

AT THE PEAK OF THE NATO CRISIS - THE BILDERBERGERS

Holland had just emerged from the gravest crisis ever faced by the dynasty. Mobs hurled insults at the ruling house in the streets. Mr. Nederhorst, leader of the socialists, charged that the royal house was destroying itself. Mr. Arend Dunnewind, the royalist turned Republican, exclaimed, "We don't want to hurt the monarchy, but the court itself broke the rules." All this over the March 20 marriage of Princess Beatrix to the German, Claus von Amsberg. Had Hollanders only known it, a more valid cause for indignation was there before their eyes.

FOUR DAYS AFTER THE STORMY WEDDING IN AMSTERDAM, Prince Bernhard, no less stubborn than his daughter, took off for Wiesbaden, Germany, for the fifteenth, and possibly the most fraught with consequences, secret meeting of the international pressure group he heads. Its timing was important. De Gaulle had shattered the NATO alliance. Elections in Britain had firmly installed the labor-socialists. President Johnson, as Beverly Deepe put it in the Herald Tribune of April 4, 1966, was groping for a way to end the war in Vietnam without attempting to win it. Assistant Secretary of State George Ball was about to fly to Paris for talks with Foreign Minister Couve de Murville.

In the crumbling of alliances, the post-victory strength of Britain's Left and the uncertainty gripping America, lay the opportunity the internationalists had awaited. With NATO no longer pegged to France, the one-worlders saw the West's supra-national military arm as an instrument of one-worldism. The Common Market Commission, in which Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg already officially vote as one nation (their union announced on April 5) would tighten its grip on military along with political and economic power. Unification of the Atlantic Community would thereafter be not only complete but unchallengeable.

From its position of added strength, the Atlantic group, enlarged to include Britain, would gradually bring NATO under the UN. And sufficient international pressure would be mobilized to justify the American Administration's abandonment of Vietnam before the American people. For one of the unwritten rules of the internationalists is that no western nation shall be permitted to defeat an African or Asiatic one. Poltroonery as a national policy demands that concessions be made constantly in the name of peace.

We know that this Wiesbaden meeting of March 24-25 was convoked in haste and with secrecy such as had never surrounded any previous Bilderberg meeting. At the time of the Williamsburg meeting in 1963 Prince Bernhard held a press conference, and the Princess Beatrix accompanied him to America. This time, as far as can be ascertained, the only report to reach the public was a UPI communique of March 28, out of Paris, as a result of a Stars and Stripes reporter seeing an American consul whisk George Ball away from the Rhein-Main airport. The reporter himself had no idea what was afoot, and mention of the Bilderberg meeting in connection with Mr. Ball's trip to Europe was purely accidental.

Outside Wiesbaden is the Wiesbaden air base used by the U. S. Air Force. It took two hours of wire-pulling by high American officials before the Germans reluctantly gave Prince Bernhard permission to land his private plane secretly at the American field. Even then, neither the American commanding general nor Headquarters U. S. Air Force Europe knew why the prince, NATO's secretary-general Manlio Brosio, and the planeload of important Germans that had been refused permission to land on the American field, were in Wiesbaden -- if they were aware that the whole group was in the city.

As they arrived in Wiesbaden, the Bilderbergers converged on the Nassauerhof, Wiesbaden's most luxurious hotel, on the Kaiserwilhelmstrasse. No German or American foreign press agency noted their presence, and requests for clarification were answered with, "That is classified. Nothing is to be printed." A source close to the French Bilderbergers replied,

"The plan is to neutralize Europe, with France as a polarization center for neutralization."

From Wiesbaden Mr. George Ball flew to Paris, armed with his Bilderberg instructions, for the meeting with French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Couve de Murville. Out of Paris came one seemingly disrelated line: "McCoy is the man detailed to unravel the NATO snag."

AS WITH OTHER BILDERBERG MEETINGS, no Dutch paper breathed a word of their Prince Consort's meddling in international affairs. No one had told Hollanders of the avalanche of letters that descended on the Dutch embassy, at 4200 Linnean Avenue, Washington, D. C., or the American offices of the Holland-American Line, Shell Oil Company, KLM Airlines and North American Phillips, after the Como, Italy meeting of the Bilderbergers in April, 1965.

In these letters, irate Americans, disgusted with seeing men like Edward Murrow, Senator Javits and Irving Brown, the international labor agitator, dubbed "world leaders", rose en masse to threaten boycotts against Dutch services and products if the Bilderberg meetings did not cease. The Netherlands ambassador was reminded that his country's constitution expressly forbids members of the royal family from meddling in politics, which includes the convoking of secret meetings where Dutch and American affairs are discussed by men who have no mandate from anybody.

It would have been a waste of time to pass such messages on to his government, since the ambassador's own chief, Premier Luns, is a Bilderberg member. So Ambassador Schurmann replied, "The Prince of the Netherlands is well aware of his constitutional rights", a diplomatic way of saying, "Mind your own business."

The retort of Shell Oil Company's assistant vice president in charge of public relations, Mr. K. F. Beaton, would have elicited a sneer from Martin Luther King. Said Mr. Beaton, "Boycotts are not only un-American but illegal."

ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE IGNORANCE OF THE BILDERBERGERS IS JUST AS COMPLETE. Continental groupings of international financiers, socialist one-worlders, and labor revolutionists are covered by men who for years have devoted their attention to nothing else. Among them are such authorities as Roger Mennevé, publisher of the monthly "Les Documents Politiques, Diplomatiques et Financiers" (16 Blvd. Montmartre, Paris); "Le Courrier de Paul Deheme" (daily, 25 rue Jean Dolant, Paris); "Lectures Francaises" (monthly, 27 rue de l'Abbe gregoire, Paris); "Europe Action" (monthly, 27 rue de Vaugirard); Bernard Cabanes, of "Carrefour" (weekly, 114 Avenue des Champs Elysees, Paris); Gilles Mermoz of "Rivarol" (weekly, 354 rue St. Honore, Paris); Pierre Hofstetter, of "Decouvertes" (French language, monthly, Rua Artillaria Um 48, 1º, Dtº, Lisbon.)

None of these men or publications has to date touched on the Bilderbergers or the organizations through which its members operate. In Britain, "Candour" alone has mentioned the Bilderbergers. Continental writers familiar with the great banking trusts and families, look blank when asked if they have heard of the Bilderberg group. Most of them know only vaguely of the London "Royal Institute of International Affairs", often referred to as the head of the Hydra. That the Bilderberg group, aside from its liberal professors, mass communications moguls, and labor politicians, compresses in one package all of the top international financiers reaping windfalls out of foreign aid and international loans, and consequently pushing foreign aid and loans, has passed unnoticed.

HAD CONTINENTAL WRITERS TAKEN THEIR EYES FROM THE BANQUE DE PARIS, GROUPE LAMBERT AND THE ROTHSCHILDS, they would have noticed the associations through which all the combines connect. The ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS mentioned above is referred to as Chatham House, after its headquarters. While acting as its president, Lord Atlee, a Fabian prominent in the London School of Economics, simultaneously heads the World Parliament Association, which sponsors "World Peace by World Law". This, it will be remembered, calls for the occupation of the United States by a

policing force composed of Irish, Russian, Belgian and Latin American troops, while American forces would be sent to Australia and Chile. Mongolians, Germans and Russians would police Canada.

The 1960-61 annual report of the Royal Institute of International Affairs lists America's Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) as a subsidiary. Mr. John J. McCloy, formerly president of the World Bank and later chief of Chase Manhattan, is head of the CFR. He is also on the steering committee of the Bilderbergers, and as of February 28, 1966, President of the governors of the Atlantic Institute, with which the Royal Institute (p. 27 of the 1961 report) admits affiliation, along with other such organizations in Europe, including one in Moscow and one in Belgrade.

The Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), which moved to British Columbia after its moral bankruptcy in the U. S., is also a Royal Institute subsidiary. Institutes of International Affairs in Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Yugoslavia, Canada and East Africa are also controlled by the Royal Institute, whose director-general is the Honorable Kenneth Younger, of the Bilderbergers.

Three of the major foundations in America contribute to the support of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Prominent in all of these foundations are Bilderberg members.

Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian socialist who left the direction of NATO to become his country's Foreign Minister and a member of the 3-man Common Market government, is a Bilderberger, as well as a member of the Atlantic Institute. Paul van Zeeland, Spaak's countryman, who in 1963 was president of the Atlantic Institute, is a Bilderberg member and on the sponsoring committee of an international conference for the study of political warfare, on which Senator Dodd, Christopher Emmet and Eugene Lyons figure.

Thus, changing shades as it passes from van Zeeland through Bilderbergers and Chatham Housers, runs the line that ends in Senator Dodd's office.

Something on what the Bilderbergers stand for is in order. Their platform can be summed up in eight points:

1. Abandonment of thinking along national lines (essentially the theme expounded by Walt Whitman Rostow in his book on the U. S. in the world arena. Rostow is now President Johnson's advisor on foreign policy).
2. International Banks.
3. Free immigration.
4. Elimination of tariffs.
5. International currency.
6. Limitation of sovereignty (delegation of sovereignty to UN or some interim regional supra-national government).
7. Central Police Force (after disarmament through NATO agreements and acceptance of "law enforcement" by UN).
8. Creation of an international parliament, to consolidate a supra-national government, after economic union has been achieved.

There is nothing anti-communist about this program. Rather, it is accommodation through sacrifice of sovereignty, reached by first destroying patriotism. The opportunity provided by the present NATO crack-up for turning law enforcement over to UN makes the recent Bilderberg meeting in Wiesbaden doubly important.

THE BILDERBERG GROUP took its name from the hotel in Osterbeek, Holland, where from May 29-31, 1954, their first meeting was held. Six months later, to a day, a bloody massacre commenced in Algeria.

London's extremely liberal SUNDAY OBSERVER of June 3, 1962, helped lull any suspicions its readers might have of this group and its promoter with the following:

"These Bilderberg conferences sprang out of the European Movement. Their aim is to promote good relations between the Nato countries and to act as a bridge across the Atlantic.

"Their founder and, until his death a couple of years ago, the chief spirit behind them was Dr. Josef Retinger, who was also one of the father-figures of the European Movement. A Pole, once secretary to General Sikorsky, Retinger married an Englishwoman and has lived in America.

"He was one of those international figures who have ideas and a genius for finding the means to carry them out. A great joker, he had a cigarette perpetually drooping from his lip, never ate a sausage but seemed to live on whisky and soda.

"It was Retinger who hit on the brilliant idea of having Prince Bernhard to chair the conference. The invitations go out in his name from his palace. But most of the organisation is in other hands. Every year a hotel is taken over; one time it was at Sea Island out of season, another time a modern hotel at Istanbul. One year everyone came to England and stayed at Buxton Spa.

"Everything is superbly done. All the travel is taken care of. There is a thriving corporate life in the hotel. It is made virtually impossible for anyone to bring his wife." (End of quote)

What the Sunday Observer neglected to mention was that the late Joseph Retinger was an extremely mysterious character who for years criss-crossed back and forth between the Moscow bloc and the free world capitals. In 1941 he was listed as a Polish Charge d'Affaires, later he became a sort of unofficial world diplomat for the international Left.

THE FIFTEEN BILDERBERG MEETINGS OVER WHICH PRINCE BERNHARD HAS PRESIDED TO DATE WERE: (1.) Oosterbeek, the Netherlands, May 29-31, 1954. (2.) Barbizon, France, March 18-20, 1955. (3.) Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, September 23-25, 1955. (4.) Fredensborg, Denmark, May 11-13, 1956. (5.) St. Simon's Island, Georgia, United States, February 15-17, 1957. (6.) Fiuggi, Italy, October 4-6, 1957. (7.) Buxton, United Kingdom, September 13-15, 1958. (8.) Yesilkoy, Turkey, September 18-20, 1959. (9.) Burgenstock, Switzerland, May 28-29, 1960. (10.) St. Castin, Canada, April 21-23, 1961. (11.) Saltsjobaden, Sweden, May 18-20, 1962. (12.) Cannes, France, March 29-31, 1963. (13.) Williamsburg, Virginia, United States, March 20-22, 1964. (14.) Como, Italy, April 2-4, 1965. (15.) Wiesbaden, Germany, March 24-25, 1966.

DESPITE THE SECRECY SURROUNDING THESE MEETINGS, the general lines leak out. "CLOSER UP" (P.O. Box 2223, Palm Beach, Florida) of March 27, 1964, described the key men at such meetings as "Bilders", assigned to spread out on the table the new fashions in Internationalist policy, which the "Bergers" (Walter Lippmann, Ralph McGill, the Alsops, George Ball, TIME Magazine's C. D. Jackson, Raymond Fosdick of the National Council of Churches, and their European counterparts go home and sell.

It was in 1962 that the Bilderbergers decided to push the European Common Market Commission as a regional one-world government for Western Europe, instead of a purely economic union. Accordingly, Prince Bernhard, William L. Clayton (of the CFR), and the former Belgian prime minister, Paul van Zeeland, announced their official affiliation with the CFR's European front, the International Movement for Atlantic Union. Germany's Walter Hallstein, Spaak the Belgian and Holland's Foreign Minister Joseph Luns, doggedly used Bilderbergers and Atlantic Unionists alike in their drive for Common Market political power.

Had European conservatives been awake, the spectre of an aggressive Germany attaining, through domination of the Common Market Commission, the power over Europe which she had twice failed to achieve by force of arms

would have been apparent. But Europeans did not even know that the meeting had taken place.

ON MARCH 20, 1964, PRINCE BERNHARD CALLED HIS GROUP TOGETHER IN WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, one month after Holland's prime minister, Victor Marijnen, had gone through the motions of opposing the marriage of Princess Irene to the Carlist pretender to the Spanish throne. Senator Javits was so proud of being invited that he inserted a bland account in the Congressional Record of April 11, 1964. It was at this 1964 reunion that Gaston Defferre, the socialist mayor of Marseilles, was lifted bodily from French local politics and launched on the world scene as Bilderberg candidate to succeed de Gaulle.

In 1956 Defferre, as Minister for Overseas France, served the Bilderberg platform by introducing a law which gave each French territory its own Government Council, on which a native, selected and groomed by the international financiers, served as vice president. The native advanced by this arrangement in Mauretania was Moktar Ould Daddah, who was to become his country's first president. A year after Defferre passed his law, he launched a project with a French High Commissioner in Africa who had been a protege of the Communist air minister, Pierre Cot. (Another Pierre Cot collaborator was Thomas Buchanan, the American Red who wrote the book which white-washed the American Left of any complicity in the Kennedy assassination.)

Between them, Defferre and the High Commissioner, in 1957, skyrocketed the interests of the MIFERMA mining group in Mauretania (the Rothschilds, Georges Pompidou and the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas) by pushing a railroad from their mine to the sea. So it should have surprised no one that in 1964 Defferre was the man of the internationalists.

Nor should Defferre's hiking of Rothschild, Pompidou, Banque de Paris mining stocks by building a railroad strike anyone as being out of the ordinary. While Mr. Fowler Hamilton, of the 52 Wall Street law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Hamilton (of which George Ball had also been a partner) was America's foreign aid chief, a cable-car system and 175-mile railroad was inaugurated in 1962 between a manganese mine in Moanda, Gabon, and the sea. The company that profited by it was an international mining combine called International African-American Corporation, which had been set up by Hamilton's own firm in conjunction with a labyrinth of Swedish companies in which Dag Hammarskjold's brother was prominent.

Jacques Baumel, secretary-general of de Gaulle's own party, the "Union pour la Nouvelle Republique" (UNR), was also at the Williamsburg meeting. So was Christian de la Malène, the fund raiser for de Gaullist candidates, who is also a key figure in the "European Parliament Movement". With them were Jean de Lipowsky, who with the socialist, Leon Boutbien, formed the backbone of the group called "Gaullists of the Left"; and General Pierre Gallois, the specialist on nuclear warfare quoted by U.S. News & World Report. The former finance ministers, Baumgartner and Pinay, were there.

WITH EVEN LESS FANFARE THAN FOR HIS BILDERBERG MEETINGS, Prince Bernhard turned up at West Point on December 4, 1964, to address American military cadets and student delegates to the 15th annual "Student Conference on United States Affairs" (SCUSA) -- America's Bilderbergers of the future. The topic discussed was "Problems of the developing nations as they relate to the national security of the United States".

Accompanying Prince Bernhard were two Dutch cadets. In case you do not know it, Leiden, Holland, is the home of Leiden University and the INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' CONFERENCE (ISC), the three principal tenets of which are pure junior Bilderberger: the free university, the free society, and world peace. International student conceptions of world peace have little in common with "the national security of the United States".

The directing committee of the ISC "grants and reviews the statuses of national unions of students", according to ISC material. The latest

Leiden-approved student group to attack America, as part of the world-wide student campaign against Portugal, the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia, and for the admission of Red China to UN, was the Association of Norwegian Students, which attacked American policy in Vietnam at a Round Table Conference presided over by Hans J. Morgenthau, in Oslo, on April 16, 1966. (On January 29, 1966, Amsterdam University announced its "International course on European integration".)

TWO GROUPS SPONSORED THE DECEMBER 1964 INDOCTRINATION SESSION AT WEST POINT: They were the military academy's "Debate Council and Forum" and the "Cadet Extra-curricular Educational Activities Committee", which (according to the 1964 Winter issue of the West Point "ASSEMBLY") are "generously supported" by the George Olmstead Foundation.

George Olmstead is an international banker who graduated from West Point in 1922, as a classmate of General Maxwell Taylor. He became a brigadier-general in China, amassed a fortune running an insurance agency in Iowa, today is chairman of the Hawkeye-Security Insurance Co., President of the International Bank of Washington, D. C., President of the Financial General Corporation, of Washington, and founder of the Olmstead Foundation, which brought students from as far away as Hawaii to discuss Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, Sub-Sahara Africa, Middle East -- North Africa and Latin America at West Point with Prince Bernhard.

In sum: The Olmstead Foundation piped the Bilderberg line to American and Hawaiian student bodies, thus qualifying them for approval in Holland's ISC.

FOUR MONTHS AFTER THE WEST POINT MEETING, Prince Bernhard was in Como, Italy, for a Bilderberg meeting, the timing of which again was important. (See H. du B. Reports, May, 1965). President Johnson was about to dangle a billion dollars in aid before both Vietnams, if the Vietcong would cease fighting. Prince Bernhard and his "International Movement for Atlantic Union" colleague, Will Clayton, of the CFR, may have approved, for Clayton, remember, was one of the instigators of the Marshall Plan giveaway. For all practical purposes, the billion dollar "bribe" offer, in return for peace, only insured the continuation of hostilities. To Ho Chi Minh and the rest of Asia, no man would offer a billion dollars to end a war if he thought he could win it.

On April 10, three days after the President made his billion dollar "bribe" offer, Prince Bernhard spoke in Holland, Michigan. On April 13 he was at the White House for a conference that lasted between three and four hours with President Johnson, a long time in busy Washington.

Such was the train of events which led up to the Wiesbaden session of March, 1966, and over which citizens of none of the countries whose interests are at stake have the slightest control or even knowledge.

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CHINA'S A-BOMBS: A STORY OF COMMUNIST
SINGLE-MINDEDNESS AND TRAITORS OF THE WEST

In late 1958 the fortunes of Red China were at an all-time low. 1957 had brought uprisings in Kwangtung, then came the failure of the "great leap forward". Crop failures, floods and the halting of industrial production had brought Chinese communism to the brink of collapse. Soviet technicians and engineers were pulling out, taking factory plans, maps and even principal parts of machinery with them. In the atomic installations of Lanchow and Pao-Tiao mysterious fires broke out. Factories stood uncompleted while machinery rusted in the open air.

Khrushchev had never been averse to the idea of a nuclear-powered Red China someday threatening America, a situation from which he would draw unlimited advantages as the "honest middle-man" to whom America would turn. The obstacle was the Red Army. The army wanted no nuclear power on Russia's border, particularly one with territorial claims in the far west and Outer Mongolia.

Thus, after eight years of stalling, came the open break. Mao Tse-tung turned to Chien San-tchiang, the head of Peking's Institute of Nuclear Research, who had been trained by Joliot-Curie in the College de France and Irene Curie in France's Radium Institute. Mao said, "I know your difficulties. I also know that it is materially impossible to explode our first bomb before 1964 or '65, but it is of vital importance that China have her atomic weapon by 1965."

A French woman scientist who knew Chien in 1945 has said that what first impressed her about him was his youth, and after that his messianic zeal, his certainty of Mao Tse-tung's eventual triumph and his own future mission in life.

Moscow appears to have been impressed by Chien also, because as far back as 1950 Stalin had requested that Chien be sent to Moscow to help Chinese students who were working in nuclear physics. Mao politely evaded a direct reply. Secretly he was afraid that once in Moscow the man on whom he was basing his hopes might not come back. And Stalin did not press the matter. The negotiations for Russian aid had just ended with an agreement on Sinkiang, in Chinese Turkistan, the great desert region to the northwest where rocks and burning sand storms torture an arid region twice as large as France, inhabited by some four million Turkomin tribesmen and a sprinkling of Chinese. 60% of the population of Sinkiang are Moslems, descended from kingdoms that dotted China's frontier in the days of Marco Polo.

THE TREATY THE RUSSIANS WRUNG OUT OF MAO on March 27, 1950, in return for pulling Russian troops out of Sinkiang was a lopsided one. For their part, the Chinese had to agree to the formation of a joint Soviet-Chinese company to develop the non-ferrous and precious metal deposits of the region. Russia would furnish the capital, China the manpower. It was the same sort of agreement Moscow had forced on Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, and the Chinese were far from happy about it.

The agreement signed, Mao gave Chien a free hand to set up an expedition to see what he could find. Equipped with jeeps left by the American army, the little group, which included Man Chin-tchang, a student from Petrograd Institute, set out for the West over the old silk route that led to Kashgar, the Oxus and Samarkand. Their maps were not accurate, and Kuomintang troops turned bandits roamed the desert, strengthened by Red deserters and former tiger hunters who had been driven into banditry during the Japanese occupation. The cavalry squadron sent to protect the expedition was decimated, and only the intervention of friendly Mongols saved the scientists' lives.

SO IMPORTANT WERE THE SAMPLES CHIEN AND HIS GROUP BROUGHT BACK, Mao himself left Chenyang, where he was directing the Chinese offensive in Korea, for a first-hand report on the huge deposits of lepidolith, the mineral from which lithium is extracted for thermonuclear bombs. China had known of these de-

posits for years. Lepidolith, a rosy-hued or white mica, had been set in the small window of imperial pavilions for centuries. Now for the first time came realization of the mineral's importance, and with it new strains on Sino-Russian relations. For this was the very region of Sinkiang and Manchuria which Moscow was claiming. China was embroiled in Korea and Mikoyan, the wily Armenian, jumped at the opportunity to acquire 75% of Sinkiang's lepidolith production for Russia, in return for between 300 and 500 MIGS and Russian instruction for a team of Chinese engineers.

THE FIRST BIG BREAK FOR CHIEN AND HIS NUCLEAR TEAM came in 1954, when Khrushchev led a delegation to Peking which included Kourtchatov, the friend of Kapitza, the father of Russia's A-bomb. Kourtchatov not only divulged Russia's latest atomic secrets for the construction of the reactor Chien was assembling in Peking, but in confidential conversation with Chien he provided details on his own invention, which was guarded as top secret by the defense ministry in Moscow, under the classification "Kourchatov's short-cut for the fabrication of an H-bomb".

PEKING'S NUCLEAR TEAM. The 14 known nuclear physicists who went to work on the information Chien acquired from his new-found Russian friend have been described by British experts as one of the world's most formidable nuclear groups, rivaling in progress, if not yet in results, anything that America, Britain or Russia have been able to produce. Twelve of them received their training in the West. Chien San-tchiang's training by the Curies we know. His Vice-Director, who heads the control section of the Nuclear Council and runs China's laser ray program, is Wang Kan-chang, a product of Berlin and California. The other Vice-Director, Chao Chung-yao, was trained at California Institute of Technology, then in Cambridge and East Germany.

Chang Wen-you, director of the cosmic ray laboratory of Peking Institute, spent two years at Cambridge from 1937 to '39, before going to Princeton for seven years, in which he turned out a flood of nuclear research papers. Chang is believed to have returned to Peking in 1957.

Tai Chuang-tseng is one of the younger men on the Peking team. He was at Liverpool University from 1947 to 1951. Two other Vice-Directors of Peking Institute, Peng Huang-wu and Chan Chia-hua, entered Edinburg University in the late 1940's.

Of particular importance to Americans is Chien Hsueh-sen, who has charge of the guided missile delivery system now being perfected to transport China's nuclear warhead direct to target, and already capable of hitting Formosa. Chien's father was a rich Saigon merchant who took advantage of America's missionary zeal against colonialism to get his son enrolled in the California Institute of Technology. From there he went to M.I.T. As an advisor to the American Air Force during World War II he had access to our military secrets, and since von Karmann and Milikan had taught him everything America knew about rocketry, after V-E Day he was sent to Germany to gather what he could on Hitler's V-2 program. Today he is making the rockets being installed in Chinese submarines.

Not to be overlooked in this group is America's own Joan Hinton, who worked with Oppenheimer on America's nuclear project and who in the early 1950's elected to throw in with China.

Considering China's unconcealed hatred of the West and Scandanavian disapproval of American military operations in Vietnam, it may seem incomprehensible that two of Red China's leading nuclear physicists, Dr. Chun Hsiang and Dr. Sun Tso-lui have for the past year been making advanced experiments in the Niels Bohr Institute in Copenhagen. Shortly before his death in 1962 Aage Bohr, son of the Institute's founder, lectured for four months in Communist China and since that time a group of Chinese nuclear scientists has studied Western nuclear developments in Copenhagen yearly.

