripe for the taking, but Moscow ordered Italy's red aristocrat, the Marquis Enrico Berlinguer, not to frighten Western Europe until Spain and Portugal are in the bag. Moscow feels that red takeovers in Spain, Portugal and Italy will provide enough momentum to change the color of Europe, if they are simultaneous. This is why Mr. Tchervonenko was sent from the Soviet embassy in Paris to inform Mr. François Mitterand, four days before the second round of the 1974 French elections, that "for the time being the Soviet Union desires a Giscard d'Estaing victory."

Moscow's moves on the world chessboard are carefully timed. On the eve of the Italian elections Prime Minister Alexie Kosygin went to Tripoli for secret talks with Moammar el-Qaddafi. A few years ago Qaddafi would not have received "the communist atheists." Now they have convinced him that the U. S. VI Fleet is in Naples to protect Israel and he has thrown himself into the Russian game. Kosygin persuaded Qaddafi to set up a \$250 million "good will fund" for terrorists. Among the communist fifth columns benefitting from Libyan money are the IRA, Palestinians, Japanese, Germans, Turks, French Trotskyists, Scottish and Welsh nationalists, Basques and a whole keyboard of Black subversive groups.

Italian reds were provided funds for a political campaign to get the American navy out of Naples. Such money is transferred under the cover of commercial deals with Italian firms selling Libyan oil. An immediate \$100 million went to the Italian Communist Party. Another appropriation finances two camps in Malta where urban guerrillas from Turin are undergoing training.

During Kosygin's visit to Libya plans for turning Lebanon into a Palestinian communist state unfolded. Qaddafi saw the atheist Russian as a tool sent by Allah to defeat the Jews. Hanoi's victory in Vietnam was proof that America would not intervene, and Qaddafi is convinced that once Israel is destroyed Islam will be able to shake off the Russians.

RUSSIA'S ACE CARDS in this game are communist parties within countries, terrorists operating between countries, and her two Moslem allies, Libya and Algeria, on the Mediterranean. The day Governor Wallace peered over the Berlin wall at Checkpoint Charley in rainy West Berlin, another massive shipment of Soviet weapons with personnel to handle them was being unloaded in Libya.

For months the flow of arms and technicians to Qaddafi had convinced European military planners that Libya is destined to be Moscow's main base for an approaching confrontation in the Mediterranean. Libya is Europe's Cuba. Over sixty missile systems comprising SA2's, SA3's and SA6's have been installed to protect Russian airfields, naval installations and supply dumps.

At the time Governor Wallace gave Mrs. Margaret Thatcher his opinions on détente in London, on September 12, the Russians had unloaded 375 new T-55 and T-62 tanks for Qaddafi's army and started training Libyans to man them. Year's end will find some 2,000 Russian advisors and instructors teaching the Libyans to use sophisticated weapons. Libya pays for the weapons with oil. Russian plans to feed her workmen by giving America and Canada oil for wheat. Raymond Bourguin observed in France's monthly SPECTACLE DU MONDE, "For the past fifteen years there has been a relationship between Russia's aggressiveness toward the free world and her need to import food grains from the West."

At the peak of Moscow's implantation in Egypt, over 16,000 Russian advisors and instructors were spread through the Egyptian army. The same teams are now filtering into Libya accompanied by civilians. Russians are moving into the Libyan economy and economic advisors are bringing in engineers to survey for oil and minerals. The most important project is the atomic reactor Moscow is giving Libya in return for permission to convert Tobruk into a monster naval base for the Soviet fleet. Another base, for submarines, is being rushed to completion at El Bardia, twelve miles from the Egyptian border.

Similar Russian supply lines run into Black Africa. Six squadrons of MIG fighters have been provided for Uganda's unpredictable Idi Amin. Scores of military technicians and advisors have landed in Ghana. While this is going on practically nothing is heard in the West of the non-Russian foreigners fishing in Islam's muddy waters.

THE MYSTERIOUS IRISHMAN. The most important European at Qaddafi's side is Eddie O'Donnel, a small, lank Irishman with hair that hangs to his shoulders. O'Donnel left his native Monaghan to work as a fry-cook in a diner in Hyannisport, Massachusetts. There he became an admirer of the Kennedys and formed ties with Irish organizations sending money and arms to the terrorists in Ireland.

A man was needed at home to maintain liaison with the teams in Massachusetts, so the fry-cook in Hyannisport was given a job teaching mathematics in a Monaghan vocational school. In 1972 arms shipments through Libya increased, and O'Donnel was sent to Tripoli College. Shortly after he arrived, the Israelis attacked a Libyan airliner that had strayed off its course over Sinai and O'Donnel got the opportunity he was waiting for. A demonstration was hurriedly whipped up and O'Donnel paraded in front of Qaddafi's suburban home waving a placard that read, "Ireland mourns for you!" Friends on the inside pointed him out to Qaddafi and the Irishman was in. He had a hand in the International Guerrilla Festival held in Dublin on July 22, 1974, and Belfast on August 5, the following month. Since then the Middle East has drifted to the brink of another war.

THE COURSE OF EVENTS. On May 26, 1975, Ami Saboud, leader of the Maronite Christian community of Haiffa, reminded the Israeli Government that an agreement signed by President Weizmann when Israel was formed bound Israel to protect Lebanon's Christian minority. At the same time Maronite leaders informed Washington, Tel Aviv and the Vatican that Syrians and Palestinians were preparing to make Lebanon a Moslem state. The Palestinians were to have their country, the Maronites warned. It would be Lebanon.

Another memorandum was sent to President Suleiman Franjeh informing him that Lebanon was "an occupied country." They called on Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs to look into the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, their meddling in Lebanese internal affairs,

their penetration into all aspects of national life and their responsibility for recent incidents. When the meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers was held in Cairo, the Syrians and Palestinians refrained from sending delegates because neither wanted a negotiated settlement which would prevent their domination of Lebanon.

Anwar Sadat's big fear was that Syria would not stop with sending Syrian-trained guerrillas and armor into Lebanon but would go ahead with an armed invasion. This would lead to Israeli intervention and a Middle East war would inevitably involve Russia and the West. On September 11 Sadat shut down the Palestinian radio station in Cairo. With the Russians shipping modern arms into Lebanon, including rockets and artillery, he was taking no chances of the Palestinians stirring up the Egyptian masses. To date, Israel has not moved, but the Middle East and Europe are hovering on the brink of an upheaval that will compromise America if it comes. A preventive strike by Israel, the assassination of Sadat or a Syrian invasion of Lebanon could touch it off. Moscow would like nothing better.

MOSCOW'S ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION, according to one of the most reliable authorities in Western Europe, is realistic. The Kremlin is convinced that:

1. The U. S. will be politically and morally paralyzed for at least twelve months. If the men who surrounded Nixon and are now around Ford are not ousted by the November 1976 elections, this state will continue.
2. Western Europe is and will remain paralyzed and divided. Events in Italy continue along the pattern of Moscow's double play: Communist moves on the parliamentary front will serve as cover while preparations for armed revolution, including an uprising in the army continue.
3. Behind the screen of détente and the Helsinki agreements, Russia and her satellites must step up subversive activity in the West and be prepared to extend the Eastern bloc's frontiers whenever and wherever an occasion presents itself.

A majority in the Politburo holds that the Kremlin must tighten its grip on Rumania and Bulgaria before the American elections take place in November 1976. Even more alarming than all this is the evidence of Russia's growing strength in West Germany.

EX-CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT went to Moscow in July 1975. For three days he huddled with party boss Leonid Brezhnev, President Nicolai Podgorny and Boris Ponomarev. On July 9 Brandt sat between Brezhnev and Podgorny to preside over a working session of the Soviet parliament. This is the man to whom the CIA front, the International Rescue Committee, awarded its phoney "Admiral Byrd Award" as a "free nation leader" in March 1961!

The subject of Willy's talks in Moscow was the plan to turn Germany into a neutral, demilitarized state between 1977 and 1980. But first Willy has to stage a comeback, and to do this the Gunter Guillaume espionage scandal must be hushed up.

East Germany is holding over 400 West Germans whom they had planned to sell to Bonn. Willy and Brezhnev have arranged for a number of them to be traded for Gunter Guillaume before investigations bring out more information damaging to Willy and the socialists. It was in anticipation of this deal that the Guillaume trial was halted on October 12, with the explanation that neither Guillaume nor his wife could stand the air-conditioned court room.

The trial was a farce from the first. Brandt in his five hours on the stand contradicted himself. Obviously he was flustered. Slowly the prosecution worked to prove that Guillaume and dozens of others had been able to infiltrate top levels of the Brandt government because, as Horst Ehmke put it, "socialists do not investigate

socialists." A trade with East Germany which West Germans will accept became a frantic necessity.

With Guillaume out of the country the next hurdle will be to prevent the formation of a new political party opposed to Willy's Ostpolitik. This could result in a line-up capable of blocking Willy's return to power in 1976. Nothing was left undone to convince Moscow of Brandt's good intentions. In Siegen, three weeks before Willy's trip, the Jusos - his Socialist Youth Movement - voted to phase out the German army units which had been trained for nuclear warfare. At the same time they called for the democratization of the Bundeswehr by making it a simple police force, pledged to implement the anti-fascist orientation outlined by the federal constitution. Brezhnev showed his appreciation by putting a special plane at Brandt's disposal for his trip home, though a Lufthansa commercial flight was leaving Moscow for Frankfurt practically empty.

BRANDT'S NEXT STEP ON REACHING HOME was a meeting in Frankfurt on October 9 with the Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme, and Bruno Kreisky, of Austria, to let them know how plans for the neutralization of Central Europe was progressing. The three have been working to turn the Common Market into a neutralist, socialist super-state since their secret meeting in Akriva, Sweden, on Monday, August 24, 1970. With them at the Akrivo rendezvous was Brandt's associate, Herbert Wehner, who under the name of Kurt Funk did two years in a Swedish prison as a Soviet spy, after World War II.

The Brandt-Palme-Kreisky line is that the West must prove its good intentions. This entails approval of Henry Kissinger's offer to pull between 1,000 and 7,000 nuclear missiles out of NATO bases in return for a withdrawal of a number of Russian tanks. Russia, to give the three socialists a talking-point, is preparing to withdraw a number of old tanks from East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and replace them with faster and more powerful models.

While talk is of détente, the new Soviet SSX-20 solid-fuel missiles, with three warheads and a range of 2,500 miles, are being prepared for installation in the Urals before the 1976 American and French elections. These will be able to hit London, Paris, Brest, Brussels, Barcelona, Rome, Suez and Ankara. At sea the Soviet fleet continues to build up its superiority in tonnage and fire-power. Senator Proxmire, meanwhile, has received headlines worth hundreds of thousands of votes by announcing that Russia's naval strength is grossly exaggerated and the West has nothing to fear.

MONEY FOR RUSSIA'S MILITARY MACHINE is not lacking. At present the Soviet Union is producing around 450 tons of gold a year. The current gold price on the world market permits a yearly production of some 6,000 tanks, to name just one arm. Contrary to Senator Proxmire's declarations, the proposed American goal is 1,200 tanks a year.

