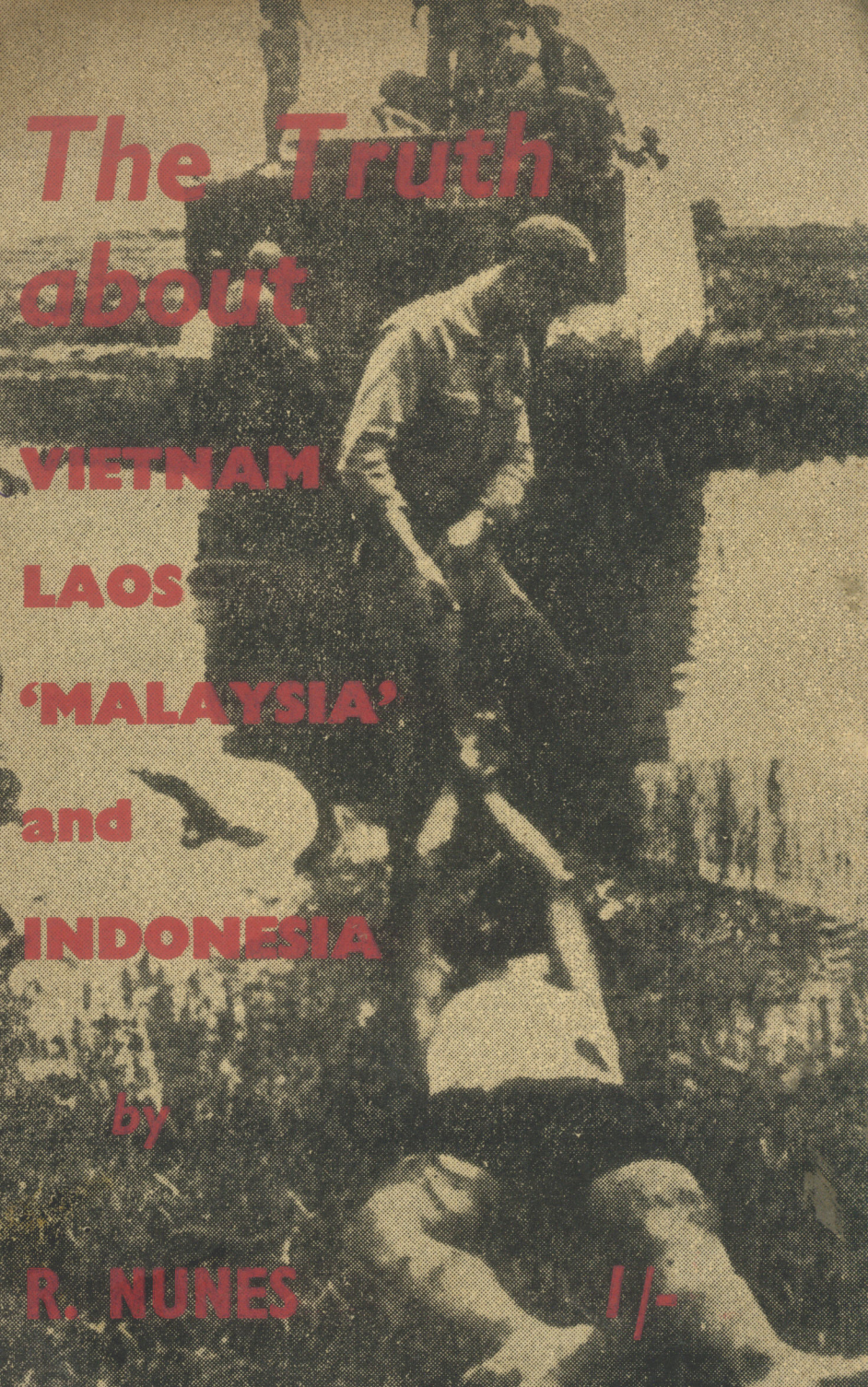
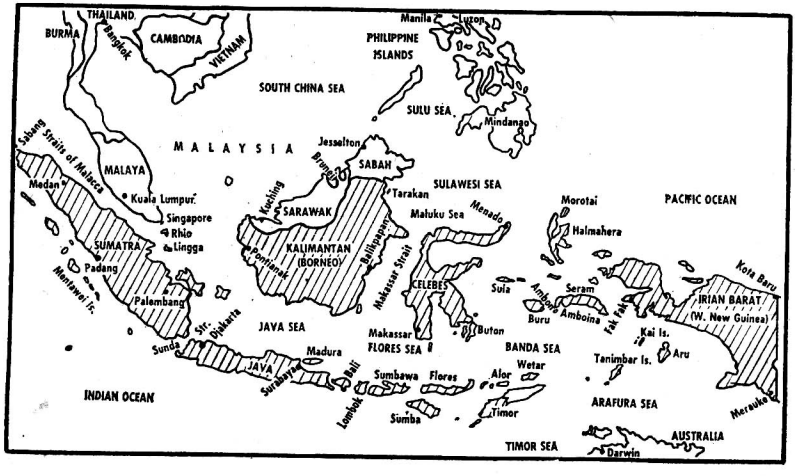