CHINA'S NUCLEAR MAP is well known. From security leaks and U2 flights a picture emerges of a vulnerable nuclear complex which, at this stage of

development, could be knocked out in a single day.

AUX ECOUTES, the Paris diplomatic weekly, warned on December 12, 1965, that Red China would become a danger to the world by the end of 1966; that America could, before that time, destroy her atomic installations with a minimum of difficulties and losses for the civilian population. After December 1966, according to AUX ECOUTES, the operation would be dangerous if not impossible.

Raymond Cartier observed in PARIS MATCH of April 17, 1965, that America's sentiments about the Chinese giant had always been extreme -- ranging from adulation that passed the limits of common sense, under Roosevelt, to fear of China, as is the case today. America, says Cartier, must hit the atomic plant in Kansu province where the explosive uranium is extracted from uranium 235 by the process of gaseous diffusion. Many Europeans sincerely believe and hope that the American build-up in Vietnam is with the ultimate objective of knocking out Peking's missile bases in Hainan and the great plutonium reactors in Lanchow and Pao-Tiao on the Yellow River. They do not know the destructive capabilities of a Wayne Morse rising to shout, "That would be a preventive war!", the influence exercised by badly-dressed vietniks parading to the door of the White House, or clergymen rushing to buy whole pages in the daily papers.

Lanchow is a thousand miles west of the Yellow River's outlet to the sea. To six hundred million Chinese, old Lanchow with its thick covering of ochre loess used to be the end of the world. Now it is the beginning. It took three years, after the uranium and heavy water reactors were functioning in Peking, to transport equipment for the reactor in Djungaria, the Turkomin city in Sinkiang. Construction of the Lanchow and Pao-Tiao reactors, and the isotope separation plant in Lanchow, took even longer. Research reactors are in operation in Chenyang, Chungking and Sian, as well as Peking. Areas near Urumchi, Aksu (which means White Water Spring) and Lobner, in the far west, are China's testing sites. Near Aksu is the country's principal plutonium extraction plant. Uranium fields are in Tibet and in Western China, in the area southeast of Yarkand; in central China, west of Chungking; and in the northeast, above Chang-Chuen.

ADD TO CHINA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES a rich new oil strike, the Ta-Ching (Great Treasure) field, discovered in northeastern Manchuria in late 1965. Ta-ching, experts claim, will yield far more than the old fields first drilled in Yen-an and Szechuan in 1913 by M.I.T.'s China-born expert, Paul Stanley Hopkins, probably one of America's greatest experts on China, whose knowledge was never utilized by Washington.

Military realizations from her uranium deposits and oil fields aside, China's economic position, guided by a group of advisors headed by Cambridge University economist Solomon Adler, cannot fail to advance also. At present, under Adler's insistence, Peking is stocking gold bullion, platinum and Swiss currency. For world-wide subversion or a future war? It is anyone's guess.

THE HISTORY OF NUCLEAR CHINA. The outstanding thing about the story of China's rise to nuclear stature is that, as with Russia, every advance was facilitated by western treason. Next comes the aspect of complete cynicism with which Moscow, in her own interest, prevented her satellites from acquiring nuclear stature, but convinced Washington that her reason for doing so was fulfillment of an agreement by which America should likewise keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of her allies.

Simultaneously, to make treason an obligation in the free world bloc, Russia propagated the cult of the scientist as a citizen of the world, above the limits of nationality and required by the holiness of his mission to share his secrets with mankind, even or particularly if it meant betraying his country.

So assiduously did Moscow push this theme, it was only natural that some of it should rub off on her own scientists, as in the case of Kourtchatov when he shared Russia's secrets with Chien Sen-tchiang.

Bruno Pontecorvo, after having betrayed the West to Russia, shaved several years off Red China's road to atomic status when he went to Peking in 1957. It was Claus Fuchs, however, whose double treason may prove most costly for the West. Fuchs, a German socialist, son of an evangelist pastor, was bitten by the virus of socialist one-worldism, the duty of whose scientists it is to see that no nation should have a monopoly on the A-bomb, that he first betrayed Britain and America to the Soviets.

After Fuchs' release from prison, a spate of news articles assured an apathetic West that nuclear physics had made such strides during Fuchs' incarceration that he would no longer be of use to anybody. The idea of poor Fuchs, languishing in prison while science left him behind, was pushed to the point of making Britons and Americans feel ashamed for having ruined his life.

Such was not the case at all. Chien San-tchiang contacted Fuchs in Prague after his release. Their next meeting was arranged in Karlovy-Vary, in East Germany, by pro-Chinese communists applying the argument Stalin's agents had used when Fuchs betrayed the British. It worked. Fuchs came through with the atomic secrets of East Berlin's Karl Marx Institute. Better, he told Chien that Richard Moskey, protege of the celebrated physicist, Dr. Rayleigh, had discovered a process that was both cheaper and quicker than thermodiffusion for the separation of isotopes. Fuchs estimated it would take eighteen months to set up a plant. Moskey was dead, but Fuchs knew that his papers were in a suitcase which Moskey had entrusted to a certain Dr. Hans von Marxow. Dr. von Marxow had turned them over to a Chinese physician named Liu Mo-fang of Dresden, who specialized in acupuncture. Liu was reported to be in South America.

All the wheels of Red China's espionage service were set in motion to trace down Liu Mo-fang. Chien's co-worker, Cheng Tchoung-i, picked up his trail in Chile, where Peking had a strong network. There he learned that Liu was in Montevideo. What were his political beliefs? They were Red. The rest was child's play. Chien, as a result of Fuchs' collaboration and Moskey's suitcase, was able to assure Mao Tse-tung that China would have her A-bomb before January, 1965, and an H-bomb by mid-1966.

FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND WORKERS were put to work in remote Sinkiang to produce China's first A-blast. Two hundred thousand Chinese peasants, carefully screened by Pekings' thought police, were forcibly moved into the area and mixed with the Turkomin, proud descendants from the Uzbeks, the Tolas, the Sarts and the Uighurs, who had always hated the Chinese and might stir up trouble at the sight of this mass invasion of scientists and workmen. After diluting the Turkomin communities with Chinese immigrants, Peking moved in 100,000 soldiers as protection against the Russians. All Soviet consulates were closed down, while Kang Cheng, charged with atomic security, set up a vast intelligence network for the sole purpose of weeding out Russian informers and spies. The Alachan plateau, where the nuclear center that was eventually to equal Oak Ridge was hidden, became a forbidden area.

ON OCTOBER 16, 1964, China's first A-bomb was exploded from a tower in the depression of Tour-fan, near Lopnor, in Sinkiang. This bomb is estimated to have had the force of America's bomb at Hiroshima, roughly 20,000 tons of TNT. Not until a year later was it learned that again western treachery--this time Swiss--had contributed to China's attainment of the weapon that thereafter she would hold over the West. It was a father and son team of Zurich--62-year-old Richard Oertli and his 36-year-old son--who provided the cobalt for the Chinese A-bomb's casing, five tons of it from Canada, another five tons from Britain; the lot passed to Red China through the complicity of Nasser. The Oertlis acted for money and fled from Switzerland with their fortune just ahead of arrest.

EXPERTS ESTIMATED THAT CHINA HAD 3 BOMBS OF THE FISSIONABLE TYPE at the time of the October 1964 blast. This is to say bombs in which fissionable

U-235 had been separated from Uranium-238 in a highly complex diffusion plant, supposedly the new isotope separation works in Lanchow.

On May 14, 1965, came Bomb No. 2, also of enriched uranium but supposedly dropped from a plane. This bomb was more powerful than the first one, estimated at 50 kilotons, or 50,000 tons of TNT, and reports on the plants in operation indicated a possible arsenal of 25 to 30 bombs, with capability of turning out eight bombs a month if production were pushed. This model had an improved detonating device, assuring maximum force with a minimum of fissionable material.

A few days before the second A-test, General Lo Jui-ching wrote in THE RED FLAG, the voice of Red China's army, that "The preparation of the Chinese people for a war in all its forms, including a nuclear war, must receive top priority." He added, "We must think constantly of an atomic war and act accordingly."

General Lo Jui-ching is the direct assistant of Marshal Lin Piao, China's 57-year-old military commander who is likely to be Mao Tse-tung's successor. He is 62, a swaggering, hard-faced drinker, smoker and advocate of action. His rise was via the secret police, following a period of training in Russia in 1920. Lo is typical of the combination of unyielding revolutionary and arrogant military which Red conquest of the mainland produced. So far his arsenal of guided missiles is capable of reaching Formosa. He knows that Formosa, however, is prevented by America from destroying his coastal ramps.

Bomb No. 3 was touched off at 4 P.M. (Peking time) near Lopnor again, on May 9, 1966. This time the force released is estimated at between 130 and 150-kiloton, or 150,000 tons of TNT. If not a hydrogen bomb, its strength is assumed to have been increased by the addition of light elements (presumably lithium), which through a process of fusion (as distinguished from fission, in purely atomic bombs) provided a boost in strength. If Peking does not already have the H-bomb, her capacity to build one is no longer in doubt.

A study on China's nuclear status by Claire Louis in France's REVUE MILITAIRE GENERALE of December 1965 stated that "China will have inter-continental missiles at her disposal before 1975, if the Americans permit this without preventive destruction of the monster before its birth."

Still lulling the West, Sweden's delegate to the Geneva Disarmament Conference assured the assembly discussing the spread of nuclear arms, in March, 1966, that "China is much more in the class of India, as a nuclear power, than of Russia" -- therefore not to be feared.

IS CHINA LIKELY TO MOVE, IN SOUTH VIETNAM? Those following the Fulbright-Morse-Kennedy attack against winism continue to ask. The best military authorities in Western Europe reply, "No". China's immobility in the face of American action in Vietnam is based on a very conscious desire to furnish no pretext for a preventive American blow during China's period of atomic adolescence. This is the reason for Peking's 'tranquilizing' campaign, with its continued reassurances of the eventual victory of the countryside (which is to say, communism, in the countries outside Europe and America) over the wicked cities of capitalism. This campaign for patience is a smoke screen."

If America weakens in Vietnam, the big challenge will come in about four years. The first maxim of war is one that apparently America's demagogues courting "votes in our political lifetime" have forgotten: Namely, that "Nations which await attack are already half conquered." In the nuclear age the word "half" may be superfluous, to the point that Asia's future historians may someday conceivably add Fulbright and Morse to a Fuchs-Kourchatov-Certli Hall of Honor.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL -- The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier. Order from WESTERN ISLANDS, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont 78, Massachusetts. \$1.00 for paperback edition. \$5.00 for hard cover edition. Enclose 10¢ for postage.

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AMERICA'S MORTAL TREATIES

NATO--THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION--WAS FORMED IN APRIL 1949. Dean Acheson was its father. "Over thirty treaties protect America around the world," was the lulling line beamed at the electorate. It was America's world-wide paper "Maginot Line." By January 22, 1964, TIME Magazine had inflated the security myth by raising America's mutual defense agreements to 42, most of which TIME itself had long since helped puncture.

THE HARD, FAST RULE OF DIPLOMACY IS: Treaties are made between governments; their fulfillment depends on people. Most of the signatory governments who would have stood with us were weakened or toppled by liberals operating out of Washington in the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson years. The people and armies on whom fulfillment of our far-flung treaties depended were systematically alienated and embittered.

COMMUNIST TAKE-OVERS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BERLIN BLOCKADE were the reasons for NATO's formation. America alone possessed the atomic bomb. Accordingly, thirteen nations (with Germany coming in in 1954 as the fourteenth) allied themselves with America to form a bulwark against Russia's massive armies. The U. S., Iceland, Norway, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Denmark, West Germany, Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Greece and Turkey agreed that an attack on one would be regarded as an attack on all. With them, and most important, was France.

To prevent Russian hordes from over-running our allies, America was pledged to respond with all-out nuclear retaliation in the event of a Russian attack on Western Europe.

THE CANCER IN NATO FROM THE FIRST was America's fanatic determination to weed out colonialism, in whatever place or form. Our NATO partners were regarded as allies only where Russia threatened Europe. In their colonies, America was Russia's ally, agitating and arming revolts that were to kill the flower of Europe's principal NATO army.

As the NATO alliance was being signed, Ho chi Minh, whom America had set up in business, was killing Frenchmen in Indo-China. A pro-communist named Sukarno, a former Japanese puppet, was enjoying American support against the Netherlands in Indonesia.

Revolts against France, Belgium and Portugal were being whipped up in Africa. Britain had been rushed out of India and weakened around the world. Still, the fear of an enemy invasion and another occupation held the abused alliance together.

GENERAL LAURIS NORSTAD SUCCEEDED EISENHOWER AS NATO'S SUPREME COMMANDER and less and less was heard of instant nuclear retaliation. Instead, Norstad elaborated a plan which, recognizing Russian numerical superiority, assumed that in ten or fifteen days a Russian sweep across Europe, all the way to Le Havre or Brest, would be inevitable. British and American aviation would attempt to slow it up. European ground troops--particularly French and German--would fight a delaying action while America pulled back her depots, bases and communities of civilians.

Specially-trained American demolition and sabotage teams would then arrive to implement a scorched-earth policy ahead of the invaders. Western forces would regroup in North Africa for the reconquest of Europe. (But North Africa, on which NATO counted for depth, was being made hostile by American civilians, labor delegates and government agencies, even as the Norstad plan was being hawked.)

OUR ALLIES WERE PANIC-STRICKEN. Deprived of nuclear arms themselves, they saw America's nuclear umbrella withdrawn and their countries devastated instead of protected. Their next shock came from General Maxwell Taylor. Taylor resigned as Army Chief of Staff in 1959, and before returning as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff he published a book called "The Uncertain Trumpet." Its thesis: America should employ nuclear weapons only for "national survival", and then only in case of an atomic attack on the continental United States or "indisputable evidence that such an attack was about to take place." An attack on Western Europe was regarded as only "a third possible case". This repudiated NATO's very base.

AMERICAN PRESTIGE BEGAN TO TUMBLE. On Saturday, March 19, 1960, veteran London SUNDAY TIMES correspondent, Richard Hughes, reported from Hong Kong that leading American experts on the Far East, including fourteen American ambassadors to Asian nations, had just met in the Philippines. Their conclusion: Since China had served warning that

she would not be bound by any agreement to which she was not a party, Peking should be invited to the disarmament conference in Geneva. From Geneva European press services wired that America was adopting a conciliatory attitude and was ready to yield on questions of armament inspection.

A Washington report of March 21, 1960, in Paris-Presse of March 22, informed Europe that Khrushchev was proposing a Russian-American-British monopoly on atomic arms. In a letter addressed to Eisenhower on March 8, Khrushchev begged the President to prevent atomic weapons from reaching other countries in the West. There was a veiled threat that if America did not keep nuclear arms out of the hands of her allies, particularly the French, Russia would open her atomic secrets to Communist China. This though China had announced her intention of ignoring any deal between Washington and Moscow anyway.

Ike replied that the MacMahon Law (banning sharing of America's atomic information) would be lived up to, to the letter. It was a victory for Khrushchev. On March 19, in Geneva, the Russian delegate Tsarapkin proceeded to drive a wedge between the British and Americans by offering to exclude small subterranean explosions from the thermo-nuclear test ban under discussion. He requested, however, that all concerned give their word that they would not conduct even these non-included explosions--the very ones America needed for perfection of her tactical weapons. Britain jumped on the proposal with enthusiasm. Needless to say, in a short time Russia broke the agreement; China was never prevented from acquiring her bomb. Further estrangement of the French military was all that the Eisenhower-Khrushchev deal achieved.

IN NOVEMBER 1960 VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT JOHNSON, accompanied by Senator Fulbright, flew to London for a NATO Parliamentary Conference. The Vice President's statements were particularly interesting. "I am proud," he said, "to find the warm, traditional friendship among our allies. But I have discerned also certain worries over the future and I have noted certain questions concerning our intentions and our aims. My hope is that America's new leadership will appease these fears in the years to come by its new vigor, new vitality and renewed confidence."

There was no warm friendship for America at that instant. Our Algerian meddling had divided France; a blood-bath was rocking the Congo. Instead of appeasing the fears of our allies, "America's new leadership", the vigor and vitality of which were negative, destroyed such confidence as remained.

A SECRET STUDY PUT OUT BY THE KENNEDY TEAM soon convinced our allies that their worst fears were justified. It was headed "COMMON ACTION FOR THE CONTROL OF CONFLICT". Only America's test-ban treaty negotiators were supposed to read it, but everyone, including the Russians, had it. It stated that "Convergence" with Russia would be the new administration's aim and would be attained by "creating a substantial cross-national diffusion of interests and, ultimately, power." As a renewer of confidence in America, it was in the best Johnson-Fulbright tradition.

NATO'S NEXT STAGE WAS "GRADUATED RESPONSE". Our allies, who had joined on the promise of instant nuclear retaliation, were given no voice in this decision. The American news-reader's capacity for swallowing "tripe" on it was bottomless. President Kennedy called it "the pause theory". After an initial attack, America would introduce a pause during which a truce might be worked out. Military men translated it as "indecision". Actually, it was the penultimate phase before admitted no-winism.

NATO AS AN AGENCY OF ONE-WORLDISM. Substitution of a policy which repudiated everything our allies had been promised was largely possible because Paul-Henri Spaak, NATO's civilian head, had the support of the international Left. As Belgium's socialist leader he had the labor unions, socialist parties and leftist machines of the West behind him; the forces, in sum, whose loyalties were to an all-powerful super-state rather than to their respective countries. Since Spaak and his fellow socialists intended to rule this super-state, it can truthfully be said that they were anti-communist, but they were Moscow's allies in their determination to eradicate patriotism in favor of the big-statism and state ownership of enterprise and industry they hoped to establish. This was the man to whom we entrusted the military alliance that was supposed to protect the West.

According to FIGARO of November 26, 1960, Johnson said of Spaak, on that November 1960 trip to London, "America has a profound respect for this capable director and wise counselor."

In the guise of defense, NATO under Spaak became a military organ for regional

one-worldism which TIME Magazine recognized and approved. TIME of December 18, 1964, rhapsodized over Churchill's 1946 plea that the Old World "make a kind of United States of Europe." TIME said, "In 1947 the Marshall Plan gave it (Churchill's idea) bone and sinew." So the Marshall Plan was not to help war-ravaged Europe to its feet, as we were told, but to socialize and enchain it.

"In 1950 the Schuman Plan to pool the continent's coal and steel resources gave it another push," TIME continued. "NATO was originally (emphasis ours) designed to defend Western Europe against Communist aggression." Why "originally"? Is this an admission that European defense is no longer NATO's reason for being?

"A common, multi-national European Army was America's goal," according to TIME. But U. N. overlordship of that army, though U. N. is dominated by the bloc NATO was formed to oppose, was always the aim of the international party in which Spaak lives and breathes.

"The French vetoed the United States of Europe idea, but out of its ashes came the Common Market," went our TIME editorial. This is the creeping super-government which Spaak left NATO to join. Such is the man Vice President Johnson lauded and a deluded West accepted. Three years later Spaak served as initial mediator for the partial nuclear test ban treaty which we shall mention later.

WEAKNESS VERSUS STRENGTH. Kennedy theorists reasoned that the way to lull Russia's distrust and prove that America had no intention of waging a war was to prove that we could not win one. This was the exact negation of everything France and Britain had learned, to their sorrow, in 1939, but Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was adept at shaving history till it fitted the propaganda framework at hand. Kennedy's Policy Planning Board chief, Walt Whitman Rostow, and the President's science advisor, Jerome Wiesner, extracted the remaining teeth from America's mutual defense agreements while Schlesinger did the selling.

Rostow's conviction that the age of nation and nationality is past dovetailed with everything Spaak held dear. Yet, Rostow, to whom the idea of love of country was alien, was charged with forming America's policy. Wiesner, playing with the very survival of the West, carried his balance-of-power theory, as opposed to military supremacy, to the point where he advocated rejection of even anti-missile missiles unless it were known that the enemy had such weapons. A word on this man Wiesner.

It was under Eisenhower, a few months after America took position beside Russia and against her allies at Suez, in 1956, that his capacity for harm was first increased. In early 1957 Ike requested a study of America's defense posture vis-à-vis Russia. The Science Advisory Committee called in its free-lance consultant, Wiesner, who had been trying to get his foot in the door, and told him to form a panel. Thus the most secret documents pertinent to America's defense were at Wiesner's disposal. The group he joined was headed by Ford Foundation President J. Rowan Gaither, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations whose professed stand was peace on any terms, since America could not hope to win a war with Russia.

Wiesner's recommendations were forwarded to the President through the National Security Council sometime before November 23, 1957. On December 1, Wiesner was moved up to Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee, where he advocated unilateral disarmament. On November 27, 1960, he appeared in Moscow for a Pugwash Conference and urged Russian scientists to support a world police force and so hasten disarmament. Under Johnson he became head of the Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament. By that time Nasser, whom Eisenhower and Dulles had backed against our allies, was offering United Arab Republic troops to fight beside the Vietcong in Vietnam.

Allied consternation as Wiesner and Rostow gained policy-forming power in the government exercising NATO leadership is understandable. That U. N. clauses have the effect of treaties and supersede our Constitution becomes more frightening as Russian and Afro-Asiatic domination of U. N. increases.

No declaration was more fatal to NATO, however, than the Kennedy team's assertion that under no circumstance would America ever strike the first nuclear blow. This was followed by the statement that in the event of an enemy nuclear attack America would not retaliate immediately but would wait to ascertain that it was not a "mistake." Western Defense Ministries needed no computer to assess their positions. A = America's strength; B = Russia's. X = what would be destroyed by supinely taking one, maybe more, nuclear blows. If A = B, A minus X would certainly leave B the winner.

THE 1963 PARTIAL NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY, which bound America to handcuff her allies while Russia was patently incapable of handcuffing China, punctured our whole ring of defensive alliances. Let us examine the principal ones.

SEATO--THE SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION--was another Eisenhower-Dulles baby. C. L. Sulzberger wrote of it in the New York Times of March 2, 1966, "Dulles fathered SEATO with the deliberate purpose, as he explained to me, of providing the U. S. President with legal authority to intervene in Indo-China." The nations bound by SEATO to consult immediately in the event of aggression, "in order to agree on measures to be taken for common defense", were the U. S. Britain, France, New Zealand, Australia, Pakistan and the Philippines.

While linking the French to us with the SEATO treaty, on one hand, Dulles was ordering them out of Indo-China on the other. (Los Angeles Times, May 11, 1955.) Today our press is indignant that they will not come back. The present British labor government is pro-neutralist. Kennedy-Johnson teams worked feverishly to help it into power. The Conservative government which Kennedy stripped of its nuclear arm (Skybolt) at Nassau would have stayed with us.

Pakistan, whom we refused to support when justice was on her side, could not care less what happens to us now. Thailand, where a dormant fifth column comprises 50% of the population, was never anything but a "propaganda" signer, for Washington to hold before a swindled electorate.

CENTO, OR THE CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION, formed eleven years ago, is made up of Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. The U. S. is not a member but is pledged to cooperate in mutual defense.

When CENTO met in Ankara, on April 20, 1966, Pakistan was bitter over her let-down by America and Britain in Kashmir. Turkey was so irate over American failure to defend Cyprus Turks against the Greeks that Dean Rusk was greeted by anti-American demonstrators. Seventy-three Turks were arrested as they tried to march on the American embassy.

In Iran the Shah's government is with us, but every Iranian student who returns from America anti-monarchist is an indoctrinated enemy of our friends. Britain, on the verge of bankruptcy and under labor-socialists, would bow out and opt to let U. N. cope with it if any serious trouble were to arise.

THE ANZUS TREATY binds the United States, New Zealand and Australia to stand together in the event of an attack in the Pacific. Kennedy made it worthless when he forced the Dutch to give Sukarno Dutch New Guinea, from which any attack against Australia and New Zealand would be launched.

THE PHILIPPINE TREATY provides for mutual assistance between the United States and the Philippines if either is attacked. With the Philippine government unable to establish order in its own country, its importance as an ally could have been ruled out before the treaty was signed.

THE RIO TREATY binds the United States and twenty Latin-American governments (of which, technically, one is Cuba) to provide assistance in case of aggression against any member.

The axiom that History has never found any victor to be in the wrong still holds. Schlesinger, Adlai Stevenson and Kennedy share responsibility for withdrawing air cover from our Cuban allies (when it was too late to call them back) at the Bay of Pigs. Our sell-out of the West's friend in Santo Domingo gave the Rio Treaty its coup de grace. In all of the Latin-American countries involved, American labor delegates weaken the bases on which the respective governments repose.

THE JAPANESE TREATY is between America and Japan. American no-winism in Vietnam and acceleration of Japan's steady slide to the Left will carry Japan out of the American sphere and into Peking's within five years. Japanese socialists see their technical superiority as fitting them for leadership of a great socialist Asia, which will give Japan the world importance her militarists failed to secure. At a

meeting of nine non-communist Asian and Pacific states in Korea on June 15, 1966, Japan already refused to take a stand in support of the government in Saigon.

THE KOREAN TREATY is a mutual assistance pledge between the United States and Korea. Truman destroyed confidence in it when he fired MacArthur. Since then it has weakened steadily, and anything short of resolute, decisive victory in Vietnam will make it completely worthless.