What the West faces, as of October 1975, is an eventual neutralization and demilitarization of Central Europe by the German socialist whom all the top security organizations of America helped into power. Russia is installing herself on the southern shores of the Mediterranean as a result of a premature crusade for decolonization which American labor leaders and officials fostered. The crumbling of NATO's western flank in Portugal and Spain is partly due to years of ceaseless American activity against the anti-communist regimes in power. Turkey has been deliberately alienated.

Lebanon is about to be overrun by Russian-backed forces determined to plunge the Middle East into a war. America is pledged to come to the aid of the country all the oil-producing Arab states are determined to destroy. America's allies, through lack of self-sufficiency, favor the Arabs.

As if all this were not enough, the socialists in NATO and the Common Market support Kissinger's campaign for détente and hope that by their strength and numbers they can make America embrace it also.

THOSE OPPOSED TO DETENTE DO NOT FEEL REASSURED. During the war in Vietnam a group of powerful Frenchmen worked for a Hanoi victory through numerous "peace organizations" which Russia was directing and financing. It was the custom of these Frenchmen, who made America's defeat in Vietnam a French objective, to take American Congressmen and intellectuals in tow when they visited Paris, and sell surrender to Hanoi on the pretense that they were offering America advice and assistance in the search for peace.

One of the prominent Frenchmen in this game was General Paul Stehlin, the retired air force general and member of the National Assembly who fell, or was pushed, under a Paris bus in early 1975. Many feel that General Stehlin may have been killed by Palestinian agents because of his deep commitment to zionism, a commitment which formed a bond between the General and American intellectuals in the peace movements.

General Stehlin wrote in LE MONDE, the Paris daily, of August 28, 1973, that Henry Kissinger had been his friend since they met "through the auspices of the "World Peace Foundation," long before Kissinger went to work for Nixon. In fact, according to the General, the former American sergeant often stayed at his country place when he wanted to meet certain people in secret. It makes interesting reading when one considers that what Henry Kissinger brought about in Vietnam was precisely what the "World Peace Foundation" and his French host were working to achieve.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent
Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



Spain's future

A time for truth

When Spain's Popular Front government, composed of communists and socialists, came into power in February 1936, one of its first moves was to exile a major-general who had crushed the revolt of the Asturian miners two years before. They did not cashier him; he had been too cautious for that. They made him commander of the little garrison at Tenerife, a post in the Canary Islands, without ships, cash, airplanes or a press. His army friends begged him to throw in with them and help restore law and order as the assassination of right wing candidates became accepted political practice. Francisco Franco Bahamonde, born on December 4, 1892, in the small naval town of El Ferrol, in northwestern Spain, had no sympathy with what the new government was doing, but as a soldier he remained obedient. Not until the first days of July, 1936, did he send word to General Jose Sanjurjo and General Emilio Mola that he would join them. On July 11 one of their friends in London left Croydon Airport in a Dragon Rapide piloted by Captain Bebb - on a flight to spirit Franco out of the Canaries and into Morocco. Bebb thought it was a pleasure trip. The revolt that was to carry Franco to power and give Spain another forty years of grace was on.

When it was over and the balance sheets were drawn, the much praised ideologists turned out to be as prone to looting as anyone. Rosenberg, the Russian ambassador, and Jose Diaz, secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party, talked Dr. Juan Negrin, the Finance minister, into letting them spirit Spain's national gold reserves to Russia, "for safe-keeping," early in the war. The gold never came back. After the crack-up, communist militiamen got their hands on two truckloads of gold in Lerida which they passed on to the French communist leader, Maurice Thorez. The haul was never heard of again. Six truckloads of gold bars and jewels left Catalonia, headed for France, but only four reached Thorez's headquarters. The other two disappeared along the way. Thorez had already been given two and a half billion francs to buy war materiel, boats, propaganda and a newspaper called "Ce Soir." Whether the funds that remained went into private pockets or were used to turn the world against Franco has never been explained. Part of the truckload of suitcases stuffed with precious stones which the Spanish communist, Villasantez, took to France is known to have been passed on to Moscow. Villasantez is said to have "buried" the rest.

THE IRRATIONAL HATRED OF FRANCO which a biased press has kept alive in theoretically anti-communist countries was best described by Peregrine Worsthorne, in the London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH of November 23, 1975. It was a hatred of emotional intensity which precluded rational discussion, he wrote. He observed that nothing will ever convince leftists that "Franco, compared to Stalin, was a decent man, and that Spain, under his rule, compared to Stalin's, was a free society." Worsthorne tried to explain the irrational stance of leftists and the press: "Hating Franco, in the paranoid way they hate Franco, is only explicable as a form of covert communist love. Heaping curses on the head of Franco, who beat the communists, is the only respectable manner of demonstrating a continuing faith in that cause. Praise for Stalin is no longer politic or

prudent. But contempt for Franco is, and should be understood as being, a reflection of the same state of mind." Mr. Worsthorne did not charge that those guilty of this state of mind are "consciously pro-Russian in any obvious sense" but he did say that their feelings concerning Franco "justify the charge of emotional irrationality about communism which is likely to affect their attitude to the Soviet Union." On the subject of the Labour Party in his own country he was merciless. "A party which contains so significant and influential a wing prone to this particular form of Franco hysteria cannot be regarded as soundly-based to cope with the problems of East-West relations, particularly given the current temptations of détente."

Perhaps now is the moment to give a chapter on Franco's life which the New York Times News Service and the Washington Post are certain to exclude from the domain of the public's right to know.

THE MYTH OF FRANCO'S AID TO HITLER. On October 23, 1940, Franco faced Hitler, von Ribbentrop and Goering in Hitler's private railroad coach at the station in Hendaye. Admiral Raeder's plans for "Operation Felix," German seizure of Gibraltar and the closure of the Mediterranean, were complete down to the last detail. Hitler's fury when Franco refused to bring Spain into the war in January 1941 was something eye-witnesses never forgot. Hitler was at the height of his power and had Franco yielded the outcome of the war might have been different. When Hitler offered him Gibraltar and part of France's possessions in North Africa, the Caudillo replied that the rock of Gibraltar would never be retaken except by Spaniards. Then he excused himself and left Hitler cooling his heels for two hours while he took his siesta.

Denied passage across Spain, Hitler backed down. Spain gained two years. In July 1942 Hitler was deperate. A new operation code named "Isabella" was drawn up. The Wehrmacht would roll across Spain and occupy Gibraltar. Admiral Canaris sent a tip-off to Franco, and the Caudillo began building steel-reinforced fortifications to halt the Germans at the Pyrenees. Again Franco flatly refused cooperation. Hitler was furious. Thousands of Americans whose lives were saved by Franco's obstinacy have never been told of the debt they owe to the man American labor agitators, CIA and the press worked for thirty years to bring down. After Hitler's July 1942 demand that Spain enter the war, Franco removed his pro-German brother-in-law, Serrano Suner, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and replaced him with Gomez Jordana, in preparation for any eventuality. Four months later it was too late for Hitler to move. The Americans landed in North Africa and Europe was saved.

TWO YEARS AFTER THE WAR. Collier's editor, in New York, was still so bent on destroying Franco that he ordered an expensive illustration from Covarrubias for an editorial showing Franco as two-faced. TIME and the mass media had no word vile enough for him, and CIA sent a Vietnamese red named Le Xuan to Spain, with a Bangkok press card as a cover, to work against Franco. What Le Xuan did in his nine years as a red CIA agent in Spain and Switzerland, and the motives of the Middletown, Connecticut, professor who hired him, are matters Senator Frank Church is unlikely ever to look into. A London SUNDAY TIMES story of April 28, 1968, stated that "the research and analysis branch of the U. S. State Department Intelligence" (in which the late Scott McLeod found over 35 security risks) was handling American intelligence in Paris in 1947, and "much of the more hectic work was actually done by an American Federation of Labor boss named Jay Lovestone." "Hectic" is a curious word to use in connection with Lovestone's activities during the years when he and Irving Brown and Arthur Goldberg enjoyed such incredible power with the American people being none the wiser.

LIFE Magazine ran the same story on April 29, 1968, but omitted the paragraph naming Jay Lovestone as America's intelligence chief in France. The omission was not accidental. Practically no one in England knew who or what Jay Lovestone was, so the SUNDAY TIMES could name him as our intelligence boss in Paris without destroying the leftists' case. Both magazines told how "CIA fought bitterly" against France's

decision in 1951 to establish an intelligence office in Washington, and only gave in when Monsieur Boursicot (the head of French Intelligence), at a climactic luncheon in one of the great restaurants in Paris, told them that either a Frenchman went to Washington or every CIA man would be expelled from France." LIFE dared not print the whole story, that Mr. Boursicot was sending an agent to America because Washington had made the former head of the Communist Party USA its intelligence chief in Paris - at a time when French marxists were reaching for power. If they had, thousands of indignant Americans would have snorted, "Talk sense!" This sort of censorship is never denounced.

By concealing the fact that Jay Lovestone was our man in Paris, news slanters in the TIME-LIFE building were able to picture American agents as good, and all others as not to be trusted. The statement in LIFE that "We (American intelligence) avoided French intelligence like the plague" would have made the French look like champions of freedom - and ruined the whole LIFE story - if the paragraph naming Jay Lovestone had reached the eyes of informed Americans. The truth was, through the collusion of Dave Dubinsky and leftists in the CIA (which Britain's Kim Philby had helped organize) men like Jay Lovestone, Irving Brown and Arthur Goldberg were able to establish a monopoly on American intelligence in Europe. Thus, the source of information on which policies would be formed was held by labor men motivated by a single injunction: International labor solidarity is a trade union obligation.

Labor unions are loyal to unions, not a country, and the power in their hands is directed to toppling management and governments deemed anti-labor. CIA's labor union agents used it for the furtherance of leftists and revolts in colonies where labor leaders would be helped to power. As an arm for meddling in France's internal affairs and advancing socialists who would in time be outpaced by communists, a labor union called FORCE OUVRIERE "Workers Force," was formed. Its name was a battle cry in the struggle of workers versus management.

FORCE OUVRIERE WAS BORN IN 1947. A CIA leftist named Thomas W. Braden, using the code name, Walter G. Haskins, started by giving \$15,000 to Irving Brown, to hire strong-arm men on the docks in Marseille. The Saturday Evening Post of May 8, 1967, touched on Braden's hiring of thugs but neglected to add that, according to French anti-narcotic officials, when the gangsters he and Brown backed were firmly in control they turned to smuggling drugs. Pierre Ferri-Pisani, a socialist but secretary-general of the communist sailors' union, was middle man between Braden's CIA and France's rising drug kings. In Paris the communist Confederation of General Workers (CGT) was paralyzing the country with political strikes. Dave Dubinsky and CIA gave Lovestone and Brown funds to form a labor union to back candidates they would choose. By the usual play on words, "Force Ouvriere," the union American workers and taxpayers were financing, was ballyhooed as a rampart against communism. In reality it was a force to advance socialism which is the first stage of marxist subversion. Instead of backing anti-communists, money and propaganda organs went to self-proclaimed non-communists pursuing communism's aims.