The Truth about
VIETNAM
LAOS
'MALAYSIA'
and
INDONESIA
by
R. NUNES
1/-

The Truth About . . .



South-East Asia and N.Z. Govt.'s Perfidy

SOUTH-East Asia has long been a source of rich profits for the millionaires of London, Paris and New York. To-day a ferment is going on in this area. Peoples in their tens of millions are rising in struggle to free their countries from the throttling grip of overseas combines which own the rubber plantations, the oil wells, the mines and ore fields of lands stretching from Indonesia to India. These foreign combines siphon off tremendous wealth, while the peoples are forcibly kept on the borderline of starvation or below in order to provide cheap labour for the enterprises of British, French or American Big Business.

In response to the urgings of the United States, the Holyoake Government has sent a force of army engineers to South Vietnam to support a hated military dictatorship against the people. It is ready to send forces to assist a would-be military dictatorship in Laos. It already has forces in "Malaysia," propping up the British puppet rule of Prince Abdul Rahman. It has sent forces to Thailand to help a wealthy monarchy in a poverty-stricken land. These military ventures are completely opposed to the interests of the vast majority of the New Zealand people.

To demonstrate this fact and to expose the monstrous deception being practised on the people by the National Party Government is the purpose of this pamphlet.

THE STRONG STAND

N.Z. Herald, Friday, April 17, 1964

Vietnam—the facts

IN November, 1963, the nine-year-old regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam was toppled by a generals' coup d'etat. A picture was revealed of a regime of ferocious oppression, corruption and brutality against the population.

Yet for nine years this self-same regime, installed in the first place by the United States, had been given unstinting U.S. support in money, men and arms, while Ngo himself had been lauded by U.S. Presidents and government leaders as a hero of anti-Communism and defender of democracy.

However, by 1963, he stank so much in the nostrils of the world that the U.S. began to find him more of a liability than an asset. Nobody took much notice of the U.S. official denials that it had organised the coup d'etat which overthrew Diem. Time magazine said on November 8 that "there could be no question that the U.S., in the policies and in the pressure it brought to bear, had effectively encouraged the overthrow of the Diem regime."

The U.S. had merely changed horses! the jockey—the U.S. itself—still remained. Nor were there any basic changes for the people of South Vietnam; one dictator had been replaced by another, who three months later was himself overthrown in another U.S.-organised coup which installed the present "strong man" and dictator, General Nguyen Khanh.

Why there is War in South Vietnam

(1) THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

To understand the present struggle in Vietnam and the forces involved in it, one must go back a little way—to the end of the Second World War, in fact.

From 1946 to 1954, France poured its armies into Indo-China. It aimed to re-conquer its former colonies. The peoples of Vietnam and Laos had proclaimed governments of independence after their resistance forces, the Vietnam People's Army and the Pathet Lao, had seized power from the Japanese occupationists in 1945. The French attempts at re-conquest met with united armed resistance by the population of Indo-China. In 1954, the smashing of a crack French army at Dien Bien Phu presaged total defeat for the 80,000-strong French expeditionary force.

At this stage, the U.S.A., which was already financing 80 per cent. of the French imperialists' war against the people, threatened direct, full-scale military intervention.

But Britain and the other Western allies of the U.S.—including France—preferred not to risk another Korean-type war, possibly a world war, and accepted a Soviet-Chinese proposal for an international conference. The outcome of the conference was the series of agreements on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (the lands comprising Indo-China), known as the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

These provided for:

- Each member of the conference to respect the sovereignty, independence and unity of the three Indo-China states of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and to refrain from any interference in their affairs.
- In regard to Vietnam, separation into two zones, pending the holding of general democratic elections in July, 1956, under an international control commission.
- Prohibition in the two zones of foreign military bases, personnel, arms or munitions.