OUR NATIONALIST CHINA TREATY, as the name implies, is a mutual defense engagement between Nationalist China and the United States, but it is also a strait-jacket binding Chinese Nationalist forces while Peking's nuclear threat gains stature. The growing chorus for an American pullout in Vietnam is ominous for our Nationalist China treaty. While Red China sends military equipment and so-called "volunteers" to kill Americans, assistance offered by Formosa is rejected.

The American professors destined to provide scholarly arguments for sacrificing Formosa to appease Red China are already in business under two organizations: One, the UN-USA Policy Group, is financed by Ford Foundation and has as Vice President Frederick S. Beebe, chairman of the board of NEWSWEEK and the Washington Post. The other is the NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS.

Needless to say, the so-called China specialists on both are men of the A. Doak Barnett of Columbia University ilk. Charles Yost (America's former minister to Laos, ambassador to Morocco and aide to Adlai Stevenson when Tshombe's stable Katanga was destroyed) is in the UN-USA Policy Group. So is Arthur Larson, who handled the smear job on American conservatives during the 1964 presidential campaign.

AT DATE OF THIS WRITING the stand of the administration, mass communication media and Dean Acheson is one of hurt innocence. It holds little hope of salvaging anything from our crumbling line of alliances.

On May 10, 1965, after fifteen years of American unilateral talks with the Russians, incitement of colonial wars against our allies and refutations of NATO's original commitments, U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT wrote, "When the chips are down, as in Vietnam, the U. S. is left alone to act as world policeman against Red Aggression."

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT of May 2, 1966, deplored the fact that only three out of sixty-two allied nations have come to our aid in Vietnam. "Allies at cut rates: Are they worth it?" was the question.

The answer is, not unless you treat them as allies. France, the keystone of the NATO alliance has not only bowed out of the organization but has hinted that American military planes may be barred from French air space. The French armed forces and public, whatever they think of de Gaulle, make little protest.

Dean Rusk, invoking the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty as his reason, had barred French military planes from landing and refueling in America, on their way to the French nuclear testing in Tahiti. What other reaction could we expect from France?

Our readers will recall the glee on the faces of U Thant, Hubert Humphrey, Adlai Stevenson and others, in the photograph taken when that treaty was signed. The Russians are having the last laugh.

Our refusing landing and refueling rights to French military planes, after our support of the anti-Western rebels in Algeria, was, as Moscow knew it would be, the final nail in NATO's coffin.

On June 28, 1959, a Los Angeles pundit named Polyzoides used a full column of the Los Angeles Times to mourn the defeat of a group of Algerian terrorists who had been massacring the populations of whole villages. "Algerians at Bone did not die in vain," Mr. Polyzoides told his readers. They certainly didn't! A crime-ridden, Red-manipulated fifth column now exists in France, made up of the million Algerians

who fled their country at the rate of a thousand a day after independence, to get out from under Mr. Polyzoides' heroes. Diseases all but exterminated are rife again in Algeria. Over four thousand European women kidnapped after independence are slaves in Algerian brothels. North Africa, which was to provide the depth on which our military planners counted, is lost. And thanks to the likes of Mr. Polyzoides and his paper, NATO is dead.

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Mr. du Berrier will be available for a limited number of lectures between November 15, 1966, and May 1, 1967. Address inquiries to H. du B. Reports, Box 855, Huntington, Indiana.

BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from Western Islands, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL is the only book which provides a duped public with the true story of how our involvement in Vietnam started, who put it over, and how the shocking process was effected. There was no protest from our University Left or demagogic senators when all that is happening now was made inevitable. Every senator and representative should have a copy of BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL before him.

THE LONG, HOT SUMMER

Dear Reader:

From time to time we like to write you a letter instead of the formal report we laboriously compile for you. As you know, the hot months of July and August are considered a period of political doldrums in Europe. In reality they are not. It is in these months that the international crises, the paralyzing strikes and the sudden political moves that seemingly take the rest of the world by surprise begin to assume shape.

Over the desk of a conscientious observer trying to be the eyes and ears of those who pay him for reliable information pass hundreds of tell-tale items. In themselves many seem unimportant. Scrutinized closely they are storm warnings of troubles ahead. Others fall into place with items from the past. Items with which stories are connected. The space-conscious reporter, compiling facts, rarely has time to give his readers these little side stories which explain the whys and wherefores of many decisions and events. For that reason, from time to time a personal letter is necessary.

Picture our globe as it is seen from the office of a political analyst in Europe, trying to give his subscribers facts instead of an argument to prove a liberal point.

IN PEKING, ON JULY 1, Red China's leaders were celebrating the anniversary of the day, forty-five years ago, when eleven Chinese, Mao Tse-tung among them, got together for a clandestine meeting in a girls' school in the French concession of Shanghai, to found the Chinese Communist Party. A Dutch communist had been dispatched to Shanghai by the Comintern to do the organizing. (One of the things that continually strikes the compiler of left-wing data is the frequency with which Holland, Sweden, and Belgium are used for operations set up by Moscow. Another is the frequency with which the subjects of these countries are used as Red emissaries.)

Twenty-five years after the meeting in Shanghai, which is to say July 1946, a communist tactician named Kissen met with Mao Tse-tung's leaders in a Shanghai teahouse to deliver directives for the final take-over. By July 1, 1966, the monster launched in a Shanghai school under the watchful eyes of a Dutchman had grown into a party twice as large as the Soviet Communist Party and reigning over three times as many people.

By that time, like Roosevelt at Teheran and De Gaulle in last December's elections, a sick and probably dying Mao was being foisted on his country and the world as in the bloom of health and enjoying the virility of Justice Douglas.

IN NEW YORK, ON JULY 1, 1966, one thousand delegates of the American Communist Party had just met in a run-down former ballroom in Greenwich Village to plan their all-out political emergence after seven years under ground. With the approval of the Johnson Administration and the Warren Court, a mass appeal was under way for left-wing, Vietnik and negro support for Red candidates in November of '66.

For the most part the American press took the 18th Convention of the Communist Party of the United States no more seriously than authorities of the French Concession took the Chinese meeting in Shanghai forty-five years before. TIME, of July 1, credited Red leader Gus Hall's attack on the anti-communism of the AFL-CIO's foreign affairs department to the "militantly anti-Red policies" of an "ex-Red" whose last of many names is Jay Lovestone. Overlooked was the fact that all of our allies have at one time or another been knifed, and every Red regime in Africa today helped into power, by the breast-beating "anti-communist", Jay Lovestone.

On December 1, 1960, labor delegate Lovestone was exhorting UN to support the Algerian FLN in the name of peace. By July 1, 1966, Algeria was Red, offering Nasser 200,000 men for war in Israel, training men for a Lovestone-approved "war of liberation" in Angola, and operating Africa's first separator of isotopes, en route to A-bomb status.

No mention was made by TIME of the four-day rally of patriots in Boston which followed the five-day Communist Congress in Greenwich Village's Webster Hall.

FOR FOUR DAYS, JULY 1, 2, 3 and 4, over two thousand American patriots from across the country and all walks of life, gathered in Boston's Statler Hotel to attend the annual NEW ENGLAND RALLY FOR GOD, FAMILY AND COUNTRY. Communist pickets, impervious themselves to religious arguments, distributed handbills proclaiming Cardinal Cushing's disapproval of the principal organization at the Rally, for such disruptive effect as they might have on the participants.

JULY 1 IN MOSCOW was a day of festivities. The night before a banquet had been held for De Gaulle in the Kremlin, in that same luxurious Salle St. George where Khrushchev insisted that he and his colleagues had killed Beria.

On September 22, 1961, De Gaulle told his countrymen, "There is a totalitarian bloc of which you are aware, which still expects to extend its domination over men who until now have been free. France, for her part, does not accept this, and she is convinced that the free world must not accept it either."

On June 20, 1966, De Gaulle assured Moscow, "Russia appears to France as the logical middleman with whom comprehension and collaboration are eminently natural. This is a political reality as effective and ancient as our two countries."

A turnabout? Not necessarily, any more than the pledge to hold Algeria, in 1958, and the determination in 1961 to let the Algerians who had taken the '58 pledge seriously have their throats cut.

During De Gaulle's long years of unimportance in Colombey-les-Deux Eglises, only two diplomats bothered to visit the general whom politicians regarded as a has-been. They were Serge Vinogradov and Stanislas Gajewsky, the ambassadors of Russia and Poland. Their long-range gamble paid off.

"Are you still at Potsdam and Yalta?" De Gaulle asked the Podgorny-Brejtnev-Kosygin triumvirate in Moscow before opening his talks. The memory of those two conferences from which he was excluded still rankles.

First to be discussed was nuclear collaboration, which included Russian help for France's struggling computer industry. America had refused to sell De Gaulle computers, on grounds that they would be used for nuclear break-throughs. Never mind: Russia will give French computer-makers the information she stole from America.

Then came Franco-Russian trade relations. The third item was most secret of all: Russia is now number one gold holder of the world. Her new bank, the WOZCHOD COMMERCIAL BANK INCORPORATED, of Zurich, has just opened its doors with the blessing of Switzerland's Federal Banking Commission. Its owners are: The State Bank of the USSR, the general directors of the State Savings Bank for Work and Credit, and the USSR Bank for Foreign Commerce. Between De Gaulle, whose vaults are filled with American gold or devises payable in same, and a financially expanding Russia, is an ambitious plan to seize world monetary leadership through imposition of a gold standard recognized and exacted by themselves.

Britain, De Gaulle's advisors believe, will devalue the pound sterling sometime after September 1, thereby putting added strain on the dollar. Already weakened by years of enemy-encouraged profligacy in the form of foreign aid, the dollar is now straining under the weight of Johnson's "Great Society" and the war in Vietnam. In July France's gold and foreign exchange reserve soared to \$5,967 million--a new, all-time high. In Moscow the Comecon Bank of the eight communist bloc countries (Russia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and Roumania) announced that one-tenth of its capital is now held in gold and freely convertible currencies.

ON JULY 2 A FRENCH A-BOMB WAS TESTED in far-off Mururoa, in the Pacific, in defiance of the partial nuclear test ban treaty which Russia signed with America in 1963, to the delight of U Thant, Adlai Stevenson and a whole host of liberal U. S. senators. Russia has doubled her own nuclear stockpile since then. China was silent. The anti-Western, newly independent bloc in UN ceased asking for money long enough to denounce all A-blasts as threats to peace. Simultaneously they expressed their boredom with peace by demanding war against Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and the Union of South Africa. To their immense pride, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt and India announced progress in the race to gain nuclear parity with France.

EACH TIME A NUCLEAR MUSHROOM RISES FROM A WESTERN BOMB TEST, a hue and cry is raised in UN, and Japan plays her trump card as spotless victim of America's immoral weapon. Co-operating wholeheartedly in the exploitation of this dishonest picture are America's fatuous Left and socialists all over the world.

Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, in his New York Times column of May 15, 1966, waxed eloquent over Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Museum. "Every American," wrote Mr. Sulzberger, "cherishes at least a kernel of a guilt complex because our nation opened the door to nuclear terror." Not me, Mr. Sulzberger. If your 100% estimate of America's guilt complex is even nearly correct, it is time someone shouts, "Talk sense!" to both the Japanese and America.

On May 30, 1966, some 27,000 students and labor unionists staged a demonstration in Yokosuka, because America's nuclear-powered submarine Snook was coming into port. Whipped up by Japanese socialists opposing American action in Vietnam, Left-wing unionists called for other demonstrations in Japan. Fifty socialist legislators marched on the American embassy.

On June 7 more ranting because of Luci Johnson's impending wedding. The Japanese complained that the date set was the 21st anniversary of our first A-bomb.

It is time someone important enough to command an audience, preferably our President, ceases being apologetic and tells the Japanese, Cyrus L. Sulzberger and John Hersey the truth, not only as regards the A-bomb, but the Japanese propensity for torture.

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THE STORY OF GENERAL ARISUE: Every American should have the proper reply at his fingertips when the worn-out record of American guilt in dropping an A-bomb on Hiroshima is played. The answer can be found in the report to which Japan's wartime Chief of Intelligence affixed his signature.

Twenty years after our bomb fell on Hiroshima, without an American paper or a single protester in UN deigning to notice it, Arisue's sole lament in PARIS-MATCH of September 4, 1965, was that Tojo's stinginess prevented Japan from getting the A-bomb first and using it on Americans and anyone else in its way.

Quite frankly, he relates how in late February, 1944, Japan's leading physicist, Dr. Yoshio Nishina, came to see him at the Headquarters of the Imperial General Staff.

"General, I have solved the technical problems," exclaimed Nishina. "Now I can start assembling an atomic bomb!"

Arisue had known Nishina for a long time. He knew of his work in Copenhagen, under Professor Niels Bohr, his frequent papers on theories he had discovered, and his construction in 1937 of Japan's first cyclotron. When the war started, in 1941, Nishina was charged with the development of new arms, and his arrival in Arisue's office in February, 1944, brought a ray of hope. Arisue was desperate. The wave of defeats in the Pacific had shaken Japan. Nothing but reports of reverses had come in for months. Arisue hung on Nishina's words as Japan's salvation.

Coolly, with the detachment of a professor, Nishina explained the fundamental theory of the atom, its fission and fusion, and its inconceivable power of destruction through chain reaction. Above all, he emphasized, the nation that acquires such a weapon first will become the arbiter and winner of all wars.

Arisue asked only one question, "How much will it cost?" Nishina hesitated, then replied, "I'll need 100 million yen to start with." (The buying power of a hundred million yen at that time was approximately \$50 million.)

Arisue hurried to see Hideki Tojo, who was Prime Minister, Minister of War and Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Tojo was fighting for his political life, after the successive defeats. Since he was head of the General Staff, the opposition was making him the scapegoat.

Tojo fidgeted with irritation. When Arisue told him what it would cost, his face hardened. Then, clearing his throat, he answered, "Arisue, you know the situation of our budget as well as I. We need millions to replace the boats and planes we are losing every day in the Pacific. I don't think we can appropriate such a staggering sum for a weapon we know nothing about, the effect of which has never been proven."

Another silence followed. Then, in a more pleasant tone, Tojo continued, "You can see for yourself, Arisue, it would be better to tell your professor to drop his idea of an atomic bomb, as you call it. Put him to work on something else. A death ray, or a rocket loaded with explosives, or a pursuit plane that will climb more rapidly. Surely there are lots of sensible things he can work on before going out for utopias."

There the conversation ended. It was against everything he believed in that Nishina gave up his idea for an atomic bomb. Five months later, on July 18, 1944, Tojo fell, because of Japan's defeat in the Marianas. General Kuniaki Koiso succeeded him as Prime Minister.

Arisue insists that Koiso wanted to make peace. The only sentiment discernible in Arisue's account of events of that period, and certainly his knowledge is incontestable, is bitter disappointment that for a piddling 100 million yen Tojo deprived Japan of the arm with which, without a compunction in the world, Nippon would have wiped out Chinese, Malaysians, Filipinos, Burmese, Indo-Chinese and Indians, in a merciless wave of extermination, to destroy the Americans, Britons and other occidentals to be found among them. Had she done so, the survivors, now protesting America's bomb-testing and gloating over China's, would have found nothing at all inhumane about it.

General Anami was Japan's Minister of War at the time of Hiroshima. Even then, he, Admiral Toyoda and General Umezu still dominated the Supreme Council and were determined to sacrifice every Japanese rather than surrender. However, Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the New York Times, became one of the early expounders of American culpability over the A-bomb. Baldwin threw his personal prestige and the weight of his paper behind the theory that has since become the keystone of UN and "third force" anti-westernism. Namely, that Japan was already defeated and that America's use of a nuclear weapon on a beaten foe which did not possess it was a heinous crime. Of Japan's mercilessness, or the alacrity with which she would have done likewise and with which all Asia and Africa would have condoned it, not a word.

Raymond Cartier, in the same issue of PARIS-MATCH as Arisue's account, commented more sensibly, "All one can say with certainty is that the months of conventional bombing and the landing of a million and a half Americans on Japanese soil would have cost the Japanese people infinitely more victims than the two bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki." Neither this nor General Arisue's admission, however, is ever likely to be brought up in UN by Secretary-General U Thant or Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, much less any delegate of the Afro-Asiatics.

While the seven-year-old film, "HIROSHIMA, MON AMOUR", written by an unattractive French leftist named Marguerite Duras, still drew crowds with its unwholesome theme of the pretty blonde making up for America's "cruelty" by taking baths with a Japanese, a lot of other things were happening during the long, hot month of July, 1966.

IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, Mr. Bo Hammar, editor of the communist paper TIDSSIGNAL, let it be known that the names of those who tracked down Soviet spy Colonel Sig Wennerstrom were being compiled in a communist register for future attention.

The success of counter-espionage agents depends on their anonymity. To protect Russia's spies, in the future, the register of Swedish security men includes license numbers of cars believed to be used by them, their associates, meetings and trips abroad. Openly, communist photographers filmed all who entered and left the Swedish counter-espionage HQ in Stockholm. Now a photographer is put at the disposal of those who will tip off the Swedish Left as to where other agents and informers can be found. The lists are handed over to Russia.

And they tell you the cold war is over! There is one consolation to be gained from the insolence of Sweden's Reds: The denunciation file against loyal agents is not peculiar to Sweden, and the brazen admission that this operation is common may alert the West. One of the forms it takes in America is Washington-based "Group Research".

IN ROME Madame Nhu pulled the rug from under her American supporters by according another interview to her long-time acquaintance, Lucien Bodard (author of THE NIGHTMARE OF CHINA, LA GUERRE D'INDO-CHINE, L'ENLISEMENT, and L'HUMILIATION). It was well worth the \$1000 the editors of the Paris weekly LE NOUVEAU CANDIDE paid for their July 18

scoop. The opening paragraph went, "It was I who told my husband, 'Receive the communist emissaries who want to see you and negotiate with you. But above all, don't say anything to the Americans.' We had already made important, secret contacts. I had decided to make a fraternal gesture by sending my two oldest children to Hanoi as trail-blazers."

The New York Times of July 19 and a few other American papers commented on the story. TIME Magazine, perhaps out of deference to Claire Booth Luce, author of a 1963 pro-Madame Nhu article, "The Lady is for Burning", did not think it worthwhile to tell its readers that the lady should have been burned, or that Madame Nhu plans to sit as a delegate of the Vietcong at the eventual conference which President Johnson and U Thant are trying to set up.

The Rome correspondent for UPI was informed, after the Bodard story, that the price for a Nhu interview had been upped from \$1000 to \$1500 for the first thirty minutes and \$500 for each half hour thereafter.

A Reuter report out of Belgrade on September 17, 1963, quoted Madame Nhu as saying "We are so near victory." The "we" was erroneously taken by many Americans to mean the Vietnamese and us, instead of the Nhus and Hanoi, though the Vatican already knew that their negotiations were afoot, according to a priest in Saigon on a mission just before Diem and Nhu were killed.

IN PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, an anxious husband and wife "sweated it out", as the G.I.s of World War II used to put it. Their only son is an infantry captain in the thick of the fighting in Vietnam. On December 30, 1965, General Orders Number 2688 awarded him the Bronze Star Medal for heroism in action. Just twenty years ago, his father had been in the Orient also, as a loyal American in the China Command headquarters of OSS. In obedience to orders from Washington, the boy's father dispatched to Hanoi the team of viciously pro-Red officers who set Ho chi Minh up in business. It would be interesting to know if Major Patti and Dr. Knapp and the others on that team have sons facing death in Indo-China, where twenty years ago their fathers sowed a communist revolution.

The names of the men who armed, incited and advised Ho chi Minh's murderers during that period, and silenced everyone who brought up Ho chi Minh's communist record, are well known. Every French book on the period of 1945-1954 in Indo-China that is not communist propaganda mentions them. The thoughts of the man who was their colonel (and who, incidentally, was John Birch's colonel also) will be justifiably bitter if his boy is killed in that fracas and the men who did the harm get off as spectators.

THE VIEWS BEING CIRCULATED BY THE EUROPEAN LEFT as to how President Johnson and the Pentagon really feel about our involvement in Vietnam were expressed by a left-wing Paris weekly, LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, on May 18, 1966. The editor of this publication is a former writer on the equally leftist EXPRESS named Ben Said, who for some reason concealed his North African origin by changing his name to Jean Daniel. Mr. Daniel, alias Ben Said, is a leading extoller of Robert Kennedy in France. FRANCE-OBSERVATEUR, which was the former name of LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, was under indictment at the time of the Geneva Conference of 1954 for passing information to the enemy. On the arrival of Pierre Mendes-France to power the treason case was quashed. So it is not surprising that LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR of July 18 headlined its story on our war in Vietnam "An Absurd Crusade". Here is the way Jean Daniel (Ben Said) put it:

"Gilbert Harrison, director of THE NEW REPUBLIC, has visited LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR. THE NEW REPUBLIC is a weekly of average circulation (120,000 copies is few, for the United States) and great prestige. It is seen in all the offices of the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House. It is a liberal weekly among whose collaborators one finds Walter Lippmann and H. Morgenthau. Its Paris correspondent was Jean Daniel before the appearance of LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR. It is a weekly which expresses at this moment the most audacious positions on Vietnam..."

"Gilbert Harrison feels, nevertheless, that Europeans do not understand American psychology on Vietnam. 'Since my arrival in Paris, everyone gives me economic reasons for American intervention,' says he. 'There are none. The financiers, the great banks, the industrial lobbies would readily resign themselves to the withdrawal of our troops. For America's economy that war is nefarious. But what is not understood in Europe is the moral and political puritanism of Americans. The man in the street is persuaded that our troops are helping innocent Vietnamese fight against the wicked communists and hold back the Chinese wave which is ready to sweep over the world. The Chinese, they are the devil. They are the incarnation of absolute evil. All our propoganda is made on this theme. It is a tragic absurdity, but that is Washington's only true and profound motivation. Unless we understand this we cannot defeat it.'"

Unfortunately, dear reader, there is no clear American voice reaching Europe to dispute the claim that THE NEW REPUBLIC has great prestige. Prestige with whom? That it may be found in all the offices of the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House may, alas, be true. And it goes without saying that if such is the case the occupants of those offices are in agreement with Gilbert Harrison or THE NEW REPUBLIC would not be on their desks. That our military and political leaders are acting as though Red China is not dangerous, and only the "tragic absurdity" of the fears of that stupid puritan, the American man-in-the-street, stands in the way of their letting the Red wave engulf the rest of Asia, is what we conservatives have been saying all along.

One thing can be said for Mr. Harrison and Mr. Ben Saïd, alias Daniel: They will never find their photographs, comings and goings and names of friends on a list such as the Swedish Left is compiling for Moscow.

* * * *

BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL--The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier, hard cover edition \$5, paperback edition \$1, may be ordered from H. du B. Reports, Circulation Department, Room 356, 18 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL is the only book which provides a duped public with the true story of how our involvement in Vietnam started, who put it over, and how the shocking process was effected. There was no protest from our University Left or demagogic senators when all that is happening now was made inevitable. Every senator and representative should have a copy of BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL before him.

* * * *

Mr. du Berrier will be available for a limited number of lectures between November 10, 1966, and May 1, 1967. Address inquiries to Hilaire du Berrier, Hotel Lutetia, 43 Blvd. Raspail, Paris VI.

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U THANT'S BLACKMAIL OF AMERICA

The mandate of the anti-Western Asiatic heading UN was drawing to a close. Painstakingly a campaign to strengthen his hand for a blackmail play that would break once and for all America's will to resist got under way.

WHILE THE PRESS CAMPAIGN FOR SURRENDER IN VIETNAM by first surrendering to U Thant continued, the drive to divide America reached its high point in the halls where minds are moulded, the university. An incident in this drive was the September issue of Diplomat Magazine, as "a national briefing" by what Diplomat calls "18 of the nation's top China experts." There was no pretense of objectivity, as only the soft-on-Peking side of the teach-ins was given space.

Opening the special China issue of Diplomat was Professor A. Doak Barnett, acting director of Columbia University's East Asian Institute and a member of the Fulbright team of Far East authorities. Barnett is an old Institute of Pacific Relations protege. In Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XXV, No. 19, of February 15, 1950, we find a plug for "Profile of Red China", by Professor A. Doak Barnett, published jointly by the Foreign Policy Association and the Institute of Pacific Relations, on which Professor Barnett's prestige as a China authority rests.

Harold R. Isaacs, presently a professor of political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is also one of Diplomat's 18 "China experts", though not an unbiased one. In 1945 Mr. Isaacs was expelled from China for applying an obscurity to Chiang Kai-shek in a report to Newsweek. The winter of 1945-46 found Isaacs in Indo-China writing paeans of praise for Ho chi Minh, whose cause Diplomat experts are now pleading.

The story of Isaacs' career in the Far East intertwines with that of another "expert" found in the same issue of Diplomat, Mr. O. Edmund Clubb. In fact, what we are now witnessing in Diplomat is the rehabilitation of the men who, along with Owen Lattimore (Lattimore was defended by present Supreme Court justice Abe Fortas), were denounced as security risks.

THE CLUBB THESIS IS IDENTICAL TO U THANT'S: "The relationship between the U. S. and China threatens to bring on a nuclear holocaust," says Mr. Clubb. This is an argument to justify American concessions to Red China, not a valid forecast. Red China will not precipitate any conflict until her preparations for winning a nuclear one are completed. She counts on men of the Barnett-Clubb-Morgenthau ilk to protect her during the breathing spell.

Today Clubb is chairman of Columbia University's Seminar on Modern Asia, in which capacity he recently stood beside Chicago University's left-wing emigrant, Hans J. Morgenthau, in the Hall of Nations at Georgetown University, to plead the cause of the Vietcong.