CIA funds kept the French Socialist Party's newspaper, LE POPULAIRE, afloat. Revolts were incited in Europe's colonies and demonstrations organized when governments tried to put them down. Money and calls to topple their governments by workers' force went to unions in Portugal and Spain. Then fury was unleashed if either government moved to defend itself. It is significant that Nelson Rockefeller was later to give Thomas Braden the money to buy a newspaper, and that in 1974 Rockefeller should head a panel formed to investigate CIA meddling in other nations' internal affairs.

Five years from now the record of American transfers to labor movements and organizations working to topple anti-communist governments in Spain and Portugal should be required reading by a congressional committee. If America still has Congressmen likely to disapprove of what such an investigation would disclose. The lesson to be

learned is that no intelligence chief puts power in the hands of men like Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown in Europe and Africa, or sends a dedicated red like Le Xuan to Spain unless he is too stupid to be in intelligence, or a red victory is what he wants. The political science lesson that history teaches by example is that socialists rise to power with communist support. In any alliance with communists the latter dominates in the end. How valuable Franco's Spain was to the West will never be appreciated until it is too late.

DE GAULLE MADE HIS LAST JOURNEY TO MADRID IN JUNE 1970, a year after his fall from power. Sitting in the Pardo Palace, he asked Franco not to renew his agreement with America on bases, and to pull out of any alliance with Washington. De Gaulle was working for "an opening to the East." Franco refused to listen. A new accord was signed in Washington on August 7, 1970, which assured America of her Spanish bases for "a minimum of five years."

By 1975 the world left was in a state of elation. Spain appeared to be approaching the desired pre-Portugal stage. In October 1975 Dolores Ibarruri, whom sentimental liberals called La Pasionaria in the heady days of the civil war, raised her voice again. Dolores announced in Paris that she and the communist exiles with her were going back to Madrid as soon as Franco was dead. The 79-year-old "Pasionaria" is still president of the Spanish Communist Party. An important body of opinion in the Spanish army and church, she boasted in Paris, is ready to accept "democracy," which means communism as leftists use it.

Valentin Gonzalez, the peon whom Stalin made a Marshal of the Soviet Union for his services as "El Campesino" in the Spanish Civil War, was not as enthusiastic as the western press as regards Dolores in their days of exile. In October 1936 El Campesino was given two hours to lift the gold reserves of the National Bank of Spain while the bank's director was detained at a meeting. Followers of Jose Diaz, Secretary-General of the Spanish Communist Party, appeared in bank guard uniforms when it was time for a shift of guards. Aided and commanded by El Campesino, they loaded 7,800 cases of gold on 35 trucks and started them on the road to Cartagena and Moscow before the director returned.

Dolores' husband was El Campesino's friend when the two were section hands on the railroad construction job in the Ebro Valley, before the Civil War. Not a peep came from Dolores about "dirty fascist dogs" in 1940 when, during Stalin's flirtation with Hitler, the Nazis flew her lover out of occupied France with all his possessions to join her in Moscow. El Campesino, however, made such a stir over it that Stalin reduced him from Marshal to simple soldier. All this was forgotten in October 1975, in the rush to go home and pull down Spain's king. El Campesino was given time on French television to issue a call to arms, and La Pasionaria again made news in the western press. That a red movement should take form to destroy Juan Carlos before his accession to the throne is understandable, since monarchy - any monarchy - is anathema to the left. What is harder to understand is the delusion that by helping the reds oust Juan Carlos any pretender may be able to survive.

DON JUAN, COUNT OF BARCELONA, was Juan Carlos' father, and by right of succession heir to the throne. The 62-year-old Don Juan has never accepted Franco's 1969 decision to bypass him for his son. To buy leftist support for their own claims, Don Juan and Prince Hugues de Bourbon-Parma, the Carlist pretender, continued to try to out-bid each other. Prince Hugues has an inside track with the leftists. He is married to the daughter of Prince Bernhard of Holland, and one of his closest friends is Norodom Sihanouk, Mike Mansfield's protégé who paved the way for red terror in Cambodia. An Organization to support Don Juan was formed in Paris in July 1974, when it became apparent that Franco's days were numbered. Leader of this movement was Rafael Calvo Serrer, the "liberal monarchist." Again the favorite word of the reds was brought in - "Democratic Junta" - as a name for Don Juan's new party. What Don

Juan knew, but the public did not, was that his junta was dominated by Santiago Carillos, secretary-general of the Spanish Community Party. To Carillos, Don Juan's reign would be a monarchy of transition.

On October 23, as Franco fell into a coma, Calvo Serrer declared in Le Monde, France's equivalent of the New York Times: "The heir to Alphonso XIII, Don Juan de Bourbon, father of Juan Carlos, has fulfilled his duty by issuing a statement annulling the plan of succession established by Franco. He has defined a democratic monarchy as a solution to arbitrate and resolve the political divisions of the country." Then Serrer added a threat: "If Juan Carlos and the Franco followers who support him do not listen to reason, disorder and bloodshed are probable." What he was promising was terrorism. Interviewed by leftist journalists, his supporters in Spain stated, "We hope to achieve our ends peacefully." A way of saying to the right and center, "We won't kill you if you will consent to die." The French-based "Democratic Junta" Serrer is holding over Juan Carlos' head, if it comes to street-fighting, was founded by Enrique Tierno Galvan, president of the Spanish "Popular Socialist Party," one of the two underground socialist parties American labor leaders have been financing for years through satellite unions and confederations of unions in Europe. The Junta's real role in Spanish politics is as an arm of the Spanish Community Party.

After Serrer's announcement in Le Monde, Don Juan left the Estoril for talks in France with the men playing him against his son. He arrived in Paris on November 5, and to avoid the press did not go to the hotel where he usually stays. He went to the home of his friend, the Marquis de Marianao y de Villanueva y Geltru.

WHILE DON JUAN TALKED IN PARIS, Santiago Carillo was holding secret meetings in the region of the Alps and the Rhone, under the wing of the French Communist Party. Some 65,000 Spanish workers in the area have been firmly regimented in French unions and their emotions kept at fever pitch since the execution of five terrorists in October. Santiago Carillos and the French reds plan to use the migrant workers to bring down Juan Carlos. When Don Juan saw that the reds were exploiting his own claim to the throne as part of their plan to destroy his son, and after him the monarchy, he adopted a policy of wait-and-see. His secretariat announced that he "will support his son when he esteems that the Spanish monarchy is stable." This may be never. One of the things Spanish monarchists do not forgive the father is that the only uniform he has ever worn is that of an officer in the British Navy.

The argument against Hugues of Bourbon-Parma is that he and his Dutch wife are influenced by Prince Bernhard and the Bilderbergers, and that they abandoned traditionalism to court the left.

THE IMMEDIATE DANGERS BESETTING THE NEW KING are the leftward slide of the church and the brute force of Spanish unions. Cardinal Tarancon, president of the Spanish Episcopal Conference and founder of the "Post-Concile" Catholic movement, is responsible for the pro-communist swing of the national church. Senor Camacho, leader of the "Workers' Committees," which Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown worked for years to strengthen through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels, heads the threat from below. Spain's communist labor leaders make no secret of the fact that they intend to play the whole keyboard of Spanish society to bring about upheaval through chaos.

As a sop to world opinion and a press that will find nothing good about anything he does, one of the new King's first acts was to liberate Camacho. Spokesmen for Camacho's committees boasted, as Franco was dying, "If Juan Carlos is installed in power tomorrow, we won't let him do anything. Protest movements will erupt all over the country. We will demand everything."

THE MOST RELIABLE BASTION OF LAW AND ORDER, as 190,000 workmen in Barcelona and hundreds more in Madrid, Bilbao and the rest of Spain prepare to disrupt the country, is the 65,000-man-strong Guardia Civil, under General Angel Campano Lopez. The international left has never forgiven Lopez for fighting against Stalin on the Eastern Front in World War II. His Civil Guard is a compact army, well-armed, commanded by the elite of the Spanish officer corps and regarded as anti-communist to a man. Since the Guard cannot be subverted, Calvo Serrer, the "liberal" monarchist, has appealed to Spain's 280,000-man army.

"The anti-communism which dates back to the Civil War must disappear, along with all the other memories of that fratricidal war....," he declared. "The most dynamic forces of the country - workmen, professors and churchmen - have forgotten the war which was so long and cruel, why not the army?" With a communist civil war every bit as tragic as the last one hanging over Spain by a thread, Serrer found nothing better to do than make a statement as senseless as George McGovern's speech in Hanover, New Hampshire, in June 1970: "If there is any one dominant threat to our foreign policy, it is the negative ideology of anti-communism." What the entire Spanish left and Juan Carlos' opposition on the right appear to be calling for is a Spanish Spinola. In 1936 it was fairly easy to know which way the military leaders would jump. The only generals who lined up with the communists when Franco made his appeal were those holding high degrees in the Spanish masonry, which should not be confused with the Scottish Rites Lodge in America.

This time the leftward drift of the church has made all the old direction signs unreliable. Twice the Spanish people have learned the hard way, but the lesson appears not to have taken. It could hardly have been otherwise considering the forces that have labored to keep the flame of violence alive. One of Spain's closest calls, according to a British document released in early 1975, on expiration of the 30-year secrecy period, came in 1945, when Stalin won Truman's cautious approval of a plan for America and Britain to join him in toppling Franco. Britain was tired from the war and not ready for another adventure. Since then the West - and CIA's Thomas Braden, Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown must bear a great share of the blame - has all too often advanced Russia's game.

AN IDEALIST NAMED EMILIO CASTELAR formed the first republican government in Spain in 1873. It lasted less than a year.

The 11th edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica, which was published before a group of liberals in Santa Barbara made that venerable source of knowledge a weapon for indoctrination, said of the 1873 experience: "Castelar saw that he must choose between bayonet rule in the hands of disciplined troops controlled by honest men, and pike rule in the hands of a vicious rabble led by escaped galley slaves."

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Détente: Some Qualms

On December 4, 1975, a western government took action for the first time against the drive to destroy the West's armies from within while Moscow's four million men under arms remain untouched. French security forces and police descended on six union halls of the Confederation of French Democratic Workers (CFDT) and took officials in for questioning.

No one denied that the CFDT had printed and distributed the tracts calling on soldiers to unionize and join one of a list of subversive organizations which included the "Communist League" of Alain Krivine, one of the most dangerous revolutionaries in France. One pamphlet told soldiers to work into key posts in communications, transport and the engineers. Other leaflets told them not to evade military service but to become officers so they would be in position to work the troops. A wilder sheet told draftees to get military training so that someday they can shoot their officers.

A cry of rage went up as union leaders claimed for their halls the same immunity as churches and foreign embassies. To raid a labor union building and question labor officials, they screamed, was an infringement on union rights and an attack on the working class. Armed with the names and papers they found in CFDT premises, police descended on the leaders' homes. Among the documents seized was a full report on the condition of planes in service and under repair in the four bases where Mirage IV's bearing nuclear missiles are stationed.

The subversive movement reached into the offices of the Defense Ministry itself. General Lagarde, the army Chief of Staff, had not been imagining things when he reported from Baden-Baden on November 25: "Draftees are being assigned tours of duty in Germany so they can learn how to form soldiers' committees and create subversive movements in the army." That same day Minister of Defense Yvon Bourges told the Senate in Paris: "The demonstrations we are witnessing are commanded by a single process of manipulations set up and directed from the outside."