The U.S. Government did not sign the Agreements, but in a separate statement issued on the day of their signing it pledged itself to uphold them. But it had already exacted a price from Britain and France for their permission to go ahead and sign them. That price was an agreement, reached at a three-power foreign ministers' conference in Paris a week earlier, to support the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). With that in his pocket, ill-famed U.S. Foreign Secretary John Foster Dulles flew from Geneva to Manila to set up SEATO as a tool for U.S. military and political domination of South-East Asia. New Zealand was to be part of SEATO.

(2) ENTER NGO DINH DIEM

In his book, "The Furtive War," Australian journalist, Wilfred Burchett, gives a succinct account of how and why Dictator Diem came to power in South Vietnam:

> **"After Dien Bien Phu, in July, 1954, as the French disaster in Indo-China was rushing to its climax, the Americans finally manipulated the overthrow of the pro-French government of Bu Loc and set up one under Ngo Dinh Diem. This was done with great haste, as by that time it was clear to the late John Foster Dulles that he was not able to block an Indo-China cease-fire. The next best thing was to have a government that would at least refuse to implement the Geneva Agreements, especially the key clauses concerning re-unification. Ngo Dinh Diem was the ideal man, and became the well-chosen instrument of U.S. policies in South Vietnam."**

Once in the saddle, Diem launched an indiscriminate

campaign of terror to wipe out all potential opposition. With his army and with assassins' bullets he struck at pro-French armed religious sects and at suspected progressives or Communists. **His prime target was the forces which had resisted the French, but these were the people themselves, for the resistance had been nation-wide.** So, with the aid of U.S. advisers, successive nation-wide campaigns of repression were organised under the name of "Campaigns to Denounce the Communists.' The words have a familiar ring. Similar campaigns were waged by the Nazis in Occupied Europe and by the Japanese occupationists in Asia.

The results by 1957 were pictured by London Times correspondent, David Hotham, who can hardly be suspected of Communist sympathies:

> ***"Since the defeat of the sects in 1955, Diem's army and police have been notorious for their activities in the villages —widespread arrest and imprisonment without evidence and***

REMEMBER when the National Party paper, Freedom, published this photo of Holyoake and Dictator Diem? And the words of praise about "freedom," "democracy," etc.?

without trial of persons suspected of being Communists or 'enemies of the state.' According to reliable sources, about 14,000 persons were arrested in central Annam alone at the time of the March, 1956 elections." ("New Republic," November 25, 1957.)

In the same article, Hotham noted that **"During the three years since Diem came to power there has been neither aggression from the North nor any determined effort by the Communists to subvert the Southern regime from within."** (Our emphasis.)

Along with massacre, arrest and torture went forcible re-settlement of thousands of villagers into so-called "agrovilles," later re-named "strategic hamlets." The anti-Communist Catholic historian, Philippe Devillers, gives this description:

"A certain sequence of events became almost classical—denunciation, encirclement of villages, searches and raids, arrests of suspects, plundering, interrogations enlivened by torture (even of innocent people), deportation and 're-grouping of populations' suspected of intelligence with the rebels, etc." (China Quarterly, January–March, 1962.)

Far from intervening or violating the Geneva Agreements, the North was seeking, through the International Control Commission, to have preliminary discussions with the South on the holding of the promised nation-wide elections. With his U.S. advisers at his back, Diem turned a deaf ear and continued on his bloody path of repression.

But if the North was not violating the Agreements, the U.S. was. From the outset it supplied Diem with money, munitions and advisers, and it continued to supply them on a constantly-growing scale. **Only three months after Geneva, President Eisenhower personally promised Ngo Dinh Diem support.** Indeed, more and more support was the only thing that could prop up Diem, for the Vietnamese people, who had fought for their independence from French colonialism, began a new struggle, this time in defence against an American-backed despotism which was worse than that of the French.

Civil War—with U.S. Intervention

Mr. Holyoake, in announcing the promise of a New Zealand force for South Vietnam, servilely echoes the current and phoney American view of the situation in Vietnam, saying: "The essence of the current problem is that armed insurgency in the South is being directed, supported and supplied by the Communist regime in the North, in flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements of

1954 and 1962."