The eve of World War II found Clubb an embittered, lower-echelon foreign service man in China. He had been a vice-consul for years, had no apparent talents and few friends, aside from the Frenchman in Havas News Agency whom French services were watching as a Red. In 1932 Clubb went on homeleave from his post as a minor secretary in the American consulate in Harbin. With him he carried a letter from Agnes Smedley to her contact on the editorial staff of The New Masses. Agnes was one of the three American Reds later identified by master-spy Richard Sorge as members of his ring, in the confession which he signed before he was hanged. Clubb and the message he was bearing ended up in the office of New Masses' editor, Whittaker Chambers, where Clubb was introduced to Michael Gold as "Comrade Clubb".

The other two American communist agents, according to Sorge's confession, were a consular official and a newsman, but Sorge claimed that he knew them only by their code names. An unlikely story. French political police investigating the case had other ideas.

Harold R. Isaacs was working for Havas News Agency in Shanghai during the 1930 to '33 years of Sorge's activity in Shanghai. Also in Shanghai was America's top Red, Eugene Dennis. Ho chi Minh, for whom Isaacs fought like a campaign manager in 1946, and whose cause the whole team of Fulbright and Diplomat Magazine experts are advancing today, was in Hong Kong during the 1930-33 period as head of the 3d International Revolutionary Movement in Southeast Asia. When arrested by the British, Ho was defended by Sir Stafford Cripps in his fight to avoid being handed over to the French.

French officials who picked up Clubb's trail while watching their own Red newsman (who, incidentally, joined the UN news section in New York, in 1946) had very definite ideas

as to the identities of the American consular official and journalist in the Sorge confession. Into this, however, the Clubb investigation which followed Whittaker Chambers' startling revelations never delved.

In 1951, when Whittaker Chambers brought up the matter of the 1932 letter from Agnes Smedley, Clubb first denied having ever met Mr. Chambers. Then, pushed to the wall by Chambers' wealth of detail, Clubb admitted that after consulting his diary he found that such a meeting had taken place.

Clubb's hearing was held in Room 2221 of the New State Department Building, at 10 A. M. on August 6, 1951, before a Loyalty Security Board presided over by Conrad E. Snow. (A defender of Alger Hiss named McGeorge Bundy later replaced Mr. Snow.)

What happened can be summed up succinctly. Witnesses were brought from afar to defend Mr. Dean Acheson's man. (Mr. Acheson, it must be noticed, has also emerged to play a role in the campaign to form a new policy in Vietnam.) Witnesses who had given evidence against Clubb were informed that the hearing was taking place and that they could come to it if they wished, at their own expense. Whittaker Chambers was the only one in a position to do so, which he did. The outcome looked exceedingly bad for Mr. Clubb.

Mr. Acheson, the Secretary of State, however, seems to have foreseen everything. The previous month, on July 1, 1951, Nathaniel P. Davis, the U. S. ambassador to Hungary, who had been singularly successful in getting along with the Reds, resigned his post. In a speech in Minneapolis on March 8, 1952, according to the New York Times of the following day, Mr. Davis stated that he had been called back to duty by Mr. Acheson for the sole purpose of clearing Mr. Clubb. Ruth Montgomery reported in the New York Daily News of March 6, 1952, that Clubb had appealed directly to Mr. Acheson. The New York Times report on the Clubb hearing, that same day, was headed "Acheson says he reversed own board to clear Clubb."

John O'Donnell went to the heart of the matter in his column in the New York Daily News of March 30, 1952. "Presumably on the theory that a violent offensive is the best defense, the Acheson supporters have made every effort to transform the committee hearings into an attack on McCarthy," wrote O'Donnell. "All the violent New Deal radio commentators, columnists, Roosevelt-lovers and global do-gooders are gleefully shouting that McCarthy is a wild-swinging Irish boy who might have been a good marine but doesn't know his strength or proper respect for diplomats."

The end is history. After Acheson had reversed his own board, Clubb was permitted to resign, with pension. In the late '50s, Clubb surfaced again as Far East consultant on a left-wing magazine called Atlas, edited by Quincy Howe. Through Atlas, carefully selected socialist and extreme-left articles (and only such) from European publications were fed to the American public, the sources of such articles usually prefaced with the adjective "moderate".

Columbia University Press brought out Clubb's book "Twentieth Century China", advertised in Foreign Affairs with a New York Times quote: "This excellent book will force its readers to think carefully about China's place in the world and how other nations might adjust to China's dynamic and dangerous revolution." (Emphasis ours)

THE KEY TO THE MAKE-UP OF THE SPECIAL CHINA ISSUE OF DIPLOMAT MAGAZINE is to be found in the biographical notes on Page 11. Precisely, the notes on Mr. David Schoenbrun, formerly Columbia Broadcasting System bureau chief in Paris.

"Mr. Schoenbrun can be considered a major contributor to this special China issue, both as editor and writer," Diplomat stated. "He is responsible for much of the planning and commissioning that has made this issue possible. His report on the mood of the UN as it approaches its next critical debate over the admission of Communist China appears on Page 119."

Thus Schoenbrun, who handled the hatchet job on the Emperor Bao Dai, in Collier's Magazine of September 1955, planned the September 1966 issue of Diplomat Magazine, selected the authors and set its mood. Bao Dai, the Emperor, was the man the communists also wished destroyed. Schoenbrun's call that "Diem must not only remove Bao Dai but do it in such a way that he has no longer any usefulness as a symbol of Vietnamese unity" made inevitable the vacuum, the anarchy, which Peking and Hanoi are exploiting today.

It was not the first time, nor the last, that the slanter of news for CBS and WINS radio had worked to mould policy instead of providing honest information on which sound policies could be formed. After Kennedy's election, European analysts saw Schoenbrun leave his

Paris post for a spot midway between his old associate, Edward Murrow, and the new President in Washington--a spot in which Schoenbrun, built up as the final authority on all things European, could in a showdown support his friends.

FOOT SOLDIERS AS SHOCK TROOPS OF THE INTELLECTUALS. Back in 1950 the leftists in UN who dignify themselves by the term "intellectual" founded UN's own "World Veterans' Federation." It was a move to regiment the most impressive group of marchers available--the men who had been in uniform. Russians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Swedes and liberals who had at some time or other been soldiers were in the majority. And a parade of legless veterans in wheel-chairs is a powerful argument for western retreat if it is launched in the name of peace.

Robert Horiguchi, in 1937 the arrogant aide of Lieutenant Colonel Jiro Saito, of the Imperial Japanese Army press bureau in Shanghai, headed the press bureau of UN's lobby of veterans, at 16 rue Hamelin, in Paris. But lots had happened since 1937. Horiguchi had become smooth and smiling. Saito had been immortalized by Pierre Boule in "The Bridge of the River Kwai." Horiguchi's wife, whom Marine Corps General B. T. Holcomb and other American Far East officers knew as the ace spy once assigned to cover them, had become Paris correspondent for over a hundred Far East papers.

Directing the research service of UN's "World Veterans' Federation" was a woman named Marie Kastchenko. Ralph Bunche wrote the new pressure group's credo, a credo that was powerless against the East but potent in the West. It was UN's insurance against the resistance of any western power to anything UN or the Afro-Asiatics might demand.

OUT OF UNESCO'S PARIS HEADQUARTERS FLOWED A TORRENT of propaganda destined to derail the thought processes of those living west of the Berlin wall and south of the 17th parallel in Asia. UNESCO aimed to make every school, college and university in the free world bloc a robot factory, producing marchers for UN.

In 1953 a subsidiary body for the training of international civil servants was founded. By February 10, 1965, the General Assembly had approved plans for UN's own \$7 million school, which America, with her dollar already on the verge of Cheyne-Stokes breathing, would build inside the UN enclave on East River, as a trainer of more effective demonstrators against herself. Six months later, on September 9, 1965, the New York Herald Tribune reported, "Budding Diplomats Train in UN Program in Geneva." Amadou Thiam, from communist Mali, was selected as an example of the "tall, good-looking, well-groomed young men" from newly independent countries, enlivening the corridors and lobbies of the Palais des Nations, "much to the satisfaction of the many unattached young female secretaries working for the UN." More than ordinary desegregation was implied.

On April 6, 1966, Paris' labor-oriented paper, Le Monde, featured a story on "UNESCO CLUBS: A Means of Implanting Democracy in Scholastic Establishments." Unesco's democracy, unfortunately, is what we have at Berkeley. Exactly three months later, on August 7, 1966, the London Sunday Telegraph painted another picture of the sprawling UNESCO octopus into which the State Department had moved its foreign affairs specialist, Robert H. B. Wade, two years before.

"Soviet Plot to Take Over UNESCO - Infiltration on 3 Fronts", went the Sunday Telegraph alert from Paris. The three fronts were:

1. To increase Soviet and East European representation on the organization's staff, especially in posts which carry a high potential for international propaganda.
2. To secure for communist front organizations a greater degree of UNESCO recognition and patronage.
3. To inject Soviet dogma, or more discreet publicity, into UNESCO's official announcements and pamphlets.

No American news organ took up the Sunday Telegraph warning. Instead, the build-up of both U Thant and the vehicle he was steering, with Russia, Asia and Africa as back-seat drivers and America as the captive passenger, increased.

Britain learned on October 10, 1965, that Mr. A. J. Ennals was leaving his International Relations professorship, at Ruskin College, Oxford, to put new vigor into the United Nations Organization. Fourteen days later the Sunday Telegraph announced the launching of "a new campaign for a stronger UN," by the "All-Party British Association for World Government", which Lord Atlee would head.

Lord Atlee's keyboard for advancing one-worldism includes the presidency of the Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs, of which America's Council on Foreign Relations is a tentacle. And he is honorary president of the World Parliament Association.

Slowly, efficiently, the drive to establish U Thant as a man the world cannot exist without got under way. France's pre-war marxist, Leon Blum, once stated that the cemeteries are full of indispensable men. UN's marxists of 1965 proposed by weight of numbers--consensus in LBJ jargon--to prove otherwise, with U Thant's co-operation.

ON MAY 2, 1966, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WAS CAMPAIGNING IN STRASBOURG, at a meeting of the 18-nation Council of Europe. Throughout the world the spate of articles amounting to pre-death apotheosis of the 57-year-old racist from Burma, gained momentum. Fatuous writers and editors, by dwelling on the refrain of his wisdom and universal prestige, created an artificial aura of qualities he does not have.

The Sunday Telegraph informed Britons on May 8, 1966, of the good works of an organization called "UN - WE BELIEVE," in New York's Biltmore Hotel, where pretty airline hostesses devote their days off to voluntary efforts to preserve UN. Most Americans thought the hare-brained idea of two United Airlines pilots, Charles Dent and Richard Munger, back in 1958, to put UN insignia on United Airlines planes, had folded up long ago. But not at all. Headed by a man named Roger Enloe and aided by British UN delegate Lord Caradon, and a New York huckster named William Bernbach (of Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, Inc.), "UN - We Believe", brain child of the two United Airlines pilots, was working to strengthen U Thant's hand as M-Day approached.

A WORD ON U THANT'S INTEGRITY. On May 24, 1966, he was in Atlantic City, regimenting the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America against the boys in Vietnam and for the Vietcong. The argument he used was one he perfected in 1960 while heading the UN committee charged with regimenting African, Asian and communist bloc votes behind the Algerian terrorists.

Representing the Algerians in UN was Abdelkader Chandlerli. U Thant knew that Castro was a communist. He also knew, though no American paper reported it, that the feature story in EL MOUDJAHID, the central organ of the Algerian F. L. N., on March 31, 1960, was Mr. Chandlerli's trip to Cuba to negotiate an accord with Castro. So U Thant was, in effect, pro-Castro as well as pro-Algerian.

Another U Thant preoccupation was the destruction of Tshombe, which cleared the way for the Simbas. At a press conference he stated that he did not know what to do with "that bunch of clowns" (Tshombe and his supporters), the men who had to go back later and put the Congo on its rails again.

The details of the story which Mr. Jacques Soustelle exposed in the Paris monthly, Voici Pourquoi, of April 6, 1961, were known to U Thant. Mr. Soustelle charged an AFL-CIO delegate to UN with using the East 57th Street apartment of a New York woman as a base for maneuvering the votes of African delegates to UN by supplying the Africans with white women. The communist son-in-law of the woman named in Voici Pourquoi was denounced by Mr. Soustelle as the liaison man between Mr. Chandlerli and the Africans.

U Thant's victory-for-the-Algerians committee was the beneficiary of the above operation. But U Thant's principal motivation, it must be remembered, was always anti-white, anti-Western racism. It was U Thant who declared that "America's leaders would never have dared drop an atomic bomb on a white nation."

The statement is debatable. In 1945 the absurd jingo that "force and military means cannot possibly preserve peace" had not yet been sold to the West. Had it been necessary to use the A-bomb on the Germans, we would have used it. Had Japan acquired it first and used it on us, Mr. U Thant, who was Japan's ally at the time, would have found nothing wrong with it at all.

WHAT WERE THE RESULTS OF THE VICTORY OF U THANT'S PRO-ALGERIAN COMMITTEE? Complete anarchy, tens of thousands massacred since independence, 200,000 Algerian troops at Nasser's disposal for war against Israel, introduction of terrorism into Mozambique and Angola, and a training camp in Algiers to teach the Vietcong how to kill American boys.

Algeria itself is a gigantic military stockpile for Russia. As the base for Russia's build-up in Africa, over 6,000 pieces of artillery and 300 modern Russian tanks have already been delivered. Twenty new MIG 21's have arrived in recent weeks. 800 Russian military instructors and technicians are at work, while 500 Algerians a year are being given advanced military training in Russia. Obviously, neither Moscow nor Algeria believes that military victory is impossible or that nothing is to be gained by it. So much for the Secretary-General's judgment, or principles, if you wish.

How do his apologists explain the fact that his demands and decisions to date have invariably been to the advantage of America's enemies? The London Daily Telegraph of September 2, 1966, by a masterpiece of understatement, got around it by saying, "U Thant has, in his efforts, to some extent pandered to the communist powers for the simple reason that they are the more intransigent."

Put it this way: While begging America to give ground and preaching that nothing is to be gained by opposing the aggressor with force, U Thant respects only obstinacy and communist threats to use force. So the way to make him court America would be for America to be more obstinate than the communists.

Such is the mediocre Asiatic which one of the greatest propaganda campaigns in history is inflating out of all proportion to his actual stature.

THE REASON FOR THIS GROUND-PREPARING is an ultimatum to America, with November 3, 1966, as the deadline. First it was necessary to convince America and the West that U Thant is indispensable.

Ian Ball, the London Daily Telegraph's UN correspondent, wrote on August 26, 1966, "Few men in history have had to wrestle with their consciences while 117 governments observed, advised, cajoled and cautioned.

"In some respects U Thant's departure would throw the United Nations--all of it-- the West, the Communists and the non-communists--into greater turmoil (than Hammarskjold's death)...Of all the Asian statesmen known at the UN, U Thant was perhaps the most widely respected and trusted...I think everyone is counting on the fact that he is a man of such conscience that he would not leave the United Nations in the lurch."

Should this paragon of conscience and integrity refuse a full term but agree to stay on for a year or two (in other words, should he agree to see President Johnson through the 1968 elections), the price America would have to pay would be high.

The reasons U Thant gave for his threatened retirement were outlined in a five-page letter to UN's 117 members. They were: 1. Failure of member nations to give him support. (Notably, American refusal to accept U Thant rule.) 2. Financial difficulties. (In other words, give him more money for military operations such as UN undertook in the Congo; enough for a UN offensive against Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola or the Union of South Africa, in which case, from the UN point of view, the theme that nothing is to be gained by military victory or force would not apply.) 3. Danger of war through America's action in Vietnam. (In other words: America, quit doing what UN did in the Congo and is contemplating doing in Rhodesia.) 4. The absence of Red China from UN. (With irrational actions and declarations in Peking at an all-time high, increase Red China's capacity for trouble-making by giving her an amplifier in UN.)

If U Thant's terms were met, Daily Telegraph correspondent Ian Ball went on, "a grateful if barely solvent (what does he mean, barely solvent? It will be loaded) organization will pay him a pension for life of almost 5,000 pounds sterling (\$13,750). Who will move into that austere office overlooking Manhattan's East River - and draw 17,800 pounds sterling (tax free) in salary and allowances with a house worth 5,300 pounds thrown in - could become one of the great guessing games of 1967." (Total \$70,500)

IF U THANT'S TERMS ARE MET, the West will plainly have surrendered all along the line and one-worldism under a UN flag to all intents and purposes will become a fact. United Airlines can put UN insignia back on their planes with no fear of boycott by a free public.

The "or else" part of U Thant's ultimatum took two forms. One was the threat that without him any alternative candidate would be so bad that UN would collapse. The other was a threat of violence to achieve U Thant's objectives. In Nouvel Observateur of August 10, 1966, Monsieur Jean Daniel (alias Ben Said, see H. du B. Reports, July-August, 1966) recommended Nehru's strategy for dealing with Washington. "Force, as Nehru used it to gain his objectives, was not the useless, utopian cult of non-violence but a call to calculated violence of a kind that will not destroy itself." Nehru admitted, according to Mr. Daniel, that his victory over Britain was due to the simultaneous use of two weapons: violence in India and the sowing of cleavages in Britain. Daniel asked, "What means do we have of dividing the American people before Vietnam is wiped out and the Vietnamese people disappear beneath the bomb?"

Long before Monsieur Daniel posed the question, UN had the answer.

THE AFRO-ASIATICS QUICKLY FORMED A LOBBY: To draft U Thant. Predictions of dire consequences if he were to resign were followed by rays of hope. "The most optimistic pronouncement was that he could be talked into staying for two more years," according to the New York Times of September 3, 1966, "though this might require commitments from members to re-inforce United Nations peace-keeping capabilities and Mr. U Thant's own peace-making role." (Emphasis ours)

In other words, "Toss in your hand, Mr. Johnson, and let U Thant shove over to Red China everything on the table."

IN THE SHADOWS, BEHIND U THANT, IS ANOTHER FAR FROM DISINTERESTED ASIATIC. Whether U Thant stays or goes, his 51-year-old lieutenant, Chakravarthi Vigayaraghava Narasimhan, the Indian, will remain. Call him Narasimhan for short. A protege of Krishna Menon, whose philosophy toward America Menon summed up insultingly but correctly in late April 1966. Said he, "So far as the U. S. is concerned, you do not get any more money by sucking up. If you want aid, don't beg them. Kick them." (TIME, May 6, 1966)

Narasimhan is the idea man in U Thant's office. The Mekong River project, another gigantic give-away which America is asked to finance, was his brain child. To him, as Under-Secretary of UN, went all affairs pertaining to the insatiable General Assembly. Narasimhan's rise on the international scene was under the Indian team that helped set up Ho chi Minh in 1945-'46, and the Indian members of the International Control Commission, who invariably help Polish delegates out-vote the Canadians. Narasimhan, because of his long experience as No. 2 man, and the influence he has established over the General Assembly, will be pulling strings in UN for many years. A negotiated settlement in Vietnam, if Johnson yields to leftist demands for it, will be along Narasimhan's lines. To date these lines have never been an obstacle to Red objectives.

Until 1959 Narasimhan was Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs, a title that took in a lot of ground. In 1961 Hammarskjold made him his first assistant as the plan to crush Katanga took shape.

Previous to joining UN in 1956, Narasimhan's two posts with the Nehru government were in fields where India's failure has been most striking: agriculture and finance. Hardly a recommendation. Colleagues sum him up in two words: very ambitious. Consequently, his is a policy of following rather than opposing Afro-Asiatic demands. Narasimhan justifies his leanings as "maintaining contacts at home". He says, "It contributes to a feeling of independence to know that I can always return to government service."

PUT ALL THE DANGER SIGNS TOGETHER. The future narrows down to two alternatives as the showdown approaches: Under Leftist pressure within America and the screams of that bogey-man--the international Left's "World Opinion"--which President Johnson fears, Washington will accede to anything to keep U Thant from leaving. Or U Thant will depart and a crisis will ensue, with Diplomat's China experts, Africans, Asiatics, Moscow bloc Reds and UN's orchestrated organizations screaming at the top of their lungs. Whereupon the President will hand power over to UN, in return for four more years of nominal power in November 1968. The price for an illusory breathing spell labeled "Peace in our time", Chamberlain style, will be America's sovereignty and the freedom of the West.

* * * *

BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL--The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier, hard cover edition \$5, paperback edition \$1, may be ordered from H. du B. Reports, Circulation Department, Room 356, 18 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

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A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

News it certainly was. Fit to print it was beyond a doubt. And that it was information Americans had every right to have, no one can deny. However, not a word appeared in the European editions of either the New York Times or the New York Herald Tribune on October 13, 1966, concerning the monster communist rally in Paris the night before, in the Hall of the Mutualité.

Nor was there a word on said rally in the European edition of the New York Times of October 14. The Herald Tribune of that date accorded it less than three inches of news space on Page 3, but of Gus Hall's charge that America was waging a stupid war of genocide, again not a word. To the sin of omission add at least one out and out lie. The Herald Tribune estimated the audience at 3,000.

Actually, the great hall was jammed. Militant Reds had converged on Paris from all over France. For all the talk of "humanity", there was no kindness in the faces seen from the balcony rail against which your correspondent was pressed.

The bigwigs of French communism were on the platform. Gus Hall, accompanied by Arnold Johnson of the American Communist Party's central committee, had flown in the day before from a hate-America meeting in Bucharest. The speech French communist leader Waldeck Rochet made was a repetition of time-worn clichés which only a brain-washed communist could have taken seriously. It started with a biography of Gus Hall that was pure bathos. Rochet told how this hero of communism had been prevented from visiting his comrades in France for many years because of unjust laws which only recently, through the widening influence of forces of the Left within America, had been removed.

Rochet called upon all communists everywhere to support their brothers in America and their pacifist allies, to put pressure on America until every American soldier, every American bomber and every American warship was brought home from Vietnam.

The theme was peace and compassion for people being killed by "America's war of aggression". That Rochet's listeners felt no such sentimentality for anyone or anything that was blocking communism's way was evident in the snarling mob jamming the Mutualité, overflowing into its stairways and halls, all the way to the street. Burly militants were identified by paper badges as official fund collectors for the Vietcong.

THE BLATANT DISHONESTY OF THE COMMUNIST. Unblushingly, Waldeck Rochet told his listeners how their American comrades had stood loyally beside them during the struggle against Nazi-ism and Fascism. Conveniently overlooked was the period of communist obstruction in France, when Hitler's alliance with Russia played such a large role in the Wehrmacht's conquest of Western Europe.

When Rochet had finished, he and Gus Hall embraced each other while the mob stomped and applauded. Speaking in English, with frequent pauses for translation, Hall assured Europe's Reds that an overwhelming majority of Americans are against what he called our stupid war of genocide against the Vietnamese people.

He used the word "genocide", and the same word was used in the French translation. Yet, for some reason or other, perhaps to deprive American patriots of ammunition, it was omitted from most French accounts of the meeting and the single American one printed in Europe.

A telegram was dispatched to Ho chi Minh and another to "the pacific forces within America". A third was composed on the spot to be sent to Ambassador Bohlen in Paris.

Reduced to its essence, what the Reds asked for was a world-wide clamor for American withdrawal which Russia can amplify in U. N. No mention was made of Vietcong execution of American prisoners.

A QUESTION REMAINED: Why did America's most powerful paper, which claims to print all the news that is fit to print, refrain from making any mention of this shocking meeting? One guess is that it may not have wanted to make trouble for Gus Hall in America. And another key to the riddle may be the President Johnson statement headlined on the front page of the New York Herald Tribune of October 14: "No Reason to Fear the Soviet People."

If America is to buy that line, she must not know of the offensive of Moscow-directed parties, with American Reds as standard-bearers.

THE DAYS PRECEDING GUS HALL'S TRIUMPH IN PARIS saw a number of scattered developments worth signaling to Americans. First, an immense shipment of booklets turned out by the Hanoi foreign language press made its appearance in France. The first, by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Hanoi's war minister, set forth Hanoi's reasons for feeling confident that America would give up the fight. In this, Hanoi's allies within America were a major factor. The second was a 32-page booklet by General Nguyen van Vinh, the assistant chief of staff of Ho Chi Minh's army. It is called "The Vietnamese People in Their Victorious Drive." In this booklet, "political action of the masses to oblige America to halt her bombings" is considered the most effective defense against air-raids. In sum, what Waldeck Rochet and Gus Hall were advocating in Europe.

LE MONDE, PARIS DIPLOMATIC DAILY OF OCTOBER 8, 1966, announced that the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of America, which is the communist faction obedient to Peking and headed by Mr. Michael Laski, had come out in support of the right of American negroes to form a negro state and secede from the union.

According to Le Monde, Gus Hall's Communist Party claims 25,000 members and Michael Laski's group 1500 for the moment. It appears that America is about to experience the phenomenon that has swept Western Europe: Occidental acceptance of Chinese leadership, at a moment when that leadership's negation of everything associated with civilization is most apparent.

On July 1, 1966, in the same Hall of the Mutualité where Waldeck Rochet and Gus Hall orated on October 12, the French Marxist-Leninist Party preached its brand of war against the West. Its pro-Peking leaders had come from the party's headquarters at 26 Boulevard de Damas, in Marseilles. Red-lettered posters, 19½ inches by 25 inches, proclaimed that leaders of the Nguyen van Troi, Dimitrov and Joseph Stalin cells would explain the positions of Marxist-Leninists in the fight to provide the working class of the world a true Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, in the combat against American imperialism.