SUBVERSION OF THE WEST'S ARMIES HAD BEEN BROUGHT INTO THE OPEN. Still, by mutual accord, politicians and the media remained silent on the extent to which western nations aided Russia by undermining each other's armies. There was a precedent for the CFDT action. De Gaulle himself had encouraged it. During the Algerian war a leftist writer on NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR named Daniel Guerin was permitted to set up committees of draftees - really soviets - in which soldiers gathered information on officers with "fascist tendencies," meaning those likely to oppose de Gaulle. It was an opportunity for communist conscripts to get their officers and the beginning of a trend, the ultimate of which was "fraggling" in the American army in Vietnam.

GUERIN'S BACKGROUND IS WORTH NOTING. His boss on Nouvel Observateur was Jean Daniel - real name, Ben Said, who was also French correspondent for The New Republic. Newsweek gave him a full page build-up on May 14, 1973. Nouvel Observateur's chief editor is Olivier Todd (his father's name is Oblatt). Todd learned leftist dialectics as a

protégé of Jean Paul Sartre, who presided over the December 1967 kangaroo court in Denmark which found America guilty of war crimes in Vietnam. While Sartre's "war crimes trial" was going on, Major David Everson and Lieutenant Thomas Joseph Barret were being paraded before Todd in Hanoi, to provide material for another blast at the American "imperialists." Todd's feature story in *Nouvel Observateur* of November 29, 1967, was headed: "Soldiers are dead because Johnson had to have the American flag flying over hill 875." No mention of the fact that hill 875 was in the South and Todd's friends were doing the invading. This is the Todd who became *Newsweek's* specialist on French affairs. On January 19, 1966, he told French readers that General Earl Wheeler's objective in Vietnam was "to force the Chinese to intervene." The American war-mongers wanted to set the world on fire. What he gave *Newsweek* readers on France was no better.

Early one morning in the winter of 1956 French security officers swooped down on Daniel Guerin's apartment and found an American there. It was Milton Sacks, of Brandeis University, the associate of Joseph Buttinger, who had been Austria's man in the Socialist International until he married an heiress to the Swift fortune and migrated to America to work with CIA committee-member Leo Cherne, in such fronts as the International Rescue Committee and American Friends of Vietnam. No one asked what Sacks was doing at Guerin's. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., however, told a French journalist that the Kennedy Administration supported the reds in Algeria because "to win we must adopt revolutionary dynamism. We'll do it by taking communist parties away from Moscow and leading them ourselves, through proving to them that America is the real progressive nation." (*Spectacle du Monde*, June 1, 1968) Read: We must compete by being more communist than Russia.

This is one explanation for the presence in Guerin's apartment of the associate of Joseph Buttinger and Leo Cherne, whose every move from 1954 until they got out from under made the American debacle in Vietnam more certain. The thread of intrigue running through the anti-military, anti-victory drive, to the advantage of Soviet Russia, while no such activity is permitted in communist countries, continually crossed and recrossed national borders.

ONE OF THE BEST EXAMPLES came to light in 1959. Thomas Braden's policy of keeping the logical enemies of communism out of CIA and giving what he called "the non-communist left" a monopoly on intelligence operations had been in force for at least seven years. *Newsweek* of October 12 and November 16, 1959, ran stories praising a German communist for smuggling 2,000 deserters from the French army out of Algeria. The German's name was Winfried Muller, whom no one could have taken for an Algerian, so when *Newsweek* described him as a rebel leader named Si Mustapha it could only have been a CIA newsjob, to back a desertion machine working against an ally. Since surrender in Algeria was de Gaulle's aim, he did nothing, but he bided his time. When desertion organizations began undermining the American army, it was his turn to do the encouraging.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL ARRIVED AT ORLY AIRPORT at 7 p.m., on December 5, 1967, still heady with importance after the big "war crimes trial" in Roskilde, Denmark. His girl friend and two colored boys who had been helping Jean Paul Sartre and other reds whom the Russian-financed World Council on Peace (WCP) had brought together were with him.

Immigration authorities refused to let Stokely enter France with his expired passport. Arrogant, after the performance in Roskilde, he told his friends: "Notify the Vietnam Committee that I can't be at their meeting." The red machine swung into motion. The Algerian embassy began telephoning ministries. The Ministry of the Interior said "Wait!" while Minister Fouchet phoned the Foreign Office. Foreign Minister Couve de Murville passed the buck to Bernard Tricot, secretary of the Elysée Palace. Tricot said, "Wait, the General is sleeping." The Vietnam Committee called Emmanuel de la Vigerie, a regular attacker of America and praiser of Hanoi on TV. "The Red Baron" contacted Georges Gorse, the Foreign Ministry's Africa specialist. Gorse reached the

presidential palace as the Council of Ministers was sitting down. No international incident could have set more wheels in motion than the arrival in France of our dungaree-clad revolutionary with an expired passport and a tramp girl friend.

When told that Carmichael was being held at Orly, de Gaulle, aloof and a snob in his personal affairs, said, "Eh, bien. Let him stay. Give him whatever he needs." De Gaulle was not averse to subverting soldiers as long as they were American. Eager workers from the "Paris American Committee to Stopwar," in the Quaker Center at 114 bis rue de Vaugirard, took Stokely from hideout to hideout, talking to deserters, encouraging, getting names and addresses of men who might be persuaded to join them. Standing beneath an enlarged portrait of Che Guevara, at the Vietnam Committee meeting in Paris' great political hall, Carmichael told the assembled reds, to thunderous applause: "We do not want peace in Vietnam. What we want is the defeat of the American army!"

Nouvel Observateur of April 10, 1968, published an interview with Stokely still sitting beneath Che Guevara's picture. CBS carried him into American homes alongside a Dutchman and the program's star deserter of the moment, Richard G. Perrin, of Springfield, Vermont. (In December 1973 the International Herald Tribune was making tear-jerking appeals from Perrin. "No Peace Yet for U. S. Kin of Deserters, Draft-Evaders," they wailed.) René de Livois, the French analyst, wrote on December 7, 1967 that communists had taken over the Paris office of the Committee for Civil Rights for Blacks which "today is receiving Stokely Carmichael, who talks openly of massacring all the whites, an agitator who was granted a three-months visa by the French government precisely because he is anti-American."

IT WAS LOGICAL THAT THE WORLD COUNCIL ON PEACE should turn to CBS to get coverage for Carmichael and Perrin. CBS had enjoyed a favored position in France since its Paris bureau chief, David Schoenbrun, flattered de Gaulle with a fawning, and completely dishonest, biography while the French army was being purged. In 1967 de Gaulle's anti-American drive was at its peak about the time Schoenbrun and his wife went to Hanoi as Ho Chi Minh's guests. By then it was safe for Dave to write his book telling how he and Ho had been friends since 1946. No American editor reminded his readers how Dave played them for suckers in Collier's Magazine of September 30, 1955, when he wrote that because Hanoi had tried to contact the Vietnamese Emperor in France, "Diem must not only remove Bao Dai, but do it in such a way that he no longer has any usefulness as a symbol of Vietnamese unity." Dave was helping his friend get what Hanoi wanted most.

By 1968 he was inciting students on the college lecture circuit. "Schoenbrun Lauds Student Revolt" went the Indianapolis News headline of October 22, 1968, after his lecture at Butler University. As though South Vietnam were invading the North, Dave told students at Walla Walla Community College on May 12, 1969, that the State Department lied when they said U. S. troops were sent to Vietnam to stop aggression. Joe McCarthy had "instilled an irrational fear of communism in the people," he declared. Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians were being given the same line, and look what happened. The anti-war-in-Vietnam movement was, from the first, a campaign against the American army, just as Algeria was used to undermine the French. The same operation has been extended through all the armies of the West. Those pushing it may deny that their intention was to soften their countries, but the fact remains: Schoenbrun's own writings show that he was a longtime friend of Ho Chi Minh when he posed as an anti-communist in his call to destroy the symbol of Vietnamese unity Ho wanted removed. And he pounded his chest as a patriot when he harangued students against serving America. "I fought for my country in a just war and would do it again," he wrote in "VIETNAM - How We Got In, How to Get Out." (He was a broadcaster at Eisenhower's HQ in Algiers and later followed the 7th Army as a correspondent.)

WHEN CBS GAVE CARMICHAEL AND PERRIN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF TV TIME no effort was made to delve into the identity of the mysterious Mr. Cook who arranged the program and boasted of having helped 270 G.I.'s desert. LIFE Magazine of December 11, 1967,

gave Cook and his cause more valuable publicity by glamorizing two Americans whom Cook put on exhibition after they left their units in response to leaflets an anti-war group in Britain had shipped to their base in Germany. Cook had no trouble as long as de Gaulle was alive, but what a cry went up from Maria Jolas, of the "Paris American Committee to Stopwar" and the International Herald Tribune (owned by the Washington Post and the New York Times) when President Pompidou ran him out of the country in June 1969.

"MR. COOK" WAS BORN THOMAS SCHWAETZER, in Vienna, in 1928. His psychiatrist mother took him to America where he got a new passport. From there he went to Israel, then to Paris. Through 1957 and '58 he traveled between France and Algeria for American organizations working to put the present Algerian terrorist haven on its feet. With Algeria liquidated and the morale of the French army broken, Schwaetzer changed his name to Cook and began organizing an underground railway out of Germany for G.I.'s. Sometimes he was "Herr Doktor Schwaetzer, of the Karl Ruprecht University, of Heidelberg," and again "Mr. Cook," the American. Vanessa Redgrave headed the London end of his international desertion movement, and Mary Jo Liebowitz the Paris office. While setting up his "Germano-American Friends of Vietnam" and its publication "Underground," he was Pancho Peterson, Max Cook, Max Watts, Tommy Stevens, William Roy Cook and Joseph Liebowitz, with a passport to go with each. When President Pompidou would not let him return to France, the man who had been doing to America what Newsweek and CIA praised Muller, alias Si Mustapha, for doing to the French, established himself permanently in Germany.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE MILITARY SUBVERSION MACHINE in Germany is frightening. General Edwin Walker tried to condition soldiers against it while commander of American troops at Heidelberg in 1960, and was not only destroyed for his trouble but narrowly escaped being railroaded into a mental institution by the Kennedy administration. The methods employed were identical to those used by Moscow against Jewish savants seeking exit visas, the sole difference being that our media approved of it in Walker's case.

One of the most important bases of the EUROPEAN ANTI-MILITARIST FRONT working to wreck the West's armies is in Holland. Its lines run through Western Europe but the sub-front which has made the Dutch army the long-haired rabble it is is "The Movement of Dutch Draftees" (Bond von Dienstpflichtigen.) "Soldatenkrant," its publication, calls it the greatest revolutionary organization in Holland. The Dutch machine made its big break-through in 1965 when the soldiers' union used long hair as a test case to breach discipline. A monster campaign of protests, meetings, parades and petitions was unleashed across the country. The usual words were used: Universal conscience, human dignity, and rights of man, as though human dignity had anything to do with what Dutch soldiers were becoming.