The pretext that the North is intervening is, of course, necessary to cover up the massive and increasing U.S. intervention. That this is well-known outside the blind followers of the U.S. "right and wrong" is attested by a statement made in Christchurch by Mr. L. J. Ross, chairman of the World Peace and International Affairs Committee of the Christchurch Branch of the United Nations Association. As reported in the Christchurch Press of May 20, 1964, he said:

> **"The conventional view of the war in Vietnam was that the north was a Communistic and ruthless enemy attacking defenceless peasants in the south. In effect, the United States was interfering in what was primarily a civil war between contending factions—the so-called Communists were not Chinese but Vietnamese, and were supported by the majority of the peasants they were accused of attacking. . . . Only one side of the story was coming to New Zealand because of censorship placed on speeches made on the floor of the U.S. Senate which were opposed to the official policies of the Administration. In particular, Senator W. Morse had given repeated warnings on the activities of the U.S. in South Vietnam."**

And, indeed, these activities bear some scrutiny. They include:

- **The sending of over 12,000 American combat personnel who take part in the fighting, though hypocritically referred to in news reports as "advisers."**
- **The supply of hundreds of modern military aircraft and helicopters and of enormous quantities of modern small arms and artillery.**
- **The building of thousands of barbed-wire concentration camps (called "strategic hamlets"), supposedly for the benefit of the peasants, but into which they are forcibly herded and kept under armed guard.**
- **The use of chemical warfare against villages to destroy both crops and people in order to force them into the "strategic hamlets."**

The purpose of these activities was strikingly laid bare by the British philosopher and public figure, Bertrand Russell. In a letter to the New York Times, published on April 9, 1963, Lord Russell wrote:

> **"The United States Government is conducting a war of annihilation in Vietnam. The sole purpose of the war is to retain a brutal and feudal regime in the South and to exterminate all those who resist the dictatorship of the South. A further purpose is an invasion of fthe North, which is in Communist hands.**
>
> **"The real concern which brings the United States to pursue the brutal policy abandoned by France in Indo-China**

is the protection of economic interests and the prevention of far-reaching social reforms in that part of the world.

"I raise my voice, however, not only because I am in profound disagreement with American objections to social change in Indo-China, but because the war which is being conducted is an atrocity. Napalm jelly gasoline is being used against whole villages, without warning. Chemical warfare is employed for the purpose of destroying crops and live-stock and to starve the population.

"The American Government has suppressed the truth about the conduct of this war, the fact that it violates the Geneva Agreements concerning Indo-China, that it involves large numbers of American troops and that it is being conducted in a manner reminiscent of warfare as practised by the Germans in Eastern Europe and the Japanese in South-East Asia. How long will Americans lend themselves to this sort of barbarism?"

The Weapons, the War and the People

Russell calls the U.S.-conducted war "an atrocity." Here and there the methods used by the U.S. and their puppets against the people seep through into the regular news sources, backing up Russell's charge. On May 23, 1964, for example, television viewers watching the N.Z.B.C. news session saw shots of a man, allegedly a guerrilla, being dragged across country while tied by his wrists to an armoured troop-carrier driven by government troops. The Wellington Evening Post carried a similar shot and explained the purpose: To make the man talk. They didn't say whether he lived to talk after this "treatment." **It is to support such methods that Mr. Holyoake is sending New Zealand troops!**

True, Mr. Holyoake calls the contingent "non-combatant," just as the Americans call their forces "advisers"—and with as much truth! His justification is the same as that of the U.S.—intervention with weapons and men from the North. This claim is disproved not only by the entire way in which the war has developed, but also by geographical and military facts:

Firstly, the border at the 17th parallel and also with Laos is heavily patrolled by Southern troops. There are only two roads leading South, both of which are controlled by government forces.

Secondly, the main fighting has been taking place in the Mekong Delta and the extreme south, i.e., about 1,000 miles from the Northern border. The skies above South Vietnam are controlled by U.S. 'planes, the waters round it by the U.S. Fleet. It does not take a military genius to see that it would be quite impossible under these condi-

THIS dreadfully-burnt kiddy was found screaming with pain and shock after U.S. aircraft had dropped U.S. napalm bombs on an innocent village where South Vietnam independence fighters were "suspected" of hiding.

The photo caused an outcry in the U.S.A. when Associated Press published it in March, because it emphasised the nature of this dirty war waged by the U.S.

The U.S.A. refuses to allow the Geneva Agreement nations to meet again to help solve the local problems, as requested by France, China and Russia. For the U.S.A. knows such a conference will show she has violated the Agreements in the area in every way.

The U.S.A. wants to extend the war to neighbouring lands in order to maintain vile dictatorships in South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand — puppets of the Yankee dollar.

The Americans are losing this war, so they want to drag New Zealanders in to help them. But the New Zealand Government must not be allowed to besmirch our nation's name.