ONE DAY AFTER LE MONDE'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF A PRESS CONFERENCE BY AMERICA'S PRO-PEKING REDS, and five days before publication of Johnson's statement that America has "No Reason to Fear Soviet People", London's Sunday Telegraph came out with a story that should give pause to American generals in Germany. It was headed "U. S. SCHEME TO CURB DEFECTION". It continued, "Commanding officers of American Army and Air Force units in Europe have been warned in a directive issued by the Pentagon to repatriate immediately any men whom they believe to have serious personal problems or character weaknesses."

If the left-wing, sensation sheet, Overseas Weekly, could ruin General Edwin A. Walker, for trying to fight defections by educating his men on communist methods and aims, what would happen to a general who, in the interests of America, should try to repatriate a known security risk? With the memory of Walker's martyrdom before him, no officer interested in promotion or retirement pay is likely to send any potential traitor home.

Yet, in spite of everything liberal professors, leftist politicians and pro-Peking clamorers in U. N. could do to frustrate them, there were signs that our soldiers were making headway in Vietnam.

GENERAL VANUXEM, the once liberal schoolteacher who came up against communism firsthand as a French soldier in Indo-China and remained in the army to become a general, recently returned from Vietnam. It was Vanuxem's first visit to the sites of his own battles, and his account of our war is currently appearing in the Paris weekly CARREFOUR (114 Avenue des Champs Elysees, Paris)

Devout Catholics, Vanuxem and his wife (a former nurse in the French Army in Indo-China) had long been apologists for the government of which Ngo Dinh Nhu was the evil genius. The trip to Saigon opened his eyes. He wrote, "After a first period of order, the Diem government sank into corruption, party interests and crying injustices. It had to be abolished."

Of the Geneva Accord, he stated in CARREFOUR of September 7 that it and the Evian Accord (which gave Algeria its independence) "have led to more losses in property and lives than the wars they stopped."

"What would you tell Americans if you could talk to them?" we asked. "Tell them not to think of De Gaulle's policy as pro-Moscow or pro-Peking. De Gaulle's policy is anything that will hurt America," he answered.

CONCERNING VIETNAM VANUXEM SAID, "General Westmoreland is doing an excellent job. He can win if they (the faceless "they") will let him. He won a magnificent victory and the army dared not announce it. It was the more difficult because it was a defensive victory.

"After Diem and Nhu were killed, everyone expected the country to fall to the Vietcong like over-ripe fruit. So rotten had the situation become, they (the Vietcong) could have taken over at will. But they were over-confident. Instead of moving at once, nothing happened. Everyone wondered why. That was when the Vietcong made their big mistake. They wasted weeks forming their forces into divisions. They wanted to give the appearance of an organized army. When they moved the Americans were not ready for them, but in a period of fifteen days, through her wonderful logistics machine, America poured enough men and matériel into Vietnam to win a defensive victory."

General Vanuxem believes that this victory was kept secret because knowledge of it would have led the civilian chiefs in Washington to cut down on supplies and men. "The only time I was ever given anything to work with," he added, "was after a defeat."

Another possibility is that news of such a victory was "managed" because victories are not what the proponents of no-winism--balance of power--what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. calls (New York Times of Oct. 1-2, Paris edition) the "middle way out of Vietnam"--desire.

Concerning pacification after victory, Vanuxem said, "Pacification will start the moment the Vietnamese think America is determined to win instead of negotiate."

THE REPORT OF AN ANTI-GAULLIST FRENCHMAN. Following the talk with General Vanuxem, your correspondent went to a pro-American Frenchman, just returned from Saigon. "Vanuxem says Westmoreland can win if they will let him," we said. "What can you tell us?"

His appraisal can be summed up as follows: Vietnamese troop morale is low. There is too much talk about America pleading to negotiate. Everyone knows that if Hanoi agrees to talks it will be because she needs a breathing spell. American requests for talks are seen as probings for an opportunity to pull out. Desertions among the South Vietnamese are therefore high. They are not deserting to the Vietcong, or to Hanoi; they are simply going home. South Vietnam's 450,000 troops are being used as support and occupation forces. American troops are bearing the brunt of the fighting.

"The Koreans are doing a magnificent job. When there is a tough area to clear, the Koreans handle it. They take no cameramen or correspondents with them. The war correspondents have too often helped the Vietcong by describing American efficacy in a way which made it synonymous with ruthlessness.

"Teenagers are the Vietcongs' favorite terrorists and observers, yet every photograph of one with his arms bound raises screams of protest in Washington and Paris. The Reds are adroit at freezing any action which hinders them."

"How is the political situation?" He answered, "The newly elected assembly will be a rubber-stamp one. It was elected to write a constitution, but the broad lines were already laid out. It will follow the American constitution, and suit neither the Vietnamese conditions nor mentality."

"Are we doing anything right?" we asked. "Yes," he replied. "Americans in Asia are using more and more Japanese, in situations where occidentals should keep out. Anti-communist Japanese are inexpensive and efficient. They played a role in Sukarno's downfall in Indonesia."

"WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT NHU'S REPORTED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REDS?" was our next query. He stated that such negotiations had been going on for months, before Nhu's death, with the assistance of French Ambassador Lalouette. "Consequently," he continued, "all Frenchmen in Saigon are suspect. This was the most difficult trip I have ever had, and the General's (De Gaulle) speech in Phnom Penh did not help any. It is too bad, because there are many Frenchmen with long experience in Asia who regard America's war as their war and want only to help."

Admission by this important man that Nhu had been talking to the Reds behind America's back, with the assistance of the French ambassador, brought up one of the biggest differences dividing American patriots: What is the truth about Madame Nhu and her husband?

THE NHU CASE, CON AND PRO: Mr. Lucien Bodard, the noted author of many books on China and Vietnam, conducted an interview with Madame Nhu which appeared in LE NOUVEAU CANDIDE

of July 18, 1966. In this interview Madame Nhu made the shocking statement that she had pushed her husband into seeing the Red emissaries, that she had warned him not to say anything to the Americans, and that she was planning on sending her two older children to North Vietnam, as "trail-blazers", when Diem and Nhu were killed. It was because Nhu was signing a peace treaty, Madame Nhu maintained, that the Americans had him killed. Twenty-four hours later a report of the Bodard interview appeared in the New York Times. Simultaneously, in Rome, Madame Nhu informed United Press International that her new rate for interviews was \$1500 for the first hour, \$500 for each additional half hour, and \$1,000 for photographs.

A WAVE OF CONSTERNATION CROSSED AMERICA as honorable Americans who for one reason or another had permitted themselves to be misled and in turn had staked their reputations on Madame Nhu, looked for a ledge to cling to. A retired general become columnist (excellently informed on America but not on Vietnam) rejected the NOUVEAU CANDIDE story because the New York Times had reported it in America. A man in Bellingham, Washington, had helped Madame Suzanne Labin write a booklet called "VIETNAM--An Eye-Witness Account" (published by Crestwood Books) in which the author's personal friendship with Diem and Nhu were advanced as claims to authority. He also rejected Bodard, "in view of the well-known slant of the New York Times". That the Times had but quoted NOUVEAU CANDIDE was overlooked.

Edward Hunter, in his excellent anti-communist publication TACTICS, was induced to write Bodard off as a suspected leftist and picture Madame Nhu as a penniless widow, driven to making wild statements through disappointment in the friend (America) that had let her down.

Mr. Bryton Barron, unquestionably an authority on subversion in our government, viewed "with contempt" the activities of an Indiana anti-communist student in Paris and anyone else drawing attention to the Bodard interview. For the best of motives Mr. Barron left the field he knew and helped produce Madame Labin's booklets glorifying Madame Nhu and her husband. Now the myth is cracking.

The plight of Catholic conservatives is best exemplified by the position in which THE WANDERER finds itself. THE WANDERER's credo is: "No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true socialist." However, again, the issue of September 8, 1966, gave over a quarter of a page to Madame Labin, the French woman whose biographical sketches list her as a socialist (including one in LE MONDE ET LA VIE, as late as July 1966.)

Madame Nhu's declarations shook badly those Americans who had believed what they were told, bought books eulogizing her, and published material praising her. As one of the authors of such literature, Madame Labin explained to WANDERER readers, "I was asked to comment on these (Madame Nhu's) declarations."

It is possible the request was delivered with some firmness. Madame Labin was unshaken. She maintained that what she had told American conservatives was true, but that Madame Nhu had changed, and it was America's fault. (As well as writing for THE WANDERER, Madame Labin is also Paris correspondent for a subsidiary organization of the UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, of Philadelphia, of which Mr. Arthur J. Goldsmith, who was covered by Mr. Frank Cappell's Herald of Freedom of March 15, 1963) is an executive.)

The last victim of America's perfidy was Madame Nhu's conscience, Madame Labin told readers of THE WANDERER. She and her husband had never really treated with the Reds, Madame Nhu only said they had, in her righteous anger after America had let her down and engineered her husband's assassination.

None of those too compromised with Madame Nhu to turn back seemed inclined to pursue the matter further.

THE FIRST STEP IN THE QUEST FOR TRUTH would be a talk with Bodard, to see what he had to say about it. Bodard, author of one of the most damning books ever written on Red China (La Chine du Cauchemar) is no pro-Red. Apparently, Madame Nhu approved of the interview he wrote for France Soir of June 17, 1964, in which he told of her poverty at the time Diem came to power, her monumental rage when Diem refused the cabinet post which the Emperor had offered him many years before, and even the inference that her opposition to the throne dated from the day the Emperor terminated their relationship, which was beginning to shock the people of Dalat. Otherwise she would not have agreed to the interview for NOUVEAU CANDIDE.

Bodard talked frankly with your correspondent, whom he has known for many years. His editor, on seeing how shocking Madame Nhu's revelations were, refused to publish the NOUVEAU CANDIDE story without statements in writing, signed by Madame Nhu. His explanation: "The woman is capable of denying she ever said these things--then suing us."

Madame Nhu wanted the \$1,000 check due her, but did not want to take time to write out her statements, so she gave Bodard 90-some carbon copy pages of a manuscript she had already written. Your correspondent read this paper. Repetitive, dreary pages on Nhu's philosophy of personalism were followed by statements more shocking even than those published by NOUVEAU CANDIDE. One that would have given powerful ammunition to Hanoi and which Bodard left out of his story was the bare-faced lie that Diem and Nhu had never invited the Americans into Vietnam.

WHAT WAS HER OBJECT IN SAYING THIS, SINCE IT IS UNTRUE AND COULD ONLY HELP HO CHI MINH?

"Do not forget," replied the next authority to whom we put this question, "Many of us wondered why Madame Nhu went to Belgrade in September, 1963, unless it was to provide proof of her good will toward the communist bloc, while Nhu was closing his deal with Hanoi and the Vietcong.

"There is another matter you must not overlook: Vietcong agents are constantly in contact with her in Rome. And out of Tokyo on September 28 came a Vietcong report that 'Members of previous South Vietnamese governments have been invited to join the Communist National Liberation Front in setting up a broad and democratic coalition government comprising representatives of all social strata, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities'.

"Who do you suppose is going to be the big name in that government but Madame Nhu?"

WHAT CAN ONE TELL AMERICANS ABOUT MADAME NHU'S CLAIM THAT SHE IS A PENNILESS WIDOW WITH FOUR CHILDREN TO SUPPORT, we asked a man thoroughly conversant with Vietnamese affairs. He perused the page of Mr. Hunter's TACTICS of August 28, which pleaded for sympathy for Madame Nhu as a widow having difficulty in meeting living expenses. He read Madame Labin's series of letters to THE WANDERER. "Well," he said, "her apartment (Madame Nhu's) in the 16th arrondissement is worth around \$150,000, and she would have no trouble getting 8½% interest on that money if she needed ready cash.

"It is true that, according to what we have heard here, she lost much of the property she bought in Paris and Brazil." "How?" we asked.

"She had so much money when she was on top," our informant replied, "and she was so anxious to place it, she bought anything and everything, anywhere, through 'fronts' who put it in their names. It was safe enough, because she had their families in Saigon as hostages. But when Diem and Nhu fell, there was no leverage against the 'fronts'. Her Paris agent died and his widow kept the property, because Madame Nhu had proclaimed so loudly and so often that she owned nothing and would sue anyone who said she did. The agent in Brazil just kept what was in his name.

"She still has plenty, aside from her Paris rent and money for articles and interviews. It is possible that a subsidy from the Vietcong has something to do with the statement she made in the interview she gave Bodard. Then, Les Presses de la Cite paid her an advance on her memoirs, when she swindled them."

"How much did they give her?" "The stories vary," he answered. "Why don't you ask Les Presses de la Cite?"

LES PRESSES DE LA CITE, AT 116 RUE DU BAC, PARIS, is one of the big publishing houses of France. It brought out Jean Larteguy's "Un Million des Dollars le Viet", with its detailed account of the Nhu-Hanoi negotiations and Nhu's death. Miss Therese de Saint-Phalle, the editor whom Madame Nhu "took", as the saying goes, answered frankly in perfect English.

"That woman (Madame Nhu) is the biggest liar that ever came in that door. She even stole the spoons from a woman in her building. She is awful. She told us a sob story about how she needed money and would give us a best seller in the revelations she would make about the inside story of Vietnam. So we advanced her \$4,000. And when she brought us her manuscript, it dealt with her life up to the age of 13. She said she wanted \$50,000 for it and would want \$100,000 for the next volume.

"She is capable of stringing her story out to 13 books and getting some publisher to pay her an advance on each of them. We were going to bring suit against her, but she went to Italy and we wrote off the \$4,000."

"WHY DON'T YOU DO SOMETHING ABOUT PUTTING AMERICANS STRAIGHT ON MADAME NHU?" we asked a 70-year-old priest, who said that when he dined with Diem and Nhu while on a mission to Saigon three months before their deaths he knew that Nhu was making a deal with the Reds behind America's back.

"I never received the woman," he replied. "If I had ever talked to her, it would have discredited me with my students."

NEXT WE WENT TO THE VIETNAM EMBASSY. Press attaché Doan Nhan was pleasant. "The most negative voices against your government," we suggested, "are not defenders of the Vietcong but the apologists of Diem and Nhu who still try to convince America that Diem and Nhu were winning. Why don't you issue a report stating how much Diem and Nhu paid for trips for people who heard only what the Nhuses wanted them to hear and saw only what the Nhuses showed them, then went to America and said what the Nhuses wanted them to say? You know as well as I that a pensioner of Diem's had no more chance of hearing anything unpleasant than a pensioner of Stalin's."

"I don't know how much they spent on such trips," said Mr. Doan Nhan, visibly embarrassed. "Why don't you ask Vo Hai," we suggested. "It must have been millions," Mr. Doan Nhan agreed. Francs, dollars or piastres he did not say. Obviously one would have to go higher, so higher we went.

"WHY DON'T YOU PEOPLE END THE CONFUSION IN AMERICA ONCE AND FOR ALL?" we asked the next Vietnamese with whom we talked. "Why doesn't your government put out a White Paper on Diem and the Nhuses, covering their nine years in power? Now that Madame Nhu is on the side of the Vietcong, why don't you tell Americans that they were lied to; that Nhu and his wife were running the country, that they were hated, and that South Vietnam was about to explode?"

The gentleman behind the desk was noncommittal. "Of course you know," he observed, "that Tran van Do, Madame Nhu's uncle, is now Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is my chief."

So there we are. Washington is unlikely to admit nine years of cruel stupidity in Vietnam; Vietnam's Minister of Foreign Affairs is not going to denounce his brother (Madame Nhu's father, Ambassador Tran van Chuong) for lulling Washington until the lid covering his daughter and son-in-law was about to blow sky high. And no one dependent on Mr. Tran van Do for his job is likely to do so. The fact is, too many people have something to lose if America is told the truth.

* * * *

BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL--The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier, hard cover edition \$5, paperback edition \$1, may be ordered from H. du B. Reports, Circulation Department, Room 356, 18 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

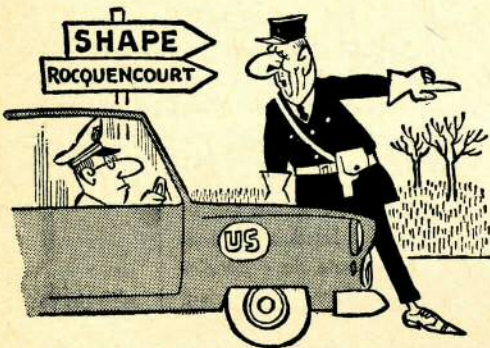
Jennie Edmonds, Managing Editor

FOR FILING: A REPORT ON GENERAL CHARLES DE GAULLE

Volume 5, Page 396 of the Grand Larousse Encyclopaedia has the following: "GAULLE, (Charles de). French statesman. Soldier by profession. Distinguished himself from the beginning of World War I. Seriously wounded, he was taken prisoner by the Germans at Douaumont (1916)."

David Schoenbrun, who as Columbia Broadcasting System's man in Europe axed so many anti-communist leaders (from Goldwater to His Majesty Bao Dai, of Vietnam) went further. In his book, "The Three Lives of Charles de Gaulle", Schoenbrun, champion of the Algerian FLN, described the young Charles De Gaulle as a demon in battle. "The men of the 33rd Regiment, Infantry, fought like demons as the enemy waves submerged Douaumont. Captain De Gaulle continued to fire at short range. The Germans poured over them from all sides, annihilating his company. It was the end," wrote Schoenbrun. "A German pierced his hip and brought him down like an immense tree caught by a tempest.

"At that moment a shell burst a few yards away, showering the battlefield with burning fragments, one of which penetrated the skull of the fallen giant lying unconscious in the mud and blood."



"You then take the road to Normandy and then you embark!" (AUX ECOUTES)

Why CBS' ace European correspondent made a hero of France's President fifty years after the Battle of Verdun is a matter of conjecture. Suffice to say, this account, like most of Schoenbrun's reports, was a sales job rather than information.

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT SERVICES FOLLOW A CLASSIC PATTERN. Painstakingly, teams working independent of each other compile separate dossiers when a leader rises with whom their nation will have to deal. The idea is to chart his mind, his way of thinking and every decision he has made in the past, to the point of being able to predict with some degree of certainty what he would do under any future circumstance.

One team of specialists works over his handwriting. Ridiculous as it may seem, another goes into his horoscope. The hours intelligence services spent on Hitler's horoscope paid off in World War II. Whether or not it provided a key to what Hitler might do, they knew that Hitler's astrologers were also providing forecasts, and the possibility that he might mould his actions to conform with their reports was too important to overlook. They knew he was superstitious, that certain developments at a prescribed time would precipitate a predictable reaction.

A third team probes into the subject's life. Half-psychologist, half political analyst specialists compile the findings.

DE GAULLE'S HANDWRITING, it is reported, exposes an immense ego, powers of subterfuge, and unyielding vindictiveness. "He is capable," one prominent Frenchman stated, "of pardoning any crime against France, but no slight against De Gaulle. It will be as treason against France, however, that the slight against De Gaulle will be avenged."

VARIOUS ASTROLOGERS HAVE COME UP WITH FINDINGS that are interesting, whether or not one takes them seriously. Monsieur Francois-Regis Bastide, in his book "Zodiaque", stated that two high personalities in the French government regularly consult the forecasts furnished them monthly by two separate astrologers. Presumably the personalities are General De Gaulle and Prime Minister Pompidou.

Monsieur Andre Barbault, one of Europe's leading astrologers, wrote that De Gaulle, born in Lille at 4 A. M. on November 22, 1890, is surrounded by complications that make an astrologer grit his teeth.

Barbault sees the world moving toward a crisis that will reach its peak between 1968 and 1969, with an upheaval in 1971. In this interim period he sees America as a declining power and Russia in the ascendancy, with China playing a principal role in the

explosion to come. In early 1963, in a book published by Albin-Michel, Paris, Mr. Barbault predicted "the eclipse and entry into the shadows" of President Kennedy.

Mr. Barbault predicted that De Gaulle would enter into a period of political and vital decline in 1965 which would radically change the future of France. "When the situation appears to offer no other way out, De Gaulle will take refuge in retirement for reasons of health, which is the usual reaction of men of his temperament before a set-back."

WHAT THE HISTORIANS CAME UP WITH WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE SOLID. It was World War I that first brought De Gaulle to the attention of chroniclers. The terrible, bloody battle was raging around Douaumont. On February 28, 1916, word reached Captain Robert Destouches, of the 9th Company, 110th Regiment, Infantry, that relief was coming up. In seven days Destouches had lost 29 officers and a thousand men, repelling succeeding waves of German attacks. The captain relieving Destouches was Charles De Gaulle, commanding the 10th Company, 33rd Regiment, Infantry.

The war had been going on for 19 months, but De Gaulle, recently hospitalized with scarlet fever, had little or no experience with it. His entry into the Battle of Verdun on March 1 was in an impeccable uniform, carrying a swagger stick and wearing beige gloves. He criticized the departing captain for his lack of organization--no shelters or barbed-wire entanglements. Destouches replied that he had been sent no barbed wire, didn't have a shovel in his battalion, and his exhausted men had been allowed no time between attacks to use them if he had.

De Gaulle took up position on the night of March 1. By the following noon he was a prisoner. An intense bombardment started around 5 A. M. on March 2. All communications were cut. Toward noon the shelling ceased, and the Germans attacked. A wounded French corporal called on his men not to bother about him but to hold off the Germans. The resistance of the men was heroic, against overwhelming numbers.

When a white flag appeared a cry of rage went up from the soldiers who turned their fire on the man who wanted to surrender. A few seconds later another white flag went up from the sector held by De Gaulle's 10th Company. Let Lieutenant Casimir Albrecht, of the 19th Regiment of Reserves of the German Army, take up from here:

Albrecht recalls that he was leading a group of flame-throwers. Spotting what appeared to be a command post, he concentrated the fire of his twenty men in that direction. After half an hour he saw what seemed to be a bit of white cloth on a bayonet and halted his fire. Several men came out, and Lieutenant Albrecht was impressed by the height of the officer commanding them.

The officer seemed shaken. Albrecht said, "Monsieur, it is sad, all these dead." Captain De Gaulle--for it was Captain De Gaulle--replied, "Yes, that is true," and handed over his sabre. He was unwounded.

"Where then," asks the editor of the Paris weekly MINUTE, "does that legend come from of De Gaulle's falling, gravely wounded? A legend so tenacious that even the Larousse Encyclopaedia has taken it up?"

At the time De Gaulle surrendered, little remained of his company. His two liaison couriers had been killed, and it was not until around 2 P. M. that a bugler named Haverland, who had been buried three times by exploding shells, made a report.

He had not been able to see much because of the smoke, but he reported having seen the tall captain of the 10th Company fall. Colonel Boudhors, commanding the regiment, assumed that Captain De Gaulle must be dead. Accordingly, he asked General Petain, commanding the Second Army at Verdun, to award De Gaulle a posthumous citation. Petain did so, adding the Legion of Honor. Thus De Gaulle received his World War I decorations through an erroneous report, from the man whom he later let die in prison. The remainder of World War I De Gaulle sat out in a German prison on the banks of the Danube.

General Perré, three years younger than De Gaulle and promoted with him, offers the testimony of one of his friends captured with De Gaulle:

"The Boches honored French officers who had fought courageously by returning their sabres for certain occasions such as when they went to Mass, but they did not give De Gaulle his. Believing it was an oversight, De Gaulle requested it. This surprised

the Germans, but nevertheless they made an investigation of the conditions surrounding his surrender. This done, they refused to give Captain De Gaulle his sabre."

MINUTE, of June 9, 1966, reported, "An attempt to consult De Gaulle files in the personnel section of the War Ministry discloses that the 1916 dossier of Captain De Gaulle has disappeared--sometime in 1958, to be exact."

THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WARS was largely uneventful for the tall officer. On the eve of World War II Premier Georges Bidault (now in exile in Brazil) made De Gaulle a Brigadier General and moved him up to the War Ministry. Of the flight to London after the German breakthrough, and the emergence of the General of Brigade as a national leader, accounts vary. Some attribute his acceptance by Churchill to a decision made by the British House of Rothschild, in accord with its French cousins.

ONE OF THE BEST EXAMPLES OF DE GAULLE'S COLD-BLOODEDNESS when he became a political leader is found in "the Pucheu Affair". Pierre Pucheu was minister of the interior in the Petain government in 1941. Working closely with an American rescue center, run by American Quakers in Marseilles, Pucheu helped European Jews escape to America. As long as Admiral Leahy was American ambassador to Vichy, this activity continued under the noses of the Germans. When America entered the war, Laval and his friends were in the ascendancy. Pucheu fled to Madrid, then Gibraltar, and, with the approval of General Giraud, boarded a boat for Casablanca to join the Free French.

It was the first time a high French official from the Petain government, under attack by both the Germans and the communists, had attempted to join the Giraud resistance. Pucheu had secretly offered his services to Giraud, who was De Gaulle's rival for the leadership of Free France, and Giraud had accepted his offer, agreeing to give him his old rank of captain of reserves on condition that Pucheu engage in no political activity. Another request was that he go to North Africa under another name.

Had Giraud provided some other means of transportation this might have been possible. Having been in the spotlight for two years before escaping to Madrid, then having been seen in Madrid before going to Gibraltar to embark for Casablanca, Pucheu was immediately recognized.

No one doubted his loyalty to the resistance. Rather, he was sought after as a man certain to play a major role in the government in Algiers.

On either May 1 or May 2, 1943, Pucheu was met by a government car at the gangplank, in Casablanca. Toward the end of May De Gaulle arrived, and the order that had been maintained by General Giraud collapsed. Overnight communist papers appeared, calling for the merciless chastisement of their enemies and De Gaulle's. In practice, this included all pro-allied resisters loyal to Giraud. A De Gaulle-Giraud compromise had been imposed by Churchill and Roosevelt for a time, but gradually Giraud was eased out. By August his influence had practically disappeared. It was then that it was decided to haul Pucheu before a military tribunal somewhere in southern Morocco. A great cry for his head went up from the communists.