The government backed down. A national day against saluting followed. The soldiers union found that being awakened for an early morning roll-call was a traumatic experience. Again the union won and now soldiers straggle out at 8:30, dirty, unshaven and half-dressed. Eight thousand soldiers marched through Utrecht in 1974 to demand over-time pay for week-ends spent in barracks. Though they won, their barracks are all but deserted on Saturday and Sunday. It would be child's play, according to a French report, for terrorists to seize a Dutch training camp. Good officers are leaving the army and, in order to meet the cost of everything the soldiers' union has obtained, a reduction of troops was necessary. "Today the Dutch Army is worthless," the Paris daily, Le Monde, reported after an honor guard ordered out to welcome President Leopold Senghor, of Senegal, gave the visiting Head of State a paper complaining: "We are uncomfortable, it is cold, and this parade is nonsense."

SPACE DOES NOT PERMIT even touching the surface of the vast chain of contacts made by Jane Fonda, Cora Weiss, of Women's Strike for Peace, and many others in their trips across the Atlantic. Their anti-military campaign against America helped condition

Europe for the Anti-Militarist Front. It was a short step from American deserters spouting treason from behind a sheet, with de Gaulle's approval, to the appearance on French TV of France's soldiers with hoods over their faces. Likewise, British toleration of organizations supporting and encouraging American draft-resisters and deserters could not fail to leave in place a ready-made revolution machine with only Britain to turn against when the war in Vietnam ended.

Behind the French branch of the European Anti-Militarist Front using the CFDT and its union halls as a tip of the iceberg, is Alain Krivine, the Trotskyist of Russian parentage, whose Revolutionary Communist League also has cells in Holland, Britain, Germany and on American bases. Krivine's organization in the French Army is the Comité de Défense des Appelés (Committee for the Defense of those Called up). Its goal is purely and simply the destruction of the West's defense forces. In 1969 Krivine's publication "Cahiers Rouges," proclaimed: "The aim of our infiltration into armies is to plant revolutionary cores which will contribute to their disintegration and in times of revolutionary crisis turn certain regiments to our ends."

It was nothing but RITA - Resistance Inside the Army - in French form. Maurice Thorez, the French red party boss, told conscripts as far back as October 4, 1960: "The principal duty of communists is to fight from within the army so as not to leave young soldiers in the hands of fascists directing psychological action." In June 1973 Krivine told his followers: "We must attack the very pillars of the bourgeois edifice: The school, the family, capitalism and the army." Americans, including representatives of the National Students' Union, helped French reds conduct the same struggle, in that order, against the French Army in Algeria. After victory in Algeria it was the turn of French leftists to join hands with their American counterparts over Vietnam. Now that Moscow considers the pre-revolutionary stage at hand, the drive is against the West as a whole.

By 1972 American civilians, deserters and organizations in the ranks were working so openly to demoralize the 200,000 U. S. troops in Germany that West German Military Intelligence conducted an investigation. Behind what appeared to be a pro-McGovern campaign they uncovered links to international terrorist organizations and red groups that had been ignored for years.

Some of the bodies infiltrating American, French, British and German bases had been set up when "ACT" - the deserters' newsletter - was being distributed in France with its call to join RITA. ACT instructed G.I.'s to write to Jean Paul Sartre, Boite Postale 130, Paris 14, if they wanted further information. (It may be coincidence that a union called ACT, for "Association of Civilian Technicians" is being set up in the American army while the CFDT is openly trying to destroy the French.) German Military Intelligence turned its findings over to the head of the Intelligence Section, U. S. Army HQ, in Heidelberg, with a request for cooperation. Civilians and soldiers threatened by investigation sent an SOS to the United States. "Take the heat off," they begged. TIME of August 13, 1973, told, not disapprovingly, how Senator Lowell P. Weicker charged that the rights of American citizens were being violated abroad and "somebody has got a helluva lot of explaining to do." The Watergate inquisitor saved fifth columnists abroad.

GENERAL ALAIN DE BOISSEAU, reported to the French Government: "The events of May 1968, spearheaded by students, had a far-reaching impact on French trade unions, universities, political parties and attitudes to government, but left the armed forces unscathed. It may not be so again." In the garrison city of Karlsruhe, French troops distributed a clandestine paper called "Angry Soldiers," and CFDT leaflets spread the unionization drive in the Landau-Neustadt-Spire area. Behind it all the firebrand whom de Gaulle had sheltered and American papers had publicized was at work. Investigation disclosed that money was channeled to Schwaetzer through the American Express, the Swiss Bank Corporation, Overseas Development Bank of Geneva and the Credit Commercial, of Paris. While the probe continued a red group slipped him into Paris for a TV appearance on

national TV channel No. 2, under the name of Max Watts. So great is the protection enjoyed by agents weakening the West, nothing was done about it. Every NATO nation has its Senator Weickers. Conspirators and demonstrators in the streets suffer no consequences for their acts, if they are red. Alexander Calder marched in a pro-Hanoi demonstration in Paris, but it did not prevent Delta Airlines from commissioning him to decorate an airliner. Valeurs Actuelles, of November 24, 1975, reported that French leftists, West Germans, and American deserters were circulating subversive papers and organizing cells in French bases on the other side of the Rhine.

Leaflets calling for the British army's withdrawal from Ireland, and desertion if soldiers were ordered to go there, flooded British barracks at Dortmund and Werl. Deputy Foreign Minister Wischenski told the Bonn parliament on November 27, 1975, that leftwing groups were trying to undermine the morale of allied troops. But he made no explicit mention, at least to the press, of "FIGHT BACK," the organization formed to introduce Weatherman tactics into the West's armies, which was already installed on American bases and cooperating with the Committee of Soldiers and Reservists (Soldaten und Reservistenkomitee) in the German army. In February 1975 the two organizations held a war-planning session in Heidelberg to plan action against the West Germany police, American forces and the Bundeswehr.

Such are a few of the ramifications behind the CFDT unionization drive. Among the first sixteen men arrested when security agents swooped down on CFDT halls on December 4, 1975, only three were workmen. In one hall they found a delegate from the Portuguese Military Insurrection Committee. Despite all the evidence, Senator Frank Church insists there is not the slightest proof that communist influence played a part in the anti-military demonstrations of the 60's. Yet the parallel between outside-supported subversion in the French army and the way Vietnam was used to destroy American morale is striking.

MONSIEUR PIERRE GAXOTTE, of the Academie Francaise, wrote in the monthly, Spectacle du Monde: "One does not force a retreat (and what a retreat!) on an army that is called victorious and which, in effect was so.

"One does not make an army fight for eight years, only to tell it that its cause is bad, its sacrifices absurd, that its real duty is to bring home the flag and abandon its compatriots to the senseless and bloody fury of those who, until then, had been trouble-makers and criminals. It should have been clear that after such an end military service should seem like a useless chore and unjustifiable hardship to the young." In sum, the climate for revolution was created.

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Students \$10 per year. Supporting subscribers \$15 per year. Extra copies 30¢ each.

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THE DESTRUCTION OF MORALE

On May 14, 1937, as your correspondent was preparing to debark from the M. S. Aramis at its wharf on the famous Bund of Shanghai, a mysterious meeting was taking place far to the north, in Tientsin. Something was being planned, but exactly what has never been made clear. The only tangible reminder that remains of the Tientsin session is an old photograph of a bespectacled American named R. W. Reef sitting at a long table with Chu Teh, the master of the red army, and the political chief, Mao Tse-tung.

Six years had passed since the vigilance of an immigration officer in Singapore caused the comintern's carefully erected structure in China to crumble on April 27, 1931. Those who had erected it with the aid of foreigners such as Gerhard Eisler, who fled trial in the United States in May 1949, and Eugene Dennis and Earl Browder of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and Harold Isaacs, now at the M.I.T. Center for International Studies, were patiently starting over at the time of the May 1937 reunion in Tientsin. Teng Hsiao-ping, who succeeded Chou En-lai as master of red China on January 8, 1976, had just been named political commissar of the elite 129th Division of Chu Teh's army when Chu Teh and Mao were having their pictures taken with their American friend. Teng was a small man. Some found him furtive. He had been selected in his native Szechuan at the age of 17 to accompany a group of young revolutionaries being sent to France for education. Those who knew him during his four years, in the silk manufacturing city of Lyon and his short term at the Sorbonne remember him only as an expert printer of political tracts. He was one of the first members of the Chinese Communist Party which Chou En-lai and his friends formed in Paris in 1921, the year after French communists and an oriental, later known as Ho chi Minh, broke away from the socialists to found the French Communist Party.

In 1926, the year before Chiang Kai-shek broke with the reds, Teng went to Moscow for a ten-month period of training under the wing of the comintern. He was being groomed for a mission in North China, where Mr. Reef, the American, was to sit with Chu Teh and Mao eleven years later. It was during Teng's period with the Russians that he met Li Li-san, the labor leader whose unions threatened the cities along the Yangtse and the China coast. Li Li-san learned revolution by strike action from leaders he met when he went to France as a laborer during World War I. After the war he carried his knowledge home and set up strikes that were purely political in Shanghai and other cities. Violence always accompanied Li Li-san's strike action, but countless apologists stood ready to justify it as the result of, rather than the cause of, police repression.

Teng's job was to make the most of situations which Li Li-san and his labor mobs created, and one of the first westerners to go into raptures over Teng's personality at the time was an American named Evans Carlson. Carlson also praised him for his "perfect understanding of international events." The period of Teng's activity with Li Li-san in the north coincided with Gerhard Eisler's and Earl Browder's work in Shanghai, where Harold Isaacs occupied a desk in a news agency alongside Fei Yi-ming, the northern Chinese who was to become Chou En-lai's representative in Hong Kong about the time Isaacs became the authority on China for the M.I.T. Center for International Studies.

Agnes Smedley, the hate-filled woman from Wyoming who, beyond the shadow of a doubt, would be helping Cora Weiss turn the Women's Strike for Peace into an organization for red victory in Angola if she were alive at this minute, was a member of the little coterie of the thirties. Others have faded from sight. What is important is that a product of that group is soon likely to stand alone as the leader of China. It is foolish to try to predict what Teng will do or even what will happen when Mao passes. There is no love lost between Teng and Chiang Ching, Mao's rabble-rousing wife who any day may find herself without the ageing chief's protection. For the moment Chiang Ching is groping for allies and Teng is ready to jump either way. As a New Year surprise he released the Russian helicopter crewmen who had been in a Chinese prison since March 1974. It strengthened the belief that he and Chou agreed long before Chou's death that the moment his hands are free he must bring about a reconciliation with Moscow.

Besides Teng the men to watch are: Chang Chun-chiao, the 64-year-old political director of the army; and Hua Kuo-feng, 57 years old and Minister of Security. The commanders of China's eleven military regions are, theoretically, under the latter. If the eleven marshals follow orders, Teng will remain at the top as long as he is Hua Kuo-feng's friend. If they don't, it will mean a return to warlordism and anything may happen. Making a comeback after a year in the shadows is 40-year-old Wang Hung-wen, the man Teng is counting on to keep the vast nation from coming apart at the seams when Mao dies. Now let us turn to the West.