Let the Government know your opposition.

tions for the North to "direct, support and supply" the guerrillas fighting in the South, as Holyoake claims.

Where, then, do the guerrillas get their weapons Let us again quote a source which can hardly be claimed as "pro-Communist." Here is a report from the Associated Press correspondent in Saigon, published in the Christian Science Monitor of January 7, 1963, and also in New Zealand papers:

> **"South Vietnam's Communist guerrillas have built their arsenal of modern weapons to impressive proportions, and American helicopters are feeling the bite. Only a few months ago the average Viet Cong guerrilla had to rely on his home-made shotgun or old French rifle to blast away at the big American machines wheeling down on him with loads of troops. Now, thanks to captured American weapons, the guerrilla has a good chance of making trouble for the helicopters.**
>
> **"Arms used by the Communists include M-1 Garand rifles, 30-calibre machine-guns and some 50-calibre machine-guns. . . . Some Viet Cong units are equipped with 57mm. recoilless cannon.**
>
> **". . . Arms supplied to the Viet Cong from outside the country have been negligible. . . ."**

In this the correspondent repeats what dozens of press reports have noted—that the people's forces, who started out with home-made weapons, got their modern weapons in the only way possible—by capturing them.

The So-called Viet Cong

There is no organisation in Vietnam called "Viet Cong." The label, "Viet Cong," is a shortened version of "Vietnamese Communists," and has been the term used by the South Vietnam regime and the Americans to describe anyone in opposition to tre regime. Nor is there any organisation of "Communist guerrillas." What exists is, in fact, a National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, formed in 1960 and consisting of three political parties and over 20 social, professional and religious organisations and including representatives of national minorities.

The three parties are the Democratic Party, formed in 1945 and consisting of intellectuals and small business people who supported the war of resistance against France; the Radical Socialist Party, a grouping of intellectuals from the cities and representing a neutralist trend; and, lastly, the People's Revolutionary Party, formed in December, 1961, and grouping together former resistance members not affiliated to the other two parties.

Thus, the National Liberation Front, which conducts

the struggle against the Khanh - U.S. regime, is a broad coalition of forces, not just "Viet Cong" or "Communist guerrillas," as the U.S. or Mr. Holyoake or their information services, such as the daily press, would have us believe.

Nor is the programme of the Front one of Communism. Its 10 points declare for a neutral South Vietnam and democratic reforms. What is more, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (i.e., North Vietnam) will accept a neutral status for the South. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong told Wilfred Burchett (quoted in "The Furtive War"):

> **"If neutrality is their decision, we will support that. There is no hypocrisy in this. If the compatriots in the South believe this is the best way to end the bloodshed, to restore a normal life in the South, we will back them. . . . We can accept their programme for a neutral regime in the South, not just as some tactic, but as a long-term solution."**

China, too, has declared for a neutral South Vietnam and so has France. But the U.S. rejects any such solution. It declares that it will win the war. It never will, even if it proceeds with its much-pondered plans to extend the war into North Vietnam and China. It will not win for the same reason that it cannot win the war now.

It is fighting against the mass of the people who are united in their determination to rid their country of domination by the U.S. imperialists and their local puppet despotism.

The Man Who Counts

Guerrilla struggles against the Diem regime did not begin till 1958. By mid-1962, the American "Blue Book" on Vietnam estimated the so-called "Viet Cong" forces at 16,000-17,000. Against these primitively-armed peasant guerrillas were ranged 300,000 Diemist troops and police, armed with the most modern weapons, 7,000 U.S. "advisers," plus U.S. tanks, 'planes and warships.

Since then the U.S. has tried to shake off the odium of the Diem family by organising two successive coups. The present Khanh regime has an even bigger army and police than Diem, still more modern weapons and thousands more U.S. "advisers"; yet all observers agree—it is still losing the war. How is this possible?

How, indeed, is the question which all thinking persons must ask themselves, and there is only one answer that can give the explanation: The numerous, superbly-equipped and trained government - U.S. forces have no

support among the people because they are fighting in an unjust cause, while the guerrillas are fighting in a just cause, in the people's interests, and have their entire support. They have this because the people have experienced directly the rule of both the government and the National Liberation Front, which to-day controls 75 per cent. of the countryside.