Most of those who would or could have testified for Pucheu were in France or safely abroad. Those who were in Algiers were afraid. Numerous Jews who had escaped to Mexico through Pucheu's assistance went to French consulates, but consular agents were afraid to offend De Gaulle. The trial which started on March 4, 1944, had been decided before it commenced. Pucheu was sentenced to death, and the appeal of his lawyers rejected.

The manner of that rejection is illuminating. De Gaulle told Pucheu's lawyers, "It is a political case. There is nothing, practically nothing, in the Pucheu dossier. I am certain that Pucheu was one of those who, from within the policy of collaboration, did everything possible to oppose the Germans...We do not judge his intentions. I must rise above passions. Only reasons of state must dictate my decision...Tell your client that if one of these days I return to France I give him formal assurance, on my honor, that I will do everything that is humanly possible for the moral and physical education of his children, that they will not suffer too much from the decisions which I must take."

Among the witnesses who showed up for the execution was General Cochet, whose escape from prison Pucheu had arranged.

What "reason of state" demanded the killing of Pucheu? The answer to that question may be

found in asking who wanted Pucheu's head? The answer: the communists, and they only. De Gaulle salved his conscience by promising the victim that he would look after his children.

AFTER THE LIBERATION A WAVE OF HORROR SWEEPED OVER FRANCE. Some 140,000 Frenchmen are estimated to have been killed. The exact number will never be known. The explanation was that they had worked against France. More precisely, the top personalities arrested were guilty of having failed to recognize De Gaulle as France's leader.

Other score-settlings were more sordid. Communist workers in the Renault automobile plant used the opportunity to "get" their boss. Louis Renault was a well man when he was arrested as a collaborator for having let the Germans use his plant, which he could not have prevented had he tried. A few days later his wife leaned over him in a prison hospital, shortly before he died. Renault murmured, "They come at night. They are bad." The De Gaulle post-war government nationalized his plant. Madame Renault maintains that torturers broke her husband's back.

Raymond Cartier wrote of the murderous purge that followed the liberation, "There was no law of suspects, as in 1793, but the atrocities of the French Revolution were surpassed. A day will come when some historian, applying the patient methods of Taine, will try to reconstruct that tragic page. Today it is impossible. A conspiracy of silence, a conspiracy of interests, covers the second reign of terror."

Coming from a man of Cartier's stature, such an indictment bears weight.

CO-OPERATION WITH RUSSIA. A few weeks before De Gaulle's 1966 trip to Moscow, the Soviet Commissariat of Foreign Affairs began unearthing old documents aimed at selling De Gaulle as a longtime friend of Russia, and vice-versa.

One of these, dated June 6, 1942, was a telegram from Monsieur Bogomolov, who had been accredited to De Gaulle's Free French government in London. It went: "I have had a conversation with De Gaulle. According to his information, the Americans are getting ready to occupy Dakar and the British Nigeria, without permitting the Free French to participate. If this happens, De Gaulle is ready to break with England. He asks if, in the case of a definite rupture, the Soviet Government will be ready to welcome him and his troops on her territory."

On June 15, Mr. Bogomolov sent another wire stating, "Dejean saw me yesterday and opened by saying that De Gaulle, in our last conversation, involuntarily exaggerated his differences with the British Government, and erred in bringing up the question of the departure of French troops for the USSR."

IT WAS IN DECEMBER 1944 THAT DE GAULLE EVENTUALLY GOT TO MOSCOW as France's Chief of State. This trip was De Gaulle's gage, to give him the support of France's Reds. As a part of the price, "for reasons of state", De Gaulle brought back with him Maurice Thorez, the communist who had been sentenced to death in absentia for deserting the French Army during the period of the German-Russian treaty. Two years later, faced with an adverse vote, De Gaulle haughtily withdrew from politics and retired to his estate at Colombey-les-deux Eglises.

The only two diplomats who bothered to visit the sulking general, writing his memoirs during the years of unimportance that followed, were Russia's ambassador, Serge Vinogradov, and Poland's ambassador, Stanislas Gajewsky.

IN MAY 1958 DE GAULLE RETURNED. The occasion was another debacle, different from the first one, but serious enough, with Frenchmen rioting in the streets, to justify a legality-gilded coup d'etat.

The fear was that De Gaulle would win the Algerian war. So sure were the Algerian masses that no-winism was finished, they sealed their fates by coming out openly for France.

The American government and press thought so, too. Every angle was used to torpedo the incoming general for that reason only. John Wingate, in his 6 P. M. broadcast over WOR, in New York, on May 28, charged that De Gaulle would lead France into the Red camp. Wingate has never been charged with McCarthyism or John Birch leanings, but that was an argument that would bear weight with some of his listeners. The New York World Telegraph and Sun played the other field. It screamed that De Gaulle was a tool of the "fascists".

What De Gaulle did was let French conscripts go on dying. He practiced no-winism till the country grew weary enough to accept dismemberment and a general massacre of its friends. While swearing that he would never give up Algeria, and assuring Frenchmen privately that there was no need to get their savings out of North Africa, his efficient police machine got a stranglehold on the nation, and the double-crossing proceeded as

planned. In 1962, following an assassination attempt which many claim was government-rigged, De Gaulle held a referendum which circumvented the constitution and gave him unlimited powers.



Public works of the V Republic.

"--We'll demolish all this and make a garage or a drug store!" (Aux Ecoutes)

Then through the hocus-pocus of a treaty (the Evian Accord) which the Algerians tore up as soon as the French were out, the sell-out of Frenchmen and Algerians who trusted him was achieved.

A million Algerians succeeded in escaping the dreaded FLN when it came to power. Another million died in one way or another after independence. Frenchmen who protested the betrayal were mercilessly hounded down. Communists used "the Chief's" vindictiveness to get their enemies by planting bombs where said enemies would get the blame. Communist cells were set up in the army to which draftees could file reports against their officers.

There was no protest from the Elysee Palace when, in 1965, a French consul died as a result of the humiliation and brutal treatment when he was sodomized in public by Algerian soldiers. To have mentioned the degrading incident would have been to admit that the protesters languishing in French prisons had been right.

What De Gaulle could not ignore was the out-of-work seamen and stagnating ports. A whole sector of the French economy had lived off trade with North Africa. With Algeria gone, such trade had all but ceased. A shimmering mirage: Wealth through trade with the East was held up to stave off a revolt.

WHY DID DE GAULLE TAKE UP THE CAUSE OF PEKING AND THE VIETCONG? Aside from the promise of trade which De Gaulle could dangle before France, there was another explanation. In his book, "Un Million des Dollars le Viet" (Presses de la Cite, 116 rue du Bac, Paris), Jean Larteguy blames the French ambassador to South Vietnam for the sudden staking of French prestige on pro-Peking "neutralism".

"Ambassador Lalouette's vanity suffered," wrote Larteguy, "from lack of importance. Suddenly he began receiving invitations to the palace. Madame Nhu showered attentions on him and her husband began confiding in him. Dispatches from the French embassy in Saigon to the Foreign Office in Paris suddenly changed their tone.

"In strictest secrecy Nhu confided his big project to the ambassador: Nhu had had enough of the Americans and their heavy-handed guardianship. He was about to renew relations with the North and negotiate his country's future directly with Ho chi Minh. Complete neutralization, for both north and south, was his aim. The Americans would be asked to go home."

"To succeed, an intermediary was needed. That intermediary could only be France. France had a representative in Hanoi. Overnight, Lalouette, who till then had been little more than an office boy, plunged into the world of great affairs. Nhu confided that he had already established contact with the leaders of the National Liberation Front and received one of their top men.

"Lalouette dispatched cable after cable. Then he flew home to convince his chief of the great role which France could play in Asia through sponsoring the reconciliation of the two Vietnams."

Larteguy--and who is in a better position to know--described De Gaulle's pleasure in visualizing not only his entry on the Asiatic scene but his stature before history as the prophet of reconciliation.

On August 28, 1963, Lalouette was received by De Gaulle. Twenty-four hours later De Gaulle made his famous speech of neutralization of North and South Vietnam as the road to peace. What it was, according to Larteguy, was public statement of what Nhu had told his "friend", Lalouette, in secret. Thus the policy of friendship with Red China was born.

"Friendship between France and China!" exclaimed Larteguy. "All one has to do is talk to any Frenchman living in Peking. Everyone knows that China, withdrawn into herself, can have no friends. She tolerates no criticism, only vassals singing her praise, or, more precisely, accomplices. China is actually the most embarrassing ally a country could have! When France requested China's admission to U. N., Marshal Chen Yi used the occasion to launch an appeal for war.

"For the Chinese communists, the world is separated into two camps: The American imperialists and other occidentals, and the Third World, which is to say the world of color. The Whites are the strongest, but it is possible to play on their rivalries and their contradictions. De Gaulle's France," says Larteguy, "is one of the contradictions which divide the West."

Of course, opinions differ. Miss Alice Widener's column of February 11, 1964, in the Indianapolis Star, is headed, "De Gaulle Aims to Halt Setbacks For the West."

OF THE FOUR "GREATS" AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II, De Gaulle alone remains. Roosevelt, as every European government knew long before America was told of it, died of a stroke on April 12, 1945, with a woman at his side.

Stalin, the same Foreign Office files confirm, died of a cerebral hemorrhage in early March, 1953, after one of his demoniacal outbursts of rage. It necessitated the withdrawal of Russia's most celebrated embalmer from the deportation camp to which Stalin had sent him, to preserve the remains of the old tyrant over which Khrushchev was crying.

Churchill quietly deteriorated and one day died.

Nothing De Gaulle is doing or is likely to do will surprise the anonymous teams who mapped his mind while Dave Schoenbrun was writing a soap opera for publication as history.

DE GAULLE DOES NOT PARDON, EVEN AFTER DEATH, avers Gabriel Veraldi in his recent book on French counter-espionage services ("Les Espions de Bonne Volonté", published by Denoël). When the controversial play "The Vicar" appeared, most churchmen considered it a German communist job, to defame Pope Pius XII. A Vatican representative in Paris arranged an appointment with the President through Madame De Gaulle, and eventually the three found themselves at the table in the Elysee Palace.

The ecclesiastic made his speech while the President ate in silence. "With France at last governed by a good Catholic, is a play going to be permitted which is an open calumny against the dead Pontiff?" was the theme.

When the priest had finished speaking, De Gaulle drew his brows together, as though having some difficulty with his memory. "If I recall correctly," he observed, "Pius XII did not recognize the Free French."

* * * *

The next H. DU B. REPORT will be written from the Far East, where Mr. du Berrier will be traveling before returning to America for lecture engagements in January. Correspondence concerning lectures may be addressed to H. DU B. REPORTS, Box 855, Huntington, Indiana.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

Jennie Edmonds, Managing Editor

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

Dear Reader,

Your January issue of H. du B. REPORTS is late. The reason: your correspondent spent November and December in Saigon and Hong Kong. In Vietnam he had talks, not with a single group or party or man with a favorite to advance or justify, but with everyone. Buddhists, Catholics, northern refugees, Southern Vietnamese resentful of the northerners, officials of the government in power, leaders of the parties that are "out"; editors, business men, soldiers, Cao Dai leaders, members of the Hoa Hao sect, spokesmen for the Binh Xuyen (that private army which once held the Reds at bay from Saigon to Cape Saint Jacques) and Vietnamese still loyal to their deposed and exiled Emperor.

Since then the results of those hours of talking, questioning and listening in Saigon have been written and rewritten in what is almost a search for the impossible: the imparting to you of Vietnam's opinions, fears and hopes without marking the speakers for repression or even assassination. One of the men with whom your correspondent talked, Mr. Tran van Van, was killed a few days later.

WHY AMERICA MUST HAVE THE TRUTH. We are in trouble in South Vietnam. On America's strong and unequivocal will to victory in that war the fate of the West depends. Meanwhile America is divided:

1. A powerful, articulate negative group--doctors, leftist professors, unkempt students, misguided liberals and out and out communists--calls for surrender. Their number is indefinite. Few of them have any knowledge of Vietnam. The enemy believes they are powerful enough to impose their will on America, with the help of international pro-Red pressure within U. N. and without.
2. A lethargic segment of America sees the Vietnam war as a nuisance, disrupting enjoyment of TV programs and the "Great Society".
3. Patriotic, conservative Americans demand that lives be saved and the war shortened by removing any doubt from the mind of the enemy that we intend to win it. Also, that divided groups in South Vietnam be brought into the struggle. Much sociological drivel is being written about the need to "win the people of South Vietnam". Nothing is said of the errors which made us lose the people; consequently the American people are unaware of them. Your correspondent is one of those who would win the people by recognizing our past mistakes and rectifying them where rectification is still possible.
4. Equally patriotic, conservative Americans producing booklets, newsletters, security reports, radio commentaries and lecture programs preach that the late President Ngo dinh Diem and his brother were good, loved and victorious; and that they were killed at the instigation of Ambassador Cabot Lodge because they were winning. (No commendation of Cabot Lodge intended.)
The effect of this line is negative. Those who subscribe to it rule out the possibility of correcting our mistakes and winning back the forces we alienated because, by their reasoning, the crushing of every religious sect, political group and leader who did not like their man was not an error. Further, there is an implied defeatism in their theme.

One of Diem's leading propagandists now lecturing in America recently wrote your correspondent, "If you would go to Vietnam now, you would hear all the Vietnamese regretting (in the sense of wishing back) the days under President Ngo dinh Diem." This statement is dishonest. We were in Vietnam. No one wishes that government back save those who lost importance and perquisites when it fell. Millions hate us for imposing it.

To repeat such a falsehood to trusting Americans is to run a political campaign against the present regime or any government that might succeed it, since the lamented leaders are long dead. To tell Americans that all Vietnamese distrust and dislike the existing or any possible regime and want the old one back is to hamper the war effort and aid no one but the Vietcong.

Confused America will remain confused until Groups 3 and 4 pull together. Lethargic America will remain lethargic until the South Vietnamese fight the Vietcong instead of each other. America's No. 1 question, therefore, should be: What do they want? What must we undo, to make the South Vietnamese see this war as their war?

OUR PRESS HAS BEEN GUILTY OF MORE THAN THE SIN OF OMISSION. Good papers have been interested only in stories "dealing with military activity in South Vietnam and with individuals whose origin is in our circulation area," as one of the better New York editors expressed it. Slanted papers, news agencies, radio and TV systems and reporters have ignored our blunders (or deliberate acts which advanced the Reds) because when those harmful acts were being committed it was with their encouragement and approval. No American newsman, information agent, government official or psychological warfare officer to date has sat down with Vietnam's disgruntled sects, groups or parties to ask, in their own language or in their lingua franca (French) what their grievances are and what they will do if their grievances are righted.

I know of no other American to whom the Vietnamese would dare give a frank reply had the experiment been tried. Consequently, your correspondent, with the confidence gained by long years of friendship and acquaintance with the leaders whose followers feel that they have been wronged, went to Saigon.

WE WERE HAMPERED FROM THE START. Pentagon press chief Arthur Sylvester was asked to accord accreditation to your correspondent. The request was never answered. Enjoying accreditation and all the assistance this entails is the man described by TIME Magazine as the most experienced and respected correspondent in Saigon. In 1946 he was pro-Mao Tse-tung and Ho chi Minh. In 1962 he was writing propaganda stories for Diem and Nhu, for whose injustices all but their own henchmen now reproach America.

In his book, "The Lost Revolution", the man we are speaking of eulogizes Colonel Edward Lansdale. But Lansdale is the man Vietnamese monarchists, Cao Dai followers, Hoa Hao believers and Binh Xuyen fighters hold responsible for their grievances. Today the reporter mentioned above is a leading figure in AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM, the former Diem lobby organization which Angier Biddle Duke, America's present ambassador to Spain, headed. (A comment on Mr. Duke, senators please note: TIME Magazine of February 10, 1961, reports Mr. Duke presiding at an Adam Clayton Powell testimonial dinner.) AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM puts out a publication reputedly financed by the Pentagon.

A Jesuit priest touring America preaches the theme that Diem and Nhu were loved, victorious, and killed at the instigation of our Saigon embassy, soberly advancing as a claim to recognition the statement that he was selected by the U. S. Defense Department (the office whose approval of anyone else would be taken as proof of unreliability) in August 1965 to make a special tour of South Vietnam.

Let us leave the field of contrived confusion for a moment, and try to pick up the thread of Vietnam involvement at the beginning. Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, in a foreign affairs article headed "The Day It All Began", in the New York Times of January 11, 1967, set the date at April 22, 1954, which would put the onus on the Republicans. Mr. Sulzberger was being dishonest. Ambassador Bohlen, in his "Bohlen Papers", tells us how, in December, 1943, FDR had a secret meeting with Stalin behind Churchill's back and planned how they were going to kick the French out of Indo-China. This can honestly be considered the date on which our present involvement started.

THEN CAME PRESIDENT TRUMAN. Team after team of OSS officers was sent into Indo-China on the eve of V-J Day, to advise and help set up the communist, Ho chi Minh, against whom our boys are now dying. Rene J. Defourneaux tells of his experiences in such a team, in LOOK Magazine of August 9, 1966. William Atwood, the editor who published Defourneaux's article, was Kennedy's ambassador to Guinea and Ghana. Defourneaux wrote of his first meeting with our present enemies, "It was on this memorable day that I first learned of Ho chi Minh's tremendous Intelligence System..." The OSS team had taken a French captain along and listed him as an American. He promptly pointed him out, gave his name and rank and ordered that he be sent back to China. What was tremendous about it? The French learned a short time later that Defourneaux's team (perhaps he himself) had provided the tip-off.

His Majesty the Emperor Bao Dai has stated that the first time he saw Colonel Lansdale (now a general and No. 3 man in the American embassy in Saigon) it was with Ho chi Minh, during the period when the Emperor was being held prisoner.

UNDER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, or more precisely Foster Dulles, the Emperor Bao Dai was brought to appoint Ngo dinh Diem premier. In his book, "The Lost Revolution", Robert Shaplen, correspondent for The New Yorker in Saigon, states that Allen Dulles hastily dispatched Lansdale to Vietnam before Diem's arrival, to learn all about the Binh Xuyen, the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects and other groups. "Good luck!" wired the CIA chief to his emissary. Then, with the approval of Allen Dulles, the threat to cut off American aid was used to make the army turn against General Hinh, Vietnam's hero of World War II.

Next the Cao Dai sect army which had kept the Vietminh out of Tay Ninh, where GI's are now dying, was destroyed. The Hoa Hao army which protected Cantho was crushed. General Le van Vien, leader of the Binh Xuyen private army, who alone had been capable of establishing security in Saigon, Cholon and around the air bases where GI's are now cut down, was broken, driven from the country and his fortune confiscated. When these had been destroyed there was nothing to prevent Diem and his American advisors from deposing the legitimate emperor.

Congressman Walter Judd, in September 1956, gave General "Iron Mike" O'Daniel credit for these "victories".

Jean Larteguy, the French war correspondent who used the material he amassed as a journalist to produce a string of historical novels, gave another account in his book, "Le Mal Jaune" (Presses de la Cite, 114 rue du Bac, Paris VI). Larteguy, calling Lansdale Lionel Terryman, describes a scene in the presidential palace in which Lansdale is talking to Ngo dinh Nhu, "the President's brother who had been educated to be a teacher but who had never been able to hold a class without being chased out by his pupils..."

"Now listen," he (Lansdale) said. The professor was shocked by such familiarity. He wanted to be addressed as "Your Excellency".

"In three days it will be too late to attack Le van Vien," Lansdale continued. "In three days his advisor will arrive and the sects will join them. They will quit betraying each other and be stronger than you are. The only thing you can do then is pack up and get out."

"Colonel, we will never quit Vietnam. If we have to, we will go underground in the mountains."

At that childish statement Lansdale blew up. "If I do not have your word at once that tomorrow the troops still loyal to the President will attack the Binh Xuyen, I will never come back to this palace. I will return to Washington and inform the State Department that it would be a mistake to support your government any longer."

Thus the chain of events which poisoned Vietnam against us was set in motion.

Surprised and with an air of hurt innocence, Professor Claude A. Buss, of the History Department of Stanford University, wrote in the Los Angeles Times of January 1, 1967, "Three out of four Vietnamese still have no idea why we are there, and they may well believe that we are at the root of their wretchedness."

Boys in green berets, the cream of American youth, huddle in Special Forces camps in South Vietnam, studying a book on pacification. It was written by General Edward Lansdale, whose pacification victories to date have been against anti-communists who would have been with us, whose rancors are unexpressed because they have no press.

Here are a few of the replies received in your correspondent's search to plumb the depths of Vietnam's recriminations, and report on a muzzled people's hopes:

MR. LE NGOC HO, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, is an excellent, intelligent official. Patiently he thumbed through a pile of multi-colored brochures advertising books, booklets, speakers, columnists and commentators, all selling America the leaders whose assassination date Vietnam celebrates as a national holiday. He agreed that this campaign would collapse with the discrediting of three or four propagandists. He recognized the fact that huge sums had been spent on guided tours for slanted witnesses. He was surprised that little or nothing had been printed in America about the torture house maintained by Diem and Nhu in the botanical garden. Photographs and testimony had been widely published in Vietnam, he stated. It seemed strange that they were not printed in America.

MR. NGUYEN HUU LUCNG, Cabinet Chief in the Ministry of Information, is impressive and likeable. "I am a Catholic," he said, "but I was not compromised by the Diem regime, since I never accepted office under it. I am happy to meet you because I have read your book.

"Yes, it is correct on the whole. I knew Diem well. He would have made a good priest, but chief of state was not his vocation. And then there were his brother and sister-in-law."

He regretted that attempts to keep the Diem myth inflated prevented recognition of the errors we committed under it. "Yes," he admitted, "If Le van Vien (leader of the Binh Xuyen private army, known only as a vice lord and pirate to American readers) were to come back, we could remove all those barricades in Saigon. And he added, "...and if the Emperor were to return, we could restore unity in the South."

MR. TRAN VAN VAN, OPPOSITION LEADER IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, held powerful hates and strong, sometimes non-valid, convictions. He was aware that America is not trying to win the war. But, like many, he thought it was for commercial reasons, because Johnson wants to stay in Vietnam forever.

"Get that out of your head," we told him. "Johnson will move heaven and earth to get out of Vietnam before our next elections. So you must quit sniping at Premier Ky and the northerners in his government and get on with the war against the Vietcong. All you and the other political parties are doing now is impeding the war effort."

"If we cease attacking the government," he protested, "In a year and a half it will be so firmly entrenched we will never get it out. America will force it on us as she did Diem."

"What would Ky and America have to do to get you to declare a political truce till the Vietcong is beaten?" we asked. His answer was short: "Bring back our Emperor."

"Will you cease all political opposition if His Majesty Bao Dai returns as a guarantee of fair play?"

"Yes," he answered. Three weeks later he was assassinated.

MR. TRAN VAN AN (no relation to Tran Van Van) is another opposition leader. As Professor Buss would put it, he also believes that we are the root of his wretchedness. He spent almost the whole of Diem's period in power in Paulo Condore Prison, South Vietnam's Alcatraz. Now he sits in the National Assembly. What is his price for co-operation until the communists are beaten? First, the return of General Le van Vien, to assure security in Saigon. Then the return of His Majesty the Emperor, not to Saigon but to Hue, the old imperial capital. It would not be necessary to restore him immediately as Emperor. He could come back as a mediator between the divided factions, said Mr. Tran van An.

MR. TRAN QUANG VINH, Former Minister of National Defense, member of the National Council, now represents the Cao Dai sect. Boiled down to its essence, his appraisal of the situation is: The Cao Dai sect has some 2,700,000 adepts. From May 1955 to November 1963 the Americans lumped them in with the communists. After Diem fell, some Cao Dai followers rallied, but their enthusiasm waned when they saw that America had no intentions of making honorable amends. "By that," said Mr. Tran quang Vinh, "We mean restoring Le van Vien as leader of the coalition of the Gao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen against the Reds, then bringing back His Majesty. If America would encourage the return of Le van Vien, our 2,700,000 Cao Dais would follow him. Add to that 1,500,000 Hoa Haos and a million Binh Xuyen sympathizers. The Americans could stop worrying about Saigon, Cholon and Bien Hoa air base. There would be no more terrorism."

MR. TON THAT (pronounced "taht") THIEN (brother of General Ton That Din, commander of the First Military Region) is managing editor of the English-language daily, The Vietnam Guardian. I commented on his report in the (London) ECONOMIST in November, 1965, in which he stated that General Lansdale had been sent back to Vietnam to bring about the fall of the Ky government. He replied, "That article got me in trouble."

We discussed the tragedy of the American Right's inability to gain the confidence of South Vietnam, simply because one faction of said Right refuses to make an honest mea culpa. "There is nothing I can do," he lamented. "American publications do not reach me, and anything I might write, if they were to publish it, would get me in trouble here. Vo Hai (Diem's former right-hand man) is the only one who knows how much was paid and in what form to those still blocking any real backtracking, and he is afraid to talk. Too many were in it with him.

"We will never get anywhere until all the forces America and Diem alienated are brought into the war effort. When Pham Khac Suu was chief of state (he resigned in June, 1965) he wanted to bring Le van Vien back, but Premier Pham huy Quat blocked it. We must bring back Le van Vien and the Emperor."

Three weeks later Ton that Thien's paper was suspended for hinting that the Vietcong might not have been responsible for Tran Van Van's assassination.