DEFEAT BY SENSATIONALISM. Each red advance since World War II has taken place behind a smoke screen put up by the press. As one sensational story ceases to sell papers a new one takes its place. In October 1969 a Pentagon infiltrator leaked information to an anti-war activist named Seymour Hersh that old men, women and children - the enemy's favorite snipers and observers - had been killed by an American patrol. The Stern Family Foundation (one member of the family already in Russia to escape arrest for espionage) gave Hersh money to start a "news service" for the dissemination of his first story. It was a seller's market for anything against America. A year later the "hero" was Donald Luce with his "discovery" of Con Son "tiger cages" - in a humid country where the height of cruelty would have been to put prisoners behind walls. Deliberately ignored was the fact that all prisons have bars.

In late June 1971 the New York Times and Washington Post published papers stolen from the Pentagon by Daniel Ellsberg, a man no honest security organization would have let in the door. Reason given for publication: The public's right to know. Real reason: Destruction of confidence in government, victory for Hanoi. On September 3, 1971, three anti-communist Cubans entered the office of Dr. Louis Fielding, in Los Angeles, to get Ellsberg's psychiatric file. A tremor went through the left. Those who had pushed Ellsberg upward in the Pentagon, in Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies, and Rand Corporation where he became the protégé of Henry Rowen, the president, closed ranks to save themselves. Newspapers which published the filched reports whipped up such a frenzy over the psychiatrist office break-in that the case against Ellsberg for stealing the papers was dropped.

A year later the leftist machine found a way to recoup a lost election. The June 17, 1972, burglary of George McGovern's campaign HQ in the Watergate Apartments provided the pretext. When it wore thin "investigative reporters" had another sensation in reserve. The London Daily Telegraph called it "a running series of revelations," adding, "No department of State can reach any conclusion, however tentative and however confidential, but it is leaked instantly to the press." The only hope the London editor could see for the President was "the evident malice of many of his detractors and the factor of boredom." Neither saved him. Those out to plant a weak incumbent in the White House and Nelson Rockefeller in the Vice Presidency had a new scandal in reserve as each current one wore thin.

Instead of demanding the arrest of the Washington Post employee who left the Pentagon to make a fortune collecting leaks from a dishonest official using a code name taken from a pornographic movie, the media made him and the traitor in government heroes. On July 11, 1972, Ellsberg was on the ballot to become a member of the board of directors of the Council on Foreign Relations. The following month he made headlines in Miami on August 22 with the charge: "Secret Nixon Plan to End War was Escalation." Read: Nixon was planning to win. Not an editor or name writer spelled out the importance of a candidate for the CFR's Board of Directors coming out for a Hanoi victory. (When Saigon fell, less than three years later, Ellsberg exclaimed, "It is the most beautiful celebration of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution I can imagine!")

The trouble was, the press's "investigative reporting" was as selective as Senator Frank Church's. When the republican votes were being thrown in Lake Michigan in 1960 so that JFK could become President, the media talked about charisma. Papers that collected dirt from anyone with a grievance against those they wanted to get concealed crassness and high-handedness in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The Washington Post which hushed up a sordid story on a Johnson aide on the eve of the 1964 election, "out of regard for his family," found no trick too despicable in the drive to put Ford and Rockefeller in Nixon's and Agnew's seats, to make CIA look anti-communist, smear J. Edgar Hoover, take the FBI out of the hands of patriots and close the House Sub-committee on Internal Security. In the process Congress was stacked with leftists.

THE NEXT MOVE TO DEMORALIZE AMERICA could not have come at a more critical time for the West. On December 22, 1974, the New York Times opened its attack on CIA, with Seymour Hersh as the hatchet man. CIA was not under fire because it presented a threat to the left. In fact, since the early 50s when the oily Thomas Braden introduced his doctrine of overt and covert CIA support of "the non-communist left around the world," CIA cooperation with anti-communists and patriots was out. (Page 368, "OSS - The Secret History of America's First CIA) Tom Braden's non-communist leftists were socialists, at best; often they were communists without the label. The pith of the matter was that the Braden doctrine was Rockefeller's doctrine. Internationalism was in and patriotism was regarded as extremism. That advancing the left, which called itself non-communist, would only prove I. I. Potekhin, the Soviet authority on Africa, right was beside the point. Potekhin wrote: "Society's evolution toward first socialism and after that communism is inevitable."

Many saw the drive against CIA as part of America's masochistic determination to destroy herself. Others dismissed it as what one would expect from the New York Times. European anti-communists were certain that men who saw any intelligence body as a threat to themselves were behind it all. No one appeared to remember that CIA had been the Rockefeller family's private police and implementer of policies. Completely ignored was the obvious; that there was a relationship between Tom Braden's throwing CIA support exclusively to leftists around the world and Nelson Rockefeller's advancing Mr. Braden money to buy a newspaper; that Henry Kissinger was acting as Rockefeller's Secretary of State, not America's, when in January 1976 he created a \$37,800-a-year "Coordinator of Consumer Affairs" job for Tom Braden's wife. Whether, having served its purpose, CIA was being dismantled with Rockefeller approval, as part of the tearing down of all security bodies, or the New York Times salvo was the opening shot of some greater behind-the-scenes offensive against the Rockefellers, is a moot question. The man immediately profiting from the whole business is a certain senator.

SENATOR FRANK CHURCH says he was a dove before the word was invented. But Church was the protégé of Walter Reuther, whose lieutenants advanced labor socialism at home and abroad by making labor unions networks of the agency Church is picturing as rightist - even fascist. The explanation may be that on February 29 the legislative charter of the Select Committee on Intelligence Activities expires and Mr. Church is expected to announce his candidacy for the presidency. At the very moment when Frank Church is accusing CIA of being rightist and of having meddled in the internal affairs of Italy

and Chile, the two anti-communist sects whose armies CIA agent Edward Lansdale destroyed in Vietnam are still fighting. Like the monarchies American intelligence agents and money toppled in Italy, Yugoslavia, Tunisia and Vietnam, nothing is said in the Church Committee about the resistance struggle of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects. Senator Church charges that American firms endanger NATO by resorting to bribery abroad, as though business in half the world's countries were done in any other way. The unions that pushed Frank Church upward will be the first ones to be hit if their boy forces exporters to cease greasing the palms of officials who yesterday were CIA's - and Frank Church's - valiant fighters against colonialism.

"NEWSMEN SERVED AS AGENTS" was the next cry the witch-hunters took up. CIA chief William Colby admitted that stories were planted in foreign news agencies, "but not American ones, because of the policy against misinforming America." --A wonderful opportunity to go into Joe Kraft's late 1957 "Stay in the field with the Algerian FLN," which CIA was supporting. Joe's propaganda stories in the New York Times got him the Overseas Press Club Award, though there is reason to believe that the Algerians put on a show for him on the Tunisian side of the border without Joe ever knowing where he was.

Last month H. du B. Reports touched on Newsweek's stories of October 12, 1959, and November 16, 1959, lauding one Si Mustapha as the official spokesman in Germany for the Algerian nationalists and therefore marked for assassination by French intelligence agents. We pointed out that Si Mustapha was a German communist whom no one could possibly have mistaken for an Algerian. Yet the Newsweek "correspondent" claimed to have talked to him. The truth was, Newsweek and CIA were building up American sympathy for the fake Algerian because he was running the sort of desertion organization against the French that the same reds ran against America during the war in Vietnam. Newsweek editors paid no attention to the first few letters that drifted in, until a man too important to be ignored took it up. Then they got worried. Dwight W. Norris, writing for the editors replied on December 16, 1959 that they had checked "closely with intelligence and all other available sources" and admitted they were "off-line." No correction ever appeared in Newsweek, however. Whether the correspondent was a CIA man using Newsweek or CIA was using the correspondent is unimportant. What is important is that the pro-FLN story was dishonest, and the phoney Algerian they were selling was a communist. The truth was withheld from the public, the ally Newsweek attacked pulled out of NATO, and the Algerians whom CIA and Newsweek were supporting may well touch off World War III.

On January 14, 1976, the Washington Post reported that Senator Church's committee was looking into "relationships between CIA and educators, journalists, missionaries and publishing houses."

BUT THE WASHINGTON POST LEFT AN "OUT." Only what happened after 1967 counted. Thus CIA's spending money to sell its policies through books published by Praeger - an operation in which information-seekers paid to brain-wash themselves - was all right as long as it took place before the 1967 exposure of CIA's use of student organizations, labor unions, professors, Michigan State University and Praeger made President Johnson halt the practice. That Praeger owns Pall Mall Press, which carried on the same work in London, and that Pall Mall's editor headed the leftist Congress of Cultural Freedom in Britain has been touched on many times before, as well as the fact that most of the books brought out by Praeger with CIA money were leftist. One of the best examples of how a CIA-supported publisher brought out books for socialists who whitewashed communists, while advancing CIA policies, is to be found in the two expensive volumes of "Vietnam - A Dragon Embattled," by Joseph Buttinger, published just before President Johnson halted CIA's book funding.

JOSEPH BUTTINGER, THE AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST NATURALIZED AMERICAN, whom we mentioned last month, was a director and former Vice Chairman of the CIA's front, the INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, and also of its sub-front, AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM. Leo Cherne

extolled Buttinger and Buttinger was the link with the Socialist International. Together they headed the Vietnam lobby in America, which was really a CIA lobby. Buttinger complained on page 1109 in Volume 2 of "Vietnam - A Dragon Embattled," that the "Vietnam Lobby" was accused of being responsible for American involvement in Vietnam. Of course the lobby was not responsible. Involvement had been the insiders' aim ever since OSS set Ho chi Minh up in business. CIA carried out the plans and its lobby pulled the wool over the eyes of America. (Monsignor Ngo dinh Thuc, the last remaining brother of the family the Vietnam lobby succeeded in selling America but not South Vietnam, was excommunicated by the Vatican on January 16, 1976)

On page 1261 of the bibliography section of his two ponderous books Mr. Buttinger lists Wilfred Burchett as one of his sources and says Mr. Burchett was "an Australian journalist." This of Burchett, the man who helped break American prisoners in Korea, who for years has been one of Moscow's most dedicated servants and whom an Australian court has recognized as such, is enough to indict CIA and Leo Cherne.

TO SUM IT UP: The campaign against CIA is an episode in the planned demoralization of America. Yet, one can have little sympathy for an intelligence organization that would hire Thomas Braden, Philip Agee, Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks. What other intelligence agency in the world would make a foreign-born bigwig of the Socialist International vice-chairman of two of its fronts, when the fight is for survival against Russia?

What is the aim of the Socialist International, or the "International non-communist left," as Thomas Braden preferred to call it? R. H. S. Crossman, while a member of the Fabian Executive Committee, editor of The New Statesman and spokesman for the British Labour Party, stated in his "New Fabian Essays," "We are members of the Atlantic Alliance. But this does not mean that we are enemies of every Communist revolution. We are opposed to Russian expansion but also to an American victory."

Viewed in this light, American defeat in Vietnam and failure to support anti-communists in Angola was always the aim of the non-communist left. Who but a man in accord with Crossman would have taken Morton Halperin into the White House, or into the CIA-supported Rand Institute, the Institute for Defense Analysis and a job as consultant for the National Security Council, the sensitive body from which Halperin resigned in 1970 because troops went into Cambodia to save American lives?