THICH PHAP TRI AND THICH THIEN HOA, Vice President and President respectively of the two leading Buddhist groups, sat like immovable mounds of flesh. Thich Tri Quang, the principal Buddhist trouble-maker in Vietnam, was recovering from his hunger-strike, so the two above-named Buddhist leaders, men with huge heads--like Sumo wrestlers and apparently devoid of nerves--faced me in their pagoda.

All their reactions were negative. When they talked of the suffering of innocent civilians bombed by American planes, there was no real compassion for the sufferers. They were counting beads of grievances against the nation doing the bombing. Reminded that, according to Vietcong Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap that there are no civilians in North Vietnam, the land of "people's war, people's army", they sat silent. Ask them if they would like to have America drop the whole thing and pull out, and they say "No". Ask them what they want America to do and they ask what you think America should do. Our reply was: "Suppose we were to undo all the mistakes that we can still rectify. We cannot bring back General Hinh; he is now Chief of Staff of the French Air Force. But Catholics, Cao Dais, politicians and many others tell me that we should show our good intentions by facilitating the return of Le van Vien and the Emperor and then letting the Vietnamese decide whether they should remain permanently or not. Would that suit you?"

"Yes", they answer.

"Why?"

"With Le van Vien here, people could sleep at night and the road to Cape Saint Jacques would be safe again. With the Emperor here, we would not fear the Catholics and they would not fear us. Only the Emperor is above politics, religious differences and regional divisions."

Our conversation was in French, as were all the conversations I am quoting. It took two and a half hours to extract a concrete suggestion. From the pagoda where we met the two monks we went for a meeting with a man who, if he is not to go the way of Mr. Tran Van Van, we shall refer to as Mr. L.

MR. L. IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF LE VAN VIEN, the man who started life as a pirate in the swamps, who escaped from seemingly escape-proof Paulo Condore Prison three times. The men who followed him accepted death rather than betray him. The Reds feared him. And according to LIFE Magazine American agents (presumably the Lansdale team) spent millions to bring about his fall. American boys now die where he preserved order.

Mr. L. repeated what the Cao Dai representative and the two monks had told us. He claimed that over five million people would follow Le van Vien against the Vietcong if he could return. Why do some Vietnamese oppose his return, we asked. He said they were afraid he would want his property back. So Le van Vien said he would not demand his property, since it had been sold and resold, but he would ask restitution of the six million dollars Diem confiscated from his account in the Bank of Indo-China. He has to have money for the widows and orphans of the men who died for him in 1955, otherwise he will lose face, explained Mr. L.

Are you sure he can secure the area between here and the Cape? Yes, the Vietcong are not operating between here and the Cape. It is Muoi Tri. He swore he would not rally until his chief comes back. (Muoi Tri was sentenced to death by the Vietminh in 1948 and saved by Le van Vien.) The Americans think they are fighting the Vietcong. In reality they are facing an anti-communist who was driven into dissidence when Colonel Lansdale crushed his chief.

COLONEL NGUYEN PHUOC DANG is a tall, good-looking Vietnamese. He was about to leave for his property at Cape St. Jacques. "Yes," he agreed. "Muoi Tri is in dissidence there. The area between here and the Cape would return to Saigon control if Le van Vien were to return.

"Where is Vo Hai?" we asked, knowing that Colonel Dang was acquainted with the old Diem-Nhu team. "Do you think we could get Vo Hai to come clean and tell us how much he paid out for free trips to Saigon for pro-Diem speakers and writers, and support of papers and so-called news agencies?"

"Not a chance," he answered. "Vo Hai is lying low. His brother, Vo Lang, was exceedingly correct on his trip to Saigon, before Diem and Nhu were killed. Vo Lang leveled a finger at his brother, and shouted, 'You will be hanged in a Saigon square for what you are doing now and you will deserve it. As your brother, I will be sad, but I will not lift a finger to save you!'"

Dang continued, "On one of Madame Labin's first visits to Saigon I was delegated to take her to Cape St. Jacques for a day of sun bathing on the beach, to keep her occupied

and happy. I tried to tell her a few things about Diem and Nhu. She was annoyed, and never talked to me again."

Concerning Nhu and his wife: "Yes, I learned on September 9, 1963, that the Vietcong had rejected Nhu's proposition. A few days later Madame Nhu left for Belgrade, to seek support."

RESEARCH A LA PENTAGON. While we were questioning representatives of regional, religious and political groups in Vietnam in search of a common political denominator, one which would enable the disparate factions to unite behind Marshall Ky and fight the Vietcong instead of each other, the Pentagon was doing some polling on its own.

The Pentagon's way was to employ a high-priced research organization called SIMULMATIC CORPORATION OF NEW YORK. After a staggering waste of time and taxpayers' money, it came up with the ponderous pronouncement: The Vietnamese dislike Americans and have institutionalized hostilities because they have unsatisfactory sex lives.

In Vietnam's jungles and swamps GI's went on dying. General Le van Vien sat in his modest apartment outside Paris (not the mansion falsely accorded him by TIME Magazine of November 11, 1966). The Emperor Baø Dai received countless appeals, but could do nothing about them.

IN BELLICOSE RED CHINA STRANGE THINGS WERE TAKING PLACE. A woman who had failed as an actress became a filing clerk in a communist library some years ago. There she attracted the eye of China's aging leader, Mao Tse-tung. Mao's wife was committed to a mental institution in Russia, this being the period of Sino-Soviet co-operation, and there she is presumably still alive. Mao's friends and old comrades in arms did everything they could to dampen the old chief's ardor for the actress become librarian, but to no avail. The best they could wring out of him was a promise to keep her at home and out of politics.

Today this ex-actress, Chiang Ching, better known as Madame Mao, is settling scores. Some sixteen million youngsters are said to have been transported across China, whipped into adolescent fury and guided to the homes of those whose names were in Madame Mao's little black book. Cutting out tongues, lopping off ears, looting, destroying belongings and spreading terror, Madame Mao's hordes spread a wave of terror.

Those who had snubbed Chiang Ching committed suicide if they were isolated. Those who were not, whether in the army, private life or politics, began to band together. Today Red China totters on the brink of civil war.

In Hanoi Mr. Harrison Salisbury, as another New York Times man once did in Cuba, pounded out typewritten pages, telling an abused and confused America what Hanoi wanted America to hear.

Thus began the year of 1967.

* * *

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, price \$5) may be ordered from Western Islands, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont 78, Mass.

THE FOREIGN PRESS AS DICTATOR OF AMERICAN POLICY

During the presidential campaign of 1964 all Europeans knew of Goldwater was what their editors gleaned and translated from the anti-Goldwater American press. American foreign correspondents then retranslated into English stories on the hatchet job they themselves had written and, under foreign dateline, passed them back as examples of foreign opinion which America must not defy by electing Goldwater, under pain of ostracism by the rest of the world.

So successful has been the tactic of using articles published in leftwing journals abroad as arguments for political and moral surrenders by America that a study of the whole procedure is in order.

THE NEW YORK TIMES AND TIME MAGAZINE are the American publications most widely accepted by foreigners as unassailable authorities on America's thoughts, intentions and political aspirants. (It is estimated that the U. S. Information Agency purchases some two million copies of TIME each year for gratis distribution abroad.) The Washington Post is less well-known to foreign editors. Its job is to spread on each lawmaker's desk at the start of each Washington working day such "foreign opinion" as will make what the Washington Post supports or opposes America's final truth. (Incidentally, the Meyer family which owns the Washington Post also controls NEWSWEEK Magazine, thus providing a second, substantiating voice to parrot, under another name, the parent paper's line.)

The NEW YORK TIMES pipes its reports and columns to the American public under a variety of names by providing its "news service" to other papers across the country. Thus a Times story appears in Los Angeles, Indianapolis, Salt Lake City, Fort Lauderdale and other cities. Each addition to the long chain of local papers passing the Times line to local readers under a local paper's name increases the power of those pouring "news" into the central funnel in New York. Worse, it increases the stature, and with it the news value, of those carrying drivel to the funnel.

THE HONG KONG STAR of January 11, 1967, featured as its front-page story an interview with Mr. Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times. Briefly, Mr. Salisbury had been to Hanoi, from which city he put at the disposal of Ho chi Minh the weight of the most impressive paper in America and all the other papers using the New York Times news service. A comparable act would have been our giving Goebbels an American mass-circulation outlet in 1944.

No writer with nation-wide coverage in America went back to compare Ho chi Minh's persuasive statements of 1946 when, on the eve of a massacre, he invited his dupe, a French diplomat named Sainteny, to dinner. Salisbury wrote of Hanoi hotel hostesses putting on helmets and taking up their guns when air raid alerts sounded, then went on with the pretense that they were civilians.

Later he went to Hong Kong where, because of his paper's stature, his pronouncements were front page news. What did he tell Hong Kong residents, apprehensively eyeing Chinese riots in neighboring Macao and Red Guard atrocities in chaotic China? The headline went: "Top U. S. Journalist Warns: DON'T MAKE HONG KONG A WAR BASE." In other words, don't let America have any facilities here. It was both nonsense and treason.

The Hong Kong Star, in which this interview appeared, is both pro-Formosa and anti-Red. Its editorial offices are in Caroline Mansions, Hong Kong. Mr. Graham Parsons, Editor, is a veteran in the Orient. During the 1954 to '63 period of American meddling in the internal politics of Vietnam, Parsons was a Reuters News Agency correspondent in Saigon. Ed Gullion was political officer in our embassy. (He was ambassador to the Congo later, when we and U. N. were destroying stable Katanga to please a Congolese labor boss named Adoula.) Gullion frequently invited Mr. Parsons to luncheon or dinner, with an eye to using the British press as evidence that world opinion precluded any policy but the one Mr. Gullion was trying to sell.

Mr. Parsons invariably stated, "Mr. Gullion, I enjoy your meals immensely, but I will not buy your man." Why then did he give Harrison Salisbury news-space in a pro-Formosa newspaper? The answer: The New York Times is big. Its pronouncements are reprinted abroad unquestioningly, as the last word on what America thinks.

TWO LEFT-WING FRENCH PAPERS regularly furnish desired French "opinion" quotes for America and transmit New York Times versions to the French public in the game of international Leftist co-operation. We have a reason for reminding you of them at this time.

L'EXPRESS AND LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR. Let us look at L'EXPRESS first. It is a weekly with TIME Magazine format. A publications dealer on Third Avenue in New York pushes it as the "leading liberal paper in France". L'EXPRESS was founded in 1953 by the Servan-Schreiber family as the anti-war, peace-in-Indochina drive of the French Left entered its final phase. Vietnikism in France was where it is in America today. And Pierre Mendes-France, of the extreme socialist Left, was the man L'EXPRESS was pushing.

Different political systems require different methods. Today the objective of the international Left is to hold the spectre of world opinion before a misinformed American public and lead it to impose a policy of no-winism on a frightened president hoping for re-election. In 1953, adapting tactics to the French system, the aim was to make the existing French government afraid to win, then saddle it with responsibility for defeat, after which national indignation would be used to topple the government in power and clear the way for a man who would perpetrate the sell-out. It worked.

At the time of the battle of Dien Bien Phu both L'EXPRESS and Le Nouvel Observateur were under indictment for aiding the enemy. The precise charge? Passing information. Both indictments were quashed the moment Mendes-France became premier. Today L'EXPRESS is pro-Vietcong. It has always been pro-Castro. A veteran of its editorial staff is Madame Reyre, wife of the head of Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, parent company of Paribas Corporation of New York. Barry Gray is a frequent contributor.

The L'EXPRESS issue of October 12, 1961, at the height of De Gaulle's purge of the French army, featured Senator Fulbright's reasons why trigger-happy officers and "fascists"--meaning anti-communists--should be weeded out of the American army. The French Left then used the "foreign opinion" argument to increase the purge in France.

Last year, indicative of the French Left's complete affinity with the French government, L'EXPRESS became a carrier agent for the reports of AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, the official French government news agency. Thereafter Monsieur Francis Lara de Chaban, noble and married to a descendant of Napoleon's brother, became "our Washington correspondent", and a provider of social respectability to marxist L'EXPRESS.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR is of particular interest to the American public at this time. In essence, here is the latest pro-Red hoax: In mid-January a short item appeared in American papers, stating that a beautiful French girl war correspondent named Michele Ray had disappeared in Vietnam. A frightful picture of feminine loveliness helpless in the hands of the Vietcong was conjured up.

After the first announcement of her disappearance, more details appeared, mostly dealing with her beautiful auburn hair. Who employed her, who sent her to Vietnam in the first place, few papers bothered to mention. LIFE Magazine of February 3 called her "a free-lance photographer who shared combat patrols with the Green Berets, who gallantly named an operation for her".

She is 29 years old. She was trying to drive from Saigon to the demilitarized zone in the north in a white Renault car. One or two reports quoted her parents in France as stating that they were not greatly worried, as their daughter had expressed intentions of reporting from behind the Vietcong lines after her stay with the Americans. But this was soft-pedalled. It hurt the suspense build-up.

Villagers of Bong Son, 290 miles northeast of Saigon, near where her car was found, told of her arrival, accompanied by two Vietnamese in civilian clothes inside the car and two Vietcong soldiers walking slowly beside it. One American correspondent destroyed any real effect Miss Ray's forethought might have had, if the captivity story had been genuine, by writing that she had succeeded in concealing her American military assistance ID card in her car.

Walter Cronkite, over CBS on January 25, 1967, gave another boost to the market for Miss Ray's eventual disclosures. He showed CBS man Murray Fromson interviewing Major Bobby Porter at an American base in South Vietnam. Yes, Miss Ray was stubborn, said the major. He had dissuaded her from trying to ride north on a bicycle, disguised with a wig. But she refused all advice and drove north on her own.

MADEMOISELLE MICHELE RAY. Let us talk sense. Not even HUMANITE is as effective a propagandist sheet for Ho Chi Minh as Le Nouvel Observateur, for whom Miss Ray was accredited as a correspondent. Miss Ray's boss is in constant contact with Ho Chi Minh's Paris mission. He is a North African named Ben Saïd who, for greater effectiveness, took the name of Jean Daniel. We shall refer to him by his proper name. Formerly he wrote for L'EXPRESS. Until recently he was French correspondent for the New Republic, whose

editor, Gilbert Harrison, Mr. Ben Said extolls in France as an interpreter of American "foreign opinion".

Nouvel Observateur was known as France-Observateur until a little over a year ago. It was co-defendant with L'EXPRESS in the 1954 treason indictment. Daniel Guerin, the French Red who set up communist cells (really "soviets") in the French army to report on French officers during the De Gaulle purge, was an Observateur editor. Though the treason case against L'EXPRESS and France-Observateur never came to court, the scandal it created was used to get a number of loyal French generals, including the irreproachable Chief of Staff, General Georges Revers.

Such is the background of Miss Ray's editor and paper. On February 5, 1967, she calmly walked into a military outpost at Tam Quan, about six miles from her place of contact with the Vietcong, and was flown to the U. S. 1st Cavalry Division Command Post at An Khe.

The guerillas who seized her were cheerful, Miss Ray told the Americans at An Khe. She had been stopped once before at a roadblock, but was permitted to proceed after she explained what she was doing and had a cup of tea with the guerillas waiting to kill our boys along the road.

What did she tell the Vietcong? Anyone sent to Vietnam by Le Nouvel Observateur would tell them everything she had seen, learned, and been told by the Green Berets "who gallantly named an operation for her". This is the logical explanation for her touring our side of the lines first. She has announced that she will continue her attempt to drive the length of South Vietnam "after some rest in Saigon".

"She still has her press credentials," said an American spokesman. "She can go wherever she wants to."

Some might consider it a betrayal of America's soldiers, considering that the war in which they are fighting and dying was termed by Miss Ray's paper on July 18, 1966, "An Absurd Crusade."

LIFE of February 3, 1967, quoted her as saying, "To the Americans, who never leave Saigon by road, I am either a sweet dope or a heroine." We consider her neither, and shall watch for the stories Nouvel Observateur's Ben Said will publish in Paris.

SAIGON'S ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS. If America is misinformed and ill-informed as to what is done and thought in South Vietnam, the same can be said for the Vietnamese. Bear in mind, the censorship machine set up by the Diem-Nhu regime is still in place. No succeeding government has dared dismantle it, any more than a new administration in Washington would dare throw one of our ponderous agencies out in the street. Consequently, even a story favorable to the Ky Government, or a book exposing the errors of the Diem regime for which America is blamed, has little chance of reaching a Vietnamese addressee by post.

Senator Fulbright's insulting statement in January that Premier Ky "is only there because we put him in" and should be booted out if he does not do what America tells him to, will reach the Vietnamese people through Premier Ky's enemies. That millions of Americans despise Senator Fulbright, the Vietnamese will never know. On the other hand, the story that made front pages in Saigon last November when an American negro artist was arrested for kidnapping a 13-year-old girl and holding her captive in his room ("for the game of the pig", as a Saigon paper put it) will never reach America.

Should Americans wish to write letters to Saigon editors or subscribe to a Saigon English language daily, to make certain that both apprehensive Vietnamese and our boys patronizing the newsstands in Tu Do Street receive encouragement, the addresses of three such papers are as follows:

THE VIETNAM GUARDIAN, 26 Ho Huan Nghiep, Saigon. (Address letters "To the Editor")

THE SAIGON POST, 399 Tran Hung Dao, Saigon.

SAIGON DAILY NEWS, Tax Building, 135 Nguyen-Hue (or Boite Postale 693), Saigon.

CONCERNING THIS PREMIER NGUYEN CAO KY whom Senator Fulbright brands as an American puppet while vaunting Washington's right to meddle in Vietnamese internal politics: The allegation is as insulting as the statement that Vietnamese generals were incapable of setting up their own November 1, 1963, coup d'etat without instigation and planning by American officials.

Ky is young. He was without experience in politics. As a pilot he showed great courage, and when the previous government, through ineptness or intent, appeared to be sacrificing fighting men without trying to win, Ky and a group of fellow officers took over.

Whoever is in power will be hampered, attacked and maligned by every group that is "out". Consequently, Ky is shot at from all sides. Buddhists threaten him with civil war if he is decent to a Catholic. Most Catholics in Vietnam recognize his difficulties and respect him. A few who enjoyed importance under Diem and Nhu still campaign for the dead brothers in America, and in so doing undermine Ky--or any other non-Catholic who might rise to power. This makes the Buddhists more intractable, for they see it as a plot to stage a Catholic comeback.

All in all, Ky is doing an incredibly excellent job. His political judgment has astonished everyone. There was no experienced leader, for the simple reason that we helped Diem and Nhu run out or arrest every Vietnamese who was not a yes-man. Now that Ky has acquired experience, those of the Fulbright ilk would like to destroy him. Few papers in America defend him. The American public should come to his defense. An ideal solution for Vietnam would be the return of the legitimate head of the government, the Emperor, with Ky as an appointed premier. No American publication, translating foreign press stories to be used as ammunition by Arthur Goldberg in advancing U. N.'s aims, is likely to tell us this.

ATLAS MAGAZINE is one of the publications looting foreign socialist and communist periodicals of articles and reports for publication in America. Quincy Howe, as ATLAS' editor, some years ago described the official journal of the Algerian rebels as "moderate El Moujahid". (El Moujahid means "the fighter".) Never translated for ATLAS publication was El Moujahid's account of the trip to Cuba by Algerian FLN representative to U. N., Abdekader Chanderli, to draw up an accord with Castro. Today the FLN Algerians whom ATLAS supported are running training camps to teach the Vietcong more efficient ways of killing Americans.

ATLAS' Far East authority is O. Edmund Clubb, the State Department security risk whom Dean Acheson permitted to resign with pension, against the recommendations of his own committee. Mr. Clubb, now at Columbia University, is a member of the lobby advocating admission of Peking (and the Red Guards) to U. N.

Considering the number of publications inundating America with extreme leftist material, presented as "world opinion" which we must by no means offend, a report on a timely subject from a journal which neither ATLAS nor the New York Times will ever mention, is in order.

MINUTE, OF PARIS, is a right-wing weekly, published at 12 rue du Croissant, Paris 2. (American subscription: \$19 per year) On December 1, 1966, MINUTE carried a story that merits study. The story of communism's march from rags to riches, an incredible tale which, since America's legalization of the Communist Party, on July 1, 1966, is due to be repeated here.

In 1935, as communists and socialists united to take over France and start the disarmament program which left the country helpless four years later, French Reds acquired an old, run-down building at 44 rue Le Peletier. Later on the street crossing in front of the place was called Carrefour Chateaudun. Now it is known as Place Kussoth, a name that reminds French Reds of Budapest every time they open their mail.

A corporation owned the building, so communists infiltrated the corporation. When Emile Dutilleul, treasurer of the French Communist Party, became head of the board of directors of the corporation, the rest was simple. They had their home.

There was one obstacle: A Berlin insurance firm named "The Victoria" had some \$80,000 in the building, but Hitler's insurance magnates did not quibble about the transfer, or granting French Reds a big mortgage under particularly favorable terms.

The old building was completely transformed. Bullet-proof doors were installed between floors. Reason for the security precautions was the party's monster filing system, the biggest in France after the police's, in which intimate details on some four million Frenchmen were meticulously recorded. (In Reuther's GROUP RESEARCH and Arthur Larson's NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY we had the beginning of the same thing in America.) One of the questions each party member had to answer in France was, "Do you have any relatives in the police?"

The custodian of this file on communists (and their enemies) was selected for his reliability. It was a man named Maurice Treand, who later negotiated with the Germans in 1940 for permission to resume publication of HUMANITE, the communist publication, after the French government had shut it down.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN a group of French anti-Reds, enraged by the complicity of Pierre Cot, France's pro-communist Air Minister, attacked the Red HQ, occupied the ground floor and tried to set fire to the building. Out in the streets, cheering them on, were disillusioned fighters from the International Brigade, cursing Andre Marty, the French Red whose summary executions in Spain gained him the name of "the butcher of Albacete".

In the fall of 1939, out of the Red headquarters flew orders to sabotage the war effort in the name of "peace". Hitler had not yet invaded Russia. Accordingly, on September 28, 1939, the French government dissolved the Communist Party and sent police to occupy the building. But the millions of dossiers on French Reds and their enemies had disappeared. Rumors circulated that they had been shipped to Russia via Germany (like Lenin in 1917.) Others affirmed that they had been sealed in a secret underground hiding place, prepared long in advance. No one knows. This is one of the carefully guarded secrets of the Red House. It may happen again.

AFTER THE LIBERATION, top Red leader Jacques Duclos reoccupied the building while communist workers in the Renault automobile plant "got" their boss, Louis Renault. The deserter, Maurice Thorez, was brought back by De Gaulle from Moscow, where he had been hiding since his death sentence in 1939, and a new era started.

The forbidding building on Place Kussoth has seen many inner storms of which the outside world has never heard. In 1952 it was shaken by a three-day fight behind closed doors as the Central Committee expelled Andre Marty from the party. Then came the period of French communism similar to that through which America is passing today.

THE WAR IN INDOCHINA. The French army saw its mission in Indochina as a struggle for humanity and the survival of the West. French Reds and no few Americans saw it only as a sordid fight to perpetuate colonialism. Peace committees, demonstrations against war, sabotage in defense plants and a drive to urge desertion and insubordination on French soldiers--these were the order of the day. The pattern is classic. It was directed from the inner sanctum of the Maurice Thorez house of treason.

Neither French patriots nor France's Reds had any delusion about who caused the surrender in Indochina. It was not that France, as a nation, had lost her will to fight. It was simply that the leaders in the Red HQ, aided by international Reds, had the power to topple governments willing to fight, and to install a government willing to surrender. It was French Communism's victory, not Ho chi Minh's. The same tactics are now being used in America.

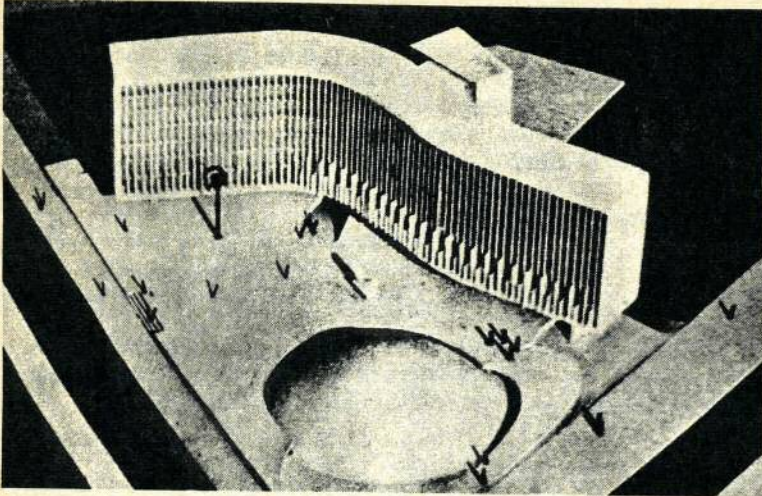
Not until 1956, when Russian tanks roared through Budapest, did the soldiers who had been betrayed in Indochina have a chance to make their reply. On November 7, 1956, thousands of indignant men and women followed the now-exiled former premier, Georges Bidault, down Champs Elysees. In the chill of Paris autumn they stood for a minute with heads bowed in silence for the victims of Budapest. Crying "Burn the Communist Party Headquarters!", an immense mob surged toward Carrefour Chateaudun, as the cross-street before the building was then called.

Another group marched on the offices of HUMANITE. The attack on HUMANITE was repulsed by party strong-men, throwing previously-prepared bottles of acid from upstairs windows. At the Red House, however, the veterans from Indochina broke the door down. Entering a neighboring cafe, one of them went upstairs and climbed along the side of the building into a second story window. But it was no use. The iron doors between floors blocked further progress. While frightened Reds scrambled over the rooftops the soldiers they had knifed in the back in Indochina fired the building once more.

1958: THE BOYS FROM INDOCHINA AGAIN. Two years passed. A large black stain still covered the nerve center of subversion and treason which legalization of the party obedient to a foreign power (Russia) had made possible. A group of generals headed by Raoul Salan and supported politically by such men as Jacques Soustelle and Georges Bidault brought De Gaulle to power. Looking at the men directing the action, the French Communist Party was seized with panic. A commando raid on the Red House was expected any minute. In a mad rush for safety, party bigwigs skipped the country. Tons of party files were transported to Italy. The expected clamp-down never came, though Red deputies were swept out of the National Assembly. In a few months the files were back.

France is moving into a new phase of communism as this is written. Communism made attractive. The palatial period. The rank and file are as always unwashed, hating

and hated, treasonable and vicious, but the visible ugliness will be removed. Buildings like the drab monstrosity on Place Kussoth (formerly Carrefour Chateaudun) are out.



Architects' model of the new palace French Communists will build at Place Colonel-Fabien in Paris as a national headquarters.

THE NEW RED PALACE. Niemeyer, the architect who designed Brasilia, winner of the Lenin Prize, 1963, will build it. It will be a futuristic palace of seven floors, reposing on supporting slabs, situated on Place Colonel Fabien, at the corner of Boulevard de la Villette and Avenue Mathurin-Moreau where the labor union house now stands. Need of more space and a home in keeping with the party's present importance are prime reasons for the move.

Among its features: An underground amphitheater, an exposition hall, several restaurants (upper echelons do not eat with the hoi polloi), a monster library, a garage, relaxation rooms and a gymnasium.

MOST IMPORTANT: Its security precautions. An automatic door-closing system will slam shut solid steel doors at the press of a button, sealing off floors and sensitive areas, like bulkhead doors on a sinking ship. Secret panels and camouflaged exits will provide escape exits for those on the inside. A network of electronic rays will shield all entrances despite the fact that, as HUMANITE puts it, the palace will be erected in the heart of "popular" (read communist) people's Paris. Either to facilitate protection or because this is the mode, there will be no ground floor to speak of for anti-Reds to break into. This is why the palace is raised from the ground on supporting slabs.

One floor will be reserved for the old "Colonial Section", formerly located on rue St. Georges when Moscow was using Frenchmen to incite revolts in French colonies. The new anti-colonialist office will direct an "agitprop" bureau for Africa.

FINANCING OF THE NEW PALACE. The party has plenty of property it can mortgage--some hundred villas in and around Paris, including the three Thorez used to occupy, and a fleet of radio taxis (Phone: BOL77-77) whose dispatching center is also a political post. Nevertheless, a subscription drive is in the works. The BANQUE DES PAYS DE L'EUROPE DU NORD, Russian-owned Paris branch of the Soviet State bank, will put up most of the loans. Financing will not prove a problem. As an American would put it, "It's in the bag."

THE PARALLEL. American communism eight months after legalization of the party is where France was in 1935. Miss Bettina Aptheker is moving to set up a communist house on the Berkeley campus, where California taxpayers are currently paying most of her tuition. A multi-floored headquarters fitted with iron doors to protect party records and smear files collected by Reuther and Larson on American patriots will shortly follow. A man named Arthur J. Goldsmith, living in a proletarian dwelling called the Waldorf Towers, long ago did the ground work. The period of palace communism will come in a few years--maybe a decade. Our current "bridge-building to the East" fad can only hurry it. As regards the anti-war, peace-in-Vietnam phase: Go back to French papers of 1939 and 1953. Or read Marguerite Higgins on the war in Algeria.

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H. du B. REPORTS

A FOREIGN AFFAIRS LETTER

PARIS, FRANCE

THE VIETCONG GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH AMERICA MAY NEGOTIATE

On February 22, 1967, a report was issued in Saigon by Mr. Mai van Dai, Under-Secretary of Information, informing the world that a Vietcong "Government in Exile" had surfaced and would sit in Paris. Presumably it would represent the Vietcong at any eventual conference with us.

THE VIETCONG GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. The St. Petersburg Times (Florida) devoted four lines to this important development. Readers of the Los Angeles Times of February 23 were given 18 lines on it. Short stories appeared in the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune of February 23, and the Paris edition of the New York Times of February 24. Their substance:

Prince Buu Hoi, a scientist, long-time member of a leftwing Paris group headed by the former premier of Vietnam, Mr. Tran van Huu, had thrown off the mask and emerged as head of the Vietcong's government in exile then being set up in France. (Tran van Huu had visited America in 1965 to seek support for a neutralist government headed by himself which would be able to come to terms with Hanoi and provide an out for the American administration.)

Few authorities doubted the story. Most felt it was premature, since Buu Hoi issued a denial on February 24 and announced that a meeting would be held on April 19, in Paris, at which he and Tran van Huu would both make statements.

Other than that Buu Hoi was a relative of the former Emperor--an indirect way of smearing the Emperor for whom many South Vietnamese are clamoring--the public was told nothing of Buu Hoi's past.

Behind the brief announcement and denial of his appointment lies a story the American public should know.

THE DAY BEFORE AMERICANS READ OF BUU HOI'S APPOINTMENT, word came out of Paris that a 32-page manuscript by Madame Nhu had also seen the light of day. The story behind the appearance of this manuscript is also interesting.

In mid-July, 1966, it will be recalled, the Paris weekly, NOUVEAU CANDIDE, published an interview with Madame Nhu written by a noted anti-communist author named Lucien Bodard. In this interview Madame Nhu admitted that she and her husband had been negotiating with the communists for months before Nhu's death and that she had advised her husband not to say anything to the Americans. She was, she claimed, about to send her two oldest children to Hanoi as trail-blazers--more likely as proofs of good faith.

When the editor of NOUVEAU CANDIDE saw this story, he refused to print it until Madame Nhu put it in writing and signed it, knowing that the lady with whom he was dealing was capable of awaiting its publication, then denying everything and suing the paper.

Madame Nhu's reply was to give Mr. Bodard some ninety pages of manuscript in which, among other declarations our enemies in Hanoi and Washington might use, was the claim that her husband and his brother had never invited the Americans into South Vietnam.

Your correspondent studied this manuscript thoroughly and showed it to other Americans. Its appearance in Paris coincided with the Saigon announcement of Buu Hoi's government in exile.

FIRST INTIMATION THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT WAS IN THE WORKS came on September 28, 1966, two months after the famous interview with Madame Nhu. This time it was an AP dispatch out of Tokyo. Wilfred Burchett, the Australian communist who regularly serves as transmitter of Hanoi propaganda beamed at the West, and who guided our New York Times apologist for the Vietcong, Harrison Salisbury, on his recent trip to Hanoi, reported an interview with Nguyen huu Tho, President of the Communist NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

Burchett announced the impending formation of a broad Vietnamese government in exile "which would include representatives of all social strata, nationalities, religious communities, patriotic personalities and even Saigon's ex-rulers."

Out of Rome and Paris immediately flew reports that Madame Nhu would figure in the new Vietcong government. Then silence.

In the days of her honeymoon with American conservatives whom she had duped, Madame Nhu acquired an extensive mailing list which she had bombarded with printed matter. These supporters--some honest patriots and others celebrity chasers--had campaigned for

their heroine. To them Madame Nhu's admission that she and her husband had negotiated with the Vietcong behind our backs was a catastrophe. A flood of letters descended on Madame Nhu, pleading with her to save face for her friends, but the parleys continued.

This brings us up to February 23, 1967, and the announcement that the Vietcong government in exile had been set up and that Buu Hoi would head it.

BUU HOI--WHO IS HE? The answer: An insignificant-appearing Vietnamese who since his youth has been a Red. He studied medicine and for a time worked with France's left-wing scientist, Joliot-Curie, in the Radium Institute of Paris. Later he did cancer research, but his penchant was for left-leaning politics. He longed to be a leader, and since he was the son of a loyal Ho chi Minh follower named Prince Ung Uy, great grandson of the Emperor Minh Mang, his rank and title made him valuable as a front for the Reds. Nothing that he does now should surprise us. (Buu Hoi's background is referred to six times in your correspondent's book, "Background to Betrayal--The Tragedy of Vietnam".)

The campaign to sell Buu Hoi in America was run by Miss Ellen Hammer, a former research staff employee of the COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. She was not a disinterested writer, according to Vietnamese who point out her years of association with Buu Hoi. Her interest, they claim, lay in becoming Vietnam's first lady. Buu Hoi's was in having an American backer with access to the Stanford University Press, at a time when Ho chi Minh's former propagandist, Mr. Harold R. Isaacs (now at M. I. T.) was associated with Stanford Press and Stanford president, Dr. Sterling, was head of the INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

So successful was Miss Hammer in stirring up support for her friend that in late April, 1955, we find Kenneth Todd Young, the State Department's whiz kid on Southeast Asia and later our ambassador to Thailand, admitting to a Vietnamese leader that America was considering Buu Hoi as a possible successor to Diem.

This being the case, Buu Hoi's career, which was open for anyone willing to look at the records, is of great significance.

In July, 1946, we find Ho chi Minh at Fontainebleau in a conference to hoodwink the French. Buu Hoi was a member of Ho chi Minh's mission to this conference, which comprised, according to Miss Hammer, "the best that Vietnam could offer." In her book, "The Struggle for Indo-China, 1945-1955" (Stanford University Press), Miss Hammer sneers at the French delegation as unimpressive men--men like General Salan and Pierre Messmer, the present French Minister of National Defense, who with a companion had been a prisoner of the Vietminh in 1945 when the companion died because Ho's American advisors prevented their liberation. The only French delegation member Miss Hammer approved of was Paul Rivet, who represented the French Socialist Party.

Three years later, in 1949, we find Buu Hoi in Paris, helping stage protests against the "immoral war" while his father was working with Ho chi Minh. It was a forerunner of what is going on in America today.

Insignificant as Buu Hoi was, and looked, he was nonetheless a prince whom the Vietminh propaganda team could quote when he wrote that "France, if she wishes to retain some influence in Vietnam, should enter into relations with Ho chi Minh and seek with him a peaceful solution to the war based on justice and fraternity." It has a familiar ring.

Four years passed. In February, 1953, the French left was sabotaging the war effort in Indo-China as a means of bringing about a defeat which would permit Pierre Mendes-France to direct the anger of the nation against the government and create a wave that would carry him into power. There is a close parallel between Mendes-France's maneuvering then and Bobby Kennedy's today. As part of the February, 1953, strategy, Buu Hoi was sent to Rangoon to meet Ho chi Minh's emissaries. Miss Hammer (in "The Struggle for Indo-China") explained his choice by writing that "it was important that the man who was to lend his good offices to such an exploratory mission should be above suspicion of partiality so that the free world, and particularly the United States, should have no reason to believe that this would be the prelude to any political surrender to the Communists." (!) It would be interesting to know if CIA financed publication of "The Struggle for Indo-China" by Stanford U.

How Buu Hoi, with his past Red record, could be suspected of anything but partiality is a question Americans should be asking in the months ahead.

AN AMERICAN-INSTALLED RULER. In the fall of 1954, it will be remembered, the vast

majority of South Vietnamese still refused to accept Diem and his family, and General Hinh, the leader of the army, prepared to throw them out. Mike Mansfield, who now opposes our doing anything to win the war in Vietnam, led the drive to force Diem on his countrymen, whether they wanted him or not. Others advised us to cut our losses and let the Ngo dinh drop as a bad bargain.

The time was propitious for Miss Hammer's drive, in The Pacific Spectator and Stanford University Press, to advance her boy friend and with him herself. She wanted to see Buu Hoi in power; therefore we read that the Vietnamese became disillusioned with Diem in 1954:

"Their only alternative was to single out one man to speak for them...In the fall and winter of 1954-1955, soundings by Vietnamese and foreign journalists reported that the man with the greatest popularity in southern Vietnam was not one of the politicians who had been in the limelight in the past or who was presently in office, but Buu Hoi, who was prominent not only for intransigent nationalism but also for the active role he had played in the struggle against French colonial rule during the nationalist phase of the Vietminh War."

There never had been a nationalist phase. Ho chi Minh's war had always been a communist war of conquest with a few nationalists maintained as a screen and even these, such as Buu Hoi, were in the know. Miss Hammer continues:

"Buu Hoi's political influence had long been overlooked in favor of his activity as a scientist of international fame, but the very fact of his international reputation enhanced his standing among his own people, who respected him as a disinterested scholar (emphasis ours) above the political melee."

This of the titled stooge who had fought tooth and nail for Ho chi Minh ever since 1945!

"When in August 1954 Buu Hoi returned to Vietnam on a visit," Miss Hammer tells us, "He was greeted as a national hero...His name was put forward by the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao, by labor groups and by army leaders."

The truth of the matter is, any acclaim Buu Hoi ever obtained was due to the nation's attachment to the imperial family. And because of it he fancied himself as a leader.

THE FALL OF 1954 was a period of feverish activity for Buu Hoi. It was the closest he had ever been to achieving what he had dreamed of, schemed for and wooed the research girl from the Council on Foreign Relations to attain.

South Vietnam was writhing in a mighty effort to throw off the Ngo dinh. America was not yet so hopelessly compromised that she could not get out from under; in fact, General Lawton Collins, our ambassador to Saigon at the time of the Binh Xuyen crisis in April and May, 1955, was already of the opinion that we should not buck the current any longer where Diem was concerned. Only Colonel Edward Lansdale and a small clique of Americans who had made South Vietnam their football field and saw Diem's fall or survival in terms of defeat or victory for their team were keeping the unwanted family in the saddle.

It is a safe guess that Ellen Hammer had rallied enough State Department and Council on Foreign Relations bigwigs to put America in the role of king-maker again, this time by installing Ho chi Minh's old errand boy. Then re-uniting of North and South Vietnam would have been attempted.

To help his candidacy along, Buu Hoi and his girl friend poured out articles for left-wing papers, telling what he would do if he were in Gia Long palace. On November 6, 1954, we find Buu Hoi in L'EXPRESS, Mendes-France's extreme left weekly which had been under indictment for passing information to the enemy until Mendes-France rose to power and quashed the indictment. In a long article Buu Hoi called for strong ties in Vietnam, not only with the United States and France but also with Asian powers of the Colombo group.

For a true idea of what he and Ho chi Minh were cooking up, however, one should turn to Miss Hammer's latest book, "Vietnam--Yesterday and Today" (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). In it Miss Hammer exposes Buu Hoi's aims, and who was in a better position to know? Bear in mind, this book was published a year before there were any reports that the author's friend would head a Hanoi puppet government.

BUU HOI'S PLATFORM. Miss Hammer tells us that what Buu Hoi was working for was the installation of a regime that would avoid "a purely negative anti-communism". His was a policy that "in foreign affairs called for neutrality and close links with such new

Afro-Asiatic states as India, with the ultimate aim of taking both Vietnams into the United Nations." Ever since the days of his 1953 mission to Rangoon, Buu Hoi has been Nehru's man as well as Ho chi Minh's.

THE BUU HOI-HAMMER TEAM JOINS NGO DINH DIEM--FOR A PRICE. In 1957 Diem and Nhu brought the Red prince and his friend to Saigon on a red carpet trip paid for by the American taxpayer. Thereafter the anti-Diem articles by Miss Hammer ceased, and paeans of praise took their place. It is hard to say what was behind the move to buy off these two, whether Diem and Nhu had decided "if you can't silence them, hire them," or someone had passed Nhu the word.

One theory is that the taking of Buu Hoi and his girl-with-a-press into the fold was done at the insistence of John J. McCloy, David Rockefeller, the Ogden Reids and the rest of the Council on Foreign Relations group who went into a huddle with Diem in the home of John D. Rockefeller, III, in Tarrytown, New York, on May 11, 1957. In either case, Buu Hoi had no further financial problems, thanks to American aid to South Vietnam, and Miss Hammer's attacks ceased.

One of the other things for which Buu Hoi is praised in Miss Hammer's latest book is that "In the south Buu Hoi created the Vietnam Atomic Energy Office to investigate the manifold uses of nuclear science in an underdeveloped country." This center, set up with American money by a known Ho chi Minh follower, is par for the course.

IN 1958 ANOTHER DANGER SIGNAL. Miss Hammer (in "Vietnam--Yesterday and Today") states only that "a new independence in Saigon's diplomacy was put into operation by a group of young and able diplomats led by Prince Buu Hoi, who himself became ambassador-at-large to several countries and to various United Nations bodies."

Who were these diplomats Buu Hoi was leading? To what countries were they sent? And to what countries and U. N. bodies was Buu Hoi ambassador-at-large? Ellen says not a word, but it is worth noting that Morocco, which had become a Red base during the war in Algeria, was the foremost nation to which Buu Hoi was ambassador.

"This new policy, begun in 1958," wrote Miss Hammer, "rapidly succeeded in building abroad a new image of an independent and dynamic (read "no longer negative anti-communist") South Vietnam. Its most notable successes occurred in the Afro-Asian countries."

On P. 178 of the same book one learns that in 1963 "a last attempt to mediate between the Buddhists and the Diem government was made by Buu Hoi, who prevailed on members of the United Nations to agree unanimously on sending a fact-finding mission to Saigon."

It took no great doing for a Red fellow-traveler to talk U. N. into a fishing trip in troubled waters, but that is not the most important part of this misleading statement. The truth of the matter was that Nhu and Buu Hoi were already up to their necks in negotiations with the Reds and Buu Hoi's mother, who had become a Buddhist abbess, was about to hurt their plans by burning herself. Consequently, Buu Hoi was summoned to Saigon to persuade her to stop rocking the boat.

THE NEGOTIATIONS BEHIND AMERICA'S BACK. The most shocking of Miss Hammer's revelations, to a loyal American, is her confirmation on P. 177 that Nhu was negotiating with the Vietcong. And in the light of recent reports naming Buu Hoi openly as a Red puppet, Miss Hammer's account of secret dealings to which she was privy take on ever greater importance.

"American impatience with Diem increased," she wrote, "when it was learned that his brother Nhu was in contact with North Vietnam and Vietcong insurgents (Note: they were only insurgents) and was seeking an agreement by which Hanoi would let the Vietcong rebellion subside in exchange for a restriction of the American presence in Vietnam. These contacts had been encouraged by India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and by France's President Charles de Gaulle."

In the pages that followed, Miss Hammer repeated the theme preached by those whom we described in our report of January, 1967, as GROUP 4, namely, that Diem and Nhu were loved, and that their deaths ended a period of relative calm and that therefore unseating them was a mistake. For those who, like Buu Hoi, were staking everything on secret negotiations with the enemy, the unseating of the brother through whom Nhu ruled was undoubtedly a calamity.

SO MUCH FOR BUU HOI. The above should give American readers a clear picture of the Vietnamese Red whom a significant number of Americans in academic and official life held in reserve or attempted to advance during the past twenty-one years. This is probably the only comprehensive report on Buu Hoi which Americans will have to refer to during the months ahead. Whether our government will openly, or secretly, back him and Tran van Huu as a means of reaching an accommodation with the Vietcong before our next elections remains to be seen.

It is possible that those seeking an out in South Vietnam by renouncing what Ellen Hammer calls "negative anti-communism" will find Buu Hoi too hot to touch since Saigon has turned the spotlight on him. In this case, a number of hitherto unknown civilians acceptable to Ho Chi Minh and his principles are on tap, only waiting to be unveiled. One such is the Vietnamese protege of David Rockefeller and John J. McCloy who has been appearing at Washington social functions with these two men in recent months.

On the other hand, it is still possible that Buu Hoi is the man our exit-gropers have selected as the leader our team will face at the conference table--hence his reported appointment by the Vietcong.

While pieces of the enemy design fall into place, American patriots are still strait-jacketed in their attempts to undo the errors our supporters of Nhu and Buu Hoi committed in Vietnam by a spate of books, articles and lectures which maintain that it was not a mistake to force out of the country every leader or potential leader who opposed Diem and Nhu.

THE ACID TEST FOR AMERICA'S "AUTHORITIES" ON VIETNAM. Most of these books, articles, speeches and broadcasts have one thing in common. Their information is based on the word of someone who knew the two leaders in the palace. None of their authors to date has gone to the country--the montagnards, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, Binh Xuyen, Dan Xa, animists, ancestor worshippers, followers of the national tradition (the Emperor), political parties and refugee groups--and asked their opinion.

A case in point is the recent book "Vietnam Crisis", which should be exported in quantity to Saigon by USIS and put to public vote.

"VIETNAM CRISIS", published by The Free Pacific Press, P. O. Box 316, Alton, Illinois, price 75¢, is by Dr. Stephan Pan and Father Daniel Lyons, S. J.

Dr. Pan is Chinese. He helped write the United Nations Charter and was employed as an advisor and consultant to U. N., qualifications that might discredit him in many minds from the start. His acquaintance with the late President Diem, the book states, stems from the six months in which Diem lived with him in Washington and many visits to Saigon. He therefore cannot be said to be disinterested. (All previous accounts of Diem's stay in America have him living at Maryknoll Seminary, tacitly picturing him as a devout student for the priesthood.)

Dr. Pan is less interested in correcting our errors in Vietnam than in convincing America that we made none as long as we were supporting Diem, whose family and friends were the only Vietnamese Dr. Pan appears to have known.

Father Daniel Lyons, S. J., the other author, is currently on leave from Gonzaga University. Leaders of all the native Vietnamese groups mentioned above declare that they have never met Father Lyons, who is nevertheless a "Vietnam authority" on the strategy board of the American Security Council (Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles) which puts out its own political report. He is also chairman of the Free Pacific Association and the Asian Speakers Bureau. Chances that the Vietnamese who disagree with Father Lyons (at least 90%) will ever get their views before the students of Gonzaga University, American Security Council readers, Free Pacific Association members, Asian Speakers Bureau audiences or Free Pacific Press readers are therefore nil. Further, the liberal use of "Free" in the names of two of these bodies makes anyone who contradicts Father Lyons open to charges of being opposed to freedom.

The theme of "Vietnam Crisis" is the familiar one: The Diem government was good, loved, victorious, and cut down by our Saigon officials because it was winning. Father Lyons, however, according to his statements, was sent to South Vietnam by the U. S. Defense Department in August, 1965, and again by the White House in mid-June, 1966. It is hard to see why McNamara and Johnson sent a man to Saigon who preaches that our embassy officials (admittedly no good) murdered Vietnam's former leaders, unless our government would rather have the public believe such a story than know that the Vietnamese hate us for foisting the Ngo Dinh family on them, one member of which was negotiating with the Reds behind our backs.

The book itself is incredibly badly written, which leads one to suspect that the Chinese member of the team had more to do with it than the Gonzaga professor. No attempt is made to follow chronological order. France's desire to get Chinese troops out of Indo-China after World War II is laid to underestimating of the communists.

Important details in the deterioration of South Vietnam are passed over with a sentence. Whole pages--12 on the Geneva Conference, 17 on SEATO and its justification under Article 52, Section 1 of the U. N. Charter--are devoted to material obtained through perusal of old records.

On what really happened in South Vietnam and the other actors on the stage there is very little, only the assurance that Diem and Nhu were good. The Emperor Bao Dai is written off as a playboy: obviously neither author bothered to meet him or learn his views. General Le van Vien, a central figure in the drama, whose banishment by Diem is costing us millions of supporters and the lives of thousands of Americans now, is mentioned only once, and then his name is wrongly written. Madame Nhu's father, Tran van Chuong, is always referred to, even in the index, as Tran Van Thoun. General Hinh, whose ousting was our first step toward creating the leadership vacuum plaguing Vietnam today is only passingly referred to, and then as General Hing. "Diem finally managed to dismiss him" is all the reader is told of the devious maneuvers of Diem and our embassy (this time our embassy really was in it!) to get him out of the country.

Among the "seemingly overwhelming" obstacles Diem is credited with overcoming in his first six months of power is the suppression of the Vietcong, an organization not formed until six years later. Of the torture house in the botanical gardens, through which many members of Vietnam's present National Assembly passed, not a word.

On P. 100 the reader is told, "It was one of Diem's weaknesses that he did not have a public relations program to support him...He had not a single news agency abroad for protecting his image or correcting false reports." The authors knew very well of Harold Oram's humming public relations machine, how much it cost, the free trips to Saigon it obtained for cooperative writers, and the powerful Diem lobby, AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM, with Angier Biddle Duke at its head, behind which Oram operated from 1955 on.

On P. 107 we are told that several coup d'etat attempts had already occurred, without success, before the final one of Nov. 1, 1963. "Until that day, no plotter could hope for success because the United States would have opposed him." (P. 125) That is why America is now hated by every man who suffered under the Diem regime.

H. DU B. REPORTS OF FEBRUARY, 1967, quoted a letter from one of Diem's leading propagandists stating that if we were to go to Vietnam we would hear all the Vietnamese regretting (in the sense of wishing back) the days under Diem.irate Vietnamese demanded to know who had written such a thing. We sent them the paragraph in question, signed by Father Raymond J. de Jaegher. It was printed in the SAIGON POST of February 17, 1967. On February 20 the paper ran the first reply, from Mr. Nguyen Ba Minh (of 48/1 Phan Thanh Gian, Saigon). It listed five charges against the Diem government, and ended, "I would be honored to discuss with Father Raymond J. de Jaegher before the television in any city of America about this subject, on the invitation of any American organization."

American TV and radio networks, please note.

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BACKGROUND TO BETRAYAL - The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Hilaire du Berrier (316 pages, \$5) may be ordered from Western Islands, 395 Concord Avenue, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.