Why did no one notice that when Halperin opposed hitting the enemy in Cambodia - where Cambodians are now harnessed, eight men or one buffalo, to a plough - he was a colleague of Leo Cherne and Joseph Buttinger in the American Friends of Vietnam, the leftist Committee on United States-China Relations (Red China) and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union?

What intelligence chief with his country's interests at heart would appoint as CIA station chief in London, the most important post in Europe, a man who had spent thirty years working to destroy patriotism and surrender his country's sovereignty to a super-state, with the red bloc's takeover of UN before his eyes?

That Jean Paul Sartre, high judge of the 1967 "war crimes trial" against America, was one of the founders of Liberation, the leftist Paris daily which published the names, addresses and telephone numbers of 42 supposed CIA agents in France, is not surprising. That Lucie Aubrac, the wife of the man Henry Kissinger sent on a secret mission to Hanoi in 1967, is also one of Liberation's founders is something that should interest an investigative Vice President, Senator or media, and perhaps lead back to the Secretary of State himself.

While Liberation was riding the anti-American wave, Philip Agee flew to Rome to advise Italian communists who were poring over the 30,000 microfilms supplied by sympathizers

in Washington. Back in London on January 22, Mr. Agee took the heat off Moscow by speaking on "The CIA in Angola." To date he has addressed London meetings arranged by the Socialist International, the Workers' Revolutionary Party (WRP), the International Marxist Group (IMG), several Maoist groups and Concerned Americans Abroad.

Instead of calling for a clamp-down in leakers of documents, Mr. Anthony Lewis headed his Herald-Tribune column of February 3: "CIA Probe: A Farce or Tragedy." He wanted more congressmen looking over the planning papers.

It reminded the French political analyst, Mr. Paul Dehème, of a fable he heard in his youth: The Mother Superior of a convent was locked in a struggle with the priest who heard confessions. She demanded that her charges make their confessions to her. The priest presented all the arguments of the rules of the church but to no avail. In the end he pretended to yield. "Mother," he said, "I shall make the first confession. I am an imposter. I am not a priest; I have entered this convent under cover of a cassock I have no right to wear." Next day when he returned to the convent the nuns ran away from him. He went to the Mother Superior and made her admit that she had told everything he had confessed to her the evening before. "Thus," he pointed out, "You have violated the secrecy of the confessional, against all the rules of our Holy Church. Now I can tell you that I lied, that I am a priest, but the deception was necessary to make you understand that the church is right in reserving for priests the privilege of hearing confessions, and from now on that will be my duty."

The moral, as Mr. Dehème sees it, is that confessions should be left to priests, and secrets of national defense should not be put in the hands of the American Congress.

CORRECTION: In last month's report Mrs. Audrey Craner's name was erroneously put in the last paragraph of page four. Cora Weiss was the name that should have been there. Mrs. Craner is one of the most heroic wives of former POWs in Vietnam. Subscribers please correct your copies.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Leda P. Rutherford, Managing Editor



Exit of democracy in Africa

"West on the Verge of Collapse" was the heading of the London Daily Telegraph story of March 2, 1976, on Alexander Solzhenitsyn's program on B.B.C's channel one the night before. "The West has given up not just four or five or six countries; the West has given up all its world positions," Solzhenitsyn told Britishers who, through their own apathy when Lord Fenner Brockway's "Movement for Colonial Freedom" was at work, were partly responsible for that loss. That Southeast Asia is gone, we know. Angola has followed. Fifty thousand Portuguese who believed assurances that they would be welcome in a free Mozambique have had their property and cars confiscated. Thousands are in slave labor camps where starving Portuguese and blacks, many of them women, work stripped to the waist in the fields. The drive against South Africa, to cut the West's strategic oil route from the Middle East and its reserves of uranium, gold and industrial diamonds, will start when Rhodesia is overrun.

Mr. Patrick Wall, Conservative member of Parliament, summarized the West's position: "Soviet policy is to confront us with two alternatives, both of which are unpleasant. Either we back the governments of Rhodesia and South Africa when they are subject to military attack by Soviet satellite troops and Soviet arms and armor, and so become involved in a race war which will lose us the support of the Third World, or we sit back and watch yet another Soviet victory which would in fact mean that the West is forced back on the North Atlantic, having lost control of vital trade routes together with the sources of oil and raw materials." The flaw in Mr. Wall's reasoning is that Third World support is something the West has never had. Yet, there is no doubt that the latter alternative is the one for which the American Congress will opt. Let us examine the chain of events that reduced America and the West to the British parliamentarian's two alternatives.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA IS FORMED. ACOA, as it is called, was set up in New York in 1953, a year before the November 1, 1954, massacre in Algeria. After French socialists, headed by Pierre Mendès-France, made French defeat in Indo-China inevitable, it was only a matter of time. The indignation of the French public was counted on to carry Mendès-France into power, America would replace France in Indo-China and the world left would start its drive for Africa and Southeast Asia.

Since 1951 Thomas Braden, Frank Wisner and others in CIA had imposed a senseless theory that the non-communist left around the world was the force with which to fight communism. Put plainly, it meant that to fight communism we should advance socialism. In CIA with Braden and Wisner was Cord Meyer, Jr., founder and first president of the United World Federalists, who made no pretense of being a patriot. Meyer predicted chaos and anarchy unless nations abandoned national sovereignty and themselves became colonies of a one-world superstate, the creation of which demanded the decolonization of Africa. The first headquarters for ACOA was at 211 E. 43rd Street, New York 17. One of its two chairmen was Donald Harrington, a leftist pastor active in Cord Meyer, Jr.'s United World Federalists and a long list of red and pro-red organizations. The other was

A. Philip Randolph, a vice president of the AFL-CIO, and the Executive Director was George M. Houser. The directory of Voluntary Organizations in World Affairs which the Foreign Policy Association put out lists among ACOA's aims the sponsorship of "Africa Defense and Aid Funds for special projects in Africa, such as aiding refugees from Angola and South Africa." Why it was called a defense fund is hard to say, since from the first it was a war-chest and the top special project was guerrilla training for those persuaded to leave their countries and become fighters.

Joshua N'komo, whom Moscow picked to be the future ruler of Rhodesia, was among those ACOA brought to America for lecture tours. Molotov wrote at the time ACOA was formed, "We are entering into the period of decolonization which will be followed by a general independence. Then, on those territories that were yesterday slaves, will fall a period of unbelievable disorder. There will be political and economic anarchy. Afterwards, and then only, the dawn of communism will rise."

IN 1958, THREE YEARS AFTER ACOA WAS FOUNDED, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State George Allen was sent to Africa "to sound the will to independence of the native population, a strong, free and friendly Africa being important to the security of America." Nothing could have been more absurd. George Allen was up to his neck in the United World Federalists with ACOA's Donald Harrison and CIA's Cord Meyer, Jr., and they did not have to send a man to Africa to find out whether the native population wanted to loot the continent or not. Certainly the will to independence was there. Independence meant the defeat of the white man, and any chance that the governments which would follow would be either strong or friendly to America was idiotic.

Next it was labor's turn. In early 1957 George Meany went to Ghana, a prosperous country into which Kwame N'Krumah was to introduce all the attributes of a Siberian prison camp but the snow. "Speaking for America's 15 million free workers," Meany told the shouting Africans, "patriots deprived of liberty are now locked in final, and I am sure victorious, struggle for independence from the clutches of French colonialism, the most degrading expression of an outworn and declining imperialism." His call to arms reverberated through savage Africa like a war drum. A year later, in December 1958, a planning session was held in Accra, where the star was American labor's roving agitator, Irving Brown. Brown was accompanied by a New York lawyer, Lawrence C. McQuade, of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and their call was for Africans to unite. "You have a continent to gain and nothing to lose but your chains," the Paris Herald Tribune of January 13, 1959, quoted them as saying. Angola, Mozambique and South Africa were the ultimate targets.

When the meeting ended, N'Krumah gave Tekou Touré of Guinea \$27 million from his foreign aid handout, for military action against Nigeria, and the Washington Post of January 2 and 3, 1959, carried praise for labor's efforts to achieve democracy in Africa. Undeterred by N'Krumah's having sixteen members of his National Assembly - two of them women and two old men - horse-whipped in public on March 12, 1960, Lawrence McQuade called Ghana "the showplace of Black Africa" in the winter issue of the Yale Review.

THE AMERICAN ROLE IN AFRICA'S RETURN TO BARBARISM was to form labor unions for the Russians to take over. Some 900 Africans a year were handpicked by American organizers and brought to America at American expense for three, six and nine-month periods of "labor training," to be taught that "International labor solidarity is a trade union obligation." The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), in Brussels, was to be the capital of a labor empire which American labor bosses would rule through grateful satraps loyal to labor bosses and not a country. When George Meany talked to the King of Morocco, it was called "dungaree diplomacy." Actually it was labor union colonization.

Jay Lovestone, the one-time secretary-general of the Communist Party USA, who in the mid-40's was America's intelligence boss in Paris, represented the ICFTU in UN while Lovestone's friend, Irving Brown, was the link between labor in America, the ICFTU in

Brussels and satellite unions he thought would stay in his camp forever. The first African union the Americans set up was in Tunis for the purpose of bringing Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia's present president-for-life, into power. (As soon as he was firmly installed, Bourguiba joined the non-aligned nations, in September 1961, and a month later sent his personal secretary and two gunmen to Frankfurt to murder his old friend, Salah ben Youssef, leader of the opposition, in room 53 of the Royal Hotel.) Native unions in Morocco, Algeria and Britain's East African colonies followed, as Irving Brown spared Moscow the trouble of clearing the way for men like Idi Amin. As one colony after another was "liberated," camps for the training of killers who would carry warfare into Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa moved ahead. Russia's aim was to seize Africa for communism, and the offensive was organizational, not ideological. The plan was to capture the machinery of government, the trade unions and party organizations, the army and police. For this sort of operation fifty trained and dedicated communists in each country could do the trick.

THE ICFTU CLEARED THE FIELD. On December 3, 1959, large sections of the mosaic that had made Africa's map had already been broken up when the ICFTU met in Brussels for its 6th Congress. Belgium had promised the Congo independence in five years. Under pressure from socialists, communists and the ICFTU the date was moved ahead to July 1960 and the bloodbath became inevitable. Irving Brown and his bosses were jubilant. On February 14, 1960, the AFL-CIO Executive Council announced that it was proud of the African unions they had "encouraged and aided in their efforts to create a labor movement in Africa, free and united," and also proud of the role AFL-CIO had played "in influencing the foreign policy of our government."

BACK IN WASHINGTON ALLEN DULLES WAS UNEASY. By early 1960 he knew something was wrong. Since his 1951 approval of Braden's plan to fight communism by advancing socialists all over the world, things had gone from bad to worse, but it appears never to have dawned on Dulles that the "non-communist left" is not a constant, that it is communism's ally against non-marxist governments, and non-communist is not synonymous with anti-communist. The CIA chief had remained on good terms with his Austrian ex-son-in-law, Fritz Molden, and European officials wondered how responsible Molden was for Dulles' blind spots. Molden was Dulles' eyes and ears in Vienna, and European socialists used Molden as a pipeline to Washington. In the process Molden's socialist compatriot, Joseph Buttinger, naturalized himself American and worked his way into CIA fronts in a strange partnership with Leo Cherne, the man of multiple identities whom President Ford recently appointed Chairman of the CIA Intelligence Board.

After the U-2 spy plane was shot down over Russia in early 1960, Allen Dulles decided to go to London for advice. There members of MacMillan's Conservative Government passed him on to Sir Frederick Hoyer-Millar, Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office.

"Where have we gone wrong?" Dulles asked.

"Inflation. Too many men, too low quality," was the reply. Better men with disciplined minds were needed. Letter-writers scattered around the world and able to use CIA to advance their causes, should be carefully screened. Labor unionists, part-time agents and committed "journalists" are always spotted by enemy agents and used as transmitters of planted reports. Excellent advice, but from the Conservative Under Secretary Mr. Dulles went to British Intelligence whose top man, Kim Philby, had helped organize CIA. Three years later, when Philby fled to Moscow, not a word was said of what had been called his "sound advice."

THE SCENE SHIFTS TO AFRICA. The "All-African Affairs Bureau" in Ghana - Lawrence McQuade's "showplace" - was a main dispatching center for Africans bound for special training in Moscow. Each recruit was carefully checked against the Bureau's Intelligence files. No one was accepted unless sponsored by a labor union or other organization, and when he left for Moscow the recruit's passport received an inserted paper

bearing a Russian stamp which could be removed on his return, leaving no trace of the visit. According to the Russian plan, change from an Afro-Marxist state to a Marxist-Leninist state would entail only a change in personnel when the time was ripe. The fundamental revolution would already have taken place. By 1960 the Russian-trained framework in Angola was ready and waiting. Communism did not have to take root. It could be imposed by a few key men in control of the apparatus of government. But first Angola had to be set on fire in the way Indo-China was ignited in 1945 and Algeria in 1954.

ON FEBRUARY 5, 1960, Frank Montero, a vice president of ACOA, and William K. Scheinman, of its Executive Board, drove from Leopoldville, in the Congo, to Angola, posing as tourists. When Portuguese officials later learned that Scheinman had a second passport issued in the name of John Ball, they were certain that the anti-colonialists and World Federalists in CIA, or Irving Brown and Jay Lovestone in the Agency's labor wing, were behind him. Montero and Scheinman flew out of Luanda on February 10, 1960, and a week later ACOA's executive director, George Houser, arrived in Leopoldville for a planning session with Holden Roberto, the 32-year-old revolutionary the American Committee on Africa was backing.

HOLDEN ROBERTO is a Bakongo tribesman whom liberal missionaries educated, and at the time of Houser's arrival with instructions for coordinated guerrilla action in the field and propaganda activity abroad, Roberto was heading what he called the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (GRAE). Out of this was to come the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). The American story is that Russia and China halted their aid to Roberto because he was considered too pro-American. The African story is that they dropped him in late 1964 because he was misappropriating funds, which would make him still a Russian protégé while America was supporting him.

Portuguese services established that Roberto's principal advisor was a Cuban CIA agent known as "Carlos" and that large sums of money were being passed to Roberto through a numbered account in Geneva. Among the sources of these funds were a prominent Protestant church group in the U. S., a New York-based foundation sympathetic to African liberation movements, and a number of other organizations. Reports reaching Lisbon were so alarming that Prime Minister Salazar went to Parador de Merida on June 20, 1960, to ask Generalissimo Franco what to do about the American-supported subversive movements. Montero and Scheinman, he told the Caudillo, had made secret contacts with guerrilla leaders in Angola and delivered instructions and perhaps money before leaving. Franco was already irate over State Department agents sounding out Spanish underground opposition leaders as to the chances of his falling, and had no solution.

MONTERO AND SCHEINMAN, on returning home, held a press conference in New York, and the New York Times of March 8, 1960, carried their fictitious story about a rebel commander name Cautita, leading 2,000 men armed with the latest weapons, and spreading terror and devastation throughout Mozambique and Angola. World attention was centered on the imminent independence of the Congo, and the conflicts in Angola and Algeria were accepted serenely as signs that "democracy" was winning.

YET AFRICA WAS HEADING FOR ANARCHY. On March 9, 1960, the day after the New York Times gave Montero, Scheinman and the Angolan rebels priceless publicity, Walter Reuther wrote a letter to Secretary of State Christian Herter which was not so much a Reuther message to Herter as a model for African labor leaders to follow. Reuther told Mr. Herter that the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, in Miami on February 11, 1960, had adopted a resolution voicing its deep concern over the continuation of the brutal and inhuman racial policies which victimize and degrade the people of every color in South Africa.

He added, "In response to an almost universal feeling of outrage among decent people throughout the world, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) at its world-wide congress in Brussels in December 1959, called upon all its affiliated

organizations to institute a consumer's boycott of South African goods in their respective countries." He declared that "Within the United States the AFL-CIO, with other community organizations, will soon undertake a similar boycott effort." He asked Mr. Herter to recall our Minister from the Union of South Africa, to suspend the purchase of gold by the United States and "to suspend the purchase of strategic materials from the Union of South Africa now being stockpiled by the United States Government for defense." A copy was then sent to the TRADE UNION CONGRESS in Accra, P. O. Box 701, with an appeal for its members to apply pressure on Mr. Herter. Communist control of the Accra Congress could not possibly be ignored, since Kwame N'Krumah, of Ghana, and Guinea's Sekou Touré had turned the Accra Congress unions into red power blocs four months before, in the meeting of November 4-9, 1959. Yet Reuther was asking their help in sabotaging America's defense program, knowing that South Africa did not need our money as badly as America and the West needed South Africa's strategic materials and protection of the sea lane around the Cape.

THE AFRICANS REUTHER WAS ORCHESTRATING DID AS THEY WERE TOLD, since that was the direction they and the Russians were going. Coordinating their actions in UN was Jay Lovestone, and Lovestone was undaunted by the bloodbath that followed decolonization in the Congo. The ICFTU was to open its 6th Congress in Brussels on December 4, 1960, to plan the next move. Lovestone sat in his office in UN as the date approached. JFK had just been elected President, all the conditions were favorable, and it was a propitious moment for Lovestone to write every African delegate in UN a personal letter as a follow-up to the letter Reuther had circulated through Accra. Modibo Keita, the President of Mali, was a known communist. Nevertheless, Lovestone sent Mamadou Dia, the Mali representative in UN, an AFL-CIO report proclaiming the solidarity of the American Federation with the unions of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, and begging Mali's support for a resolution demanding that the UN direct a plebiscite in Algeria. Lovestone wrote that this "can only hasten Algerian independence and serve the cause of peace." He added that Secretary of State Douglas Dillon would be with them in their stand.

On December 6, the Mali ambassador passed Lovestone's letter on to his President, with the observation: "I am convinced that the importance of this document will not escape the Africans directly touched by the Algerian problems, even if the motives impelling American workers in their action in favor of the Algerian people are not necessarily the ones that animate us. The essential thing is that we have a precious solidarity with the working masses of the U. S., which, as the letter from their organization mentions, is approved by the Department of State." What Mamadou Dia was telling his red boss was: "We can use these suckers, and State Department with them." While Lovestone was mobilizing African racism in UN, Eduardo Mondlane, the leader of FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation movement, was in Dar-es-Salaam with his American wife, Janet, setting up an institute with the \$67,000 a "humanitarian foundation in America," as they called it, had given them. All their institute was was a recruiting center for guerrillas who were to be trained in Thysville, on the Congo side of the Angola border, along with those being prepared for a "blitzkrieg" in Angola. Sweden was soon giving Mrs. Mondlane over \$100,000 a year, and it appeared to bother neither the Swedes nor the "humanitarian foundation" that after Course 4 in the Institute students were sent to Wachinguea for "training in military and political action."

More shocking, Mondlane was given the job of training 40-some volunteers for the Peace Corps at Syracuse University who were going to be sent to Nyassaland (now Malawi). Considering that Nyassaland bordered the area in which Mondlane was preparing a guerrilla war, "Peace Corps" was a misnomer. While the Newhouse Press praised Mondlane and his rag-tag band of student revolutionaries in Syracuse, Lovestone regimented African votes in UN, and events moved on.

THE BLOW FALLS. Shortly after 7 a.m. in Quitexe, Angola, on March 15, 1961, a colored worker in a store cried, "Go quickly; they have come to kill you!" as he pushed his

employer towards a rear door. The massacre had been planned and synchronized after the best methods of Hanoi. At a signal, what appeared to be the usual crowd of morning customers whipped out knives and began cutting throats, ripping open the stomachs of women, children and men. In other villages and farms the scene was being repeated. There had been no terrorism in Angola before, and racial discrimination was non-existent. The merchant saved by his servant was no isolated case. Bailandu tribesmen signed their own death warrants by remaining loyal to the Portuguese and risking torture to carry messages and save settlements. Women and children who tried to hide in Madimba were betrayed when their babies started crying. In Navola, 300 savages, drugged and whipped into a frenzy by witch doctors, massacred and mutilated everyone in the town. Expert direction was apparent behind the primitive brutality. Flying squads had been rushed into areas where defenses were weak.

After the surprise attack with knives came the forces with automatic weapons. Had the majority of the Africans not stayed with the Portuguese, the guerrillas pouring down a 300-mile corridor from the Congo would have overrun Angola. As it was, the prerequisite for starting a revolution was attained. Distrust was planted in the whites. Antagonism of class or color had never existed previously. From then on, UN, the liberal press and the "Union of Angolan Workers" which Irving Brown's protégés formed in mid-April, 1961, never let up in their drive to sow hatred between Africans and the Portuguese. Only the Portuguese seemed to perceive that the massacre in Angola unfolded exactly as Montero and Scheinman predicted it would on their return to New York, and that it was a repetition of November 1, 1954, in Algeria.

THE STORY IN "VOICI POURQUOI." Three weeks after the savagery in Angola, Mr. Jacques Soustelle, then France's Deputy Prime Minister, published a report in VOICI POURQUOI of April 6, 1961. Mr. Soustelle gave the name and address of the lady in whose East 57th Street apartment delegates to UN from Africa were presented by Jay Lovestone to the white partners through whom, when a firm relationship had been established, he would influence their votes.

On March 29, 1962, Jay Lovestone left his job as manipulator of revolutionaries in UN to become a sort of Minister of Foreign Affairs for the AFL-CIO, and Irving Brown took over the job of pulling strings in UN with one hand and in the ICFTU with the other. "I hope to make the ICFTU the real voice of the workers of the world in the councils of UN," he told the New York Times (March 30, 1962). And he did - for Russia. The movement's basic objectives, he said, are the attainment of independence and freedom for all people. Algeria, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique and Angola are examples of his success.

"Communism is a rather weak force in Africa," the Los Angeles Times of October 10, 1968, told its readers. It was as untrue as everything Americans are being given on the preparations for red takeover in Rhodesia today. When the whites have been run out, the war between the tribes, each of which, by itself, is outnumbered by the whites, will start. Whether the Shonas wipe out the Matabeles, or vice versa, will depend on which tribe Russia thinks will be more effective against South Africa.

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