For the mass of peasants, the rule of the government and its "advisers" has meant raids and plunder by troops and police, mass shootings, imprisonment and torture, destruction of their crops, seizure of their land to be handed back to landlords, forcible herding into concentration camps, forced labour for the landlord, the government or the army, grinding taxation and utter penury. On the other hand, the rule of the Liberation Front has meant protection from raids and plunder, land reform and the chance to cultivate their own crops as they wish, abolition of forced labour, education (the Front maintains its own schools), equality of citizenship and dignity. The people have made their choice.

More and more government troops are going over to the people's forces with their weapons. More are realising that they are fighting in an unjust cause. Their morale is in tatters.

But the Pentagon and the U.S. generals refuse to learn the lesson that the French had to learn the hard way—that in the long run it is not the size of the gun that counts but the man behind the gun. If he is fighting in a just cause he will overcome all obstacles and win. If not, he will run instead of fighting.

The Dangers

When the French imperialists were fighting their war in Vietnam, the French people called is "The Dirty War." The name has stuck (though the imperialist aggressors have changed) because it aptly describes the character of a war against the people.

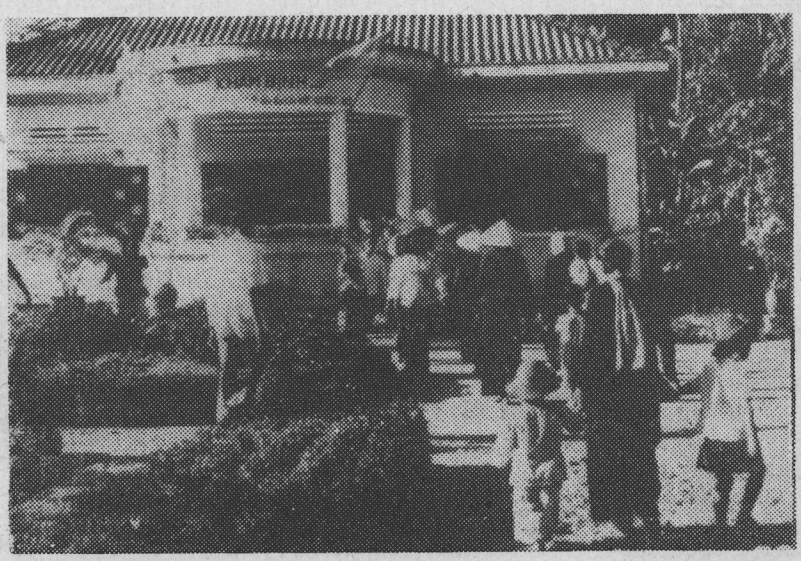
In sending New Zealand forces to take part in this dirty war on the side of the U.S.-sponsored military dictatorship, Mr. Holyoake has taken a dangerous step. That they will be involved in the fighting is almost certain, whether or not they are officially labelled "non-combatant." The danger lies in that more forces will be called to back them up and to give further assistance to the U.S. and its puppets. It is a step towards internationalising the war, the object in which Dulles was

unsuccessful in 1954, a step towards turning it into a Korean-type war.

The great majority of the people of New Zealand are working people, either wage-earners or farmers. Their interests do not lie in helping a foreign imperialism and its stooges to make war against the working people and peasants of Vietnam but in assisting them to get rid of the vicious despotism on their backs by demanding the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. The Government decision is a flagrant violation of these Agreements and is solely in the interests of American Big Business. These interests are, in fact, diametrically opposed to those of American and New Zealand workers alike. The U.S. industrialists and bankers are reaching out to dominate the world.

South-East Asia with its rich raw materials, its multi-million market and its strategic position as a base from which to threaten and eventually destroy China and seize more of Asia is an immediate danger.

They aim to establish their control under the smokescreen of the slogan, "Defence of the Free World." One can easily test the hollowness of this slogan by examining just how free the people of South Vietnam have been without even looking at the other military dictatorships which the U.S. keeps in power in other Asian states—Thailand, Formosa (Taiwan) and South Korea.



A MEDICAL CLINIC in a liberated area of South Vietnam.

LAOS – For the Laotians – or For the U.S. ?

"Protection"—of a Sort

IN 1962, a New Zealand force was sent to Thailand to join 5,000 U.S. marines who were landed there during a crisis in neighbouring Laos. Ostensibly, the troops were supposed to "protect" Thailand's border with Laos. In reality, they were to be on hand for armed intervention in Laos.

Now a new crisis has arisen. The question of sending New Zealand troops to Thailand is again under consideration by the Government—and for the same purpose.

In Laos, as in South Vietnam, the U.S. has poured in money, arms and "advisers" to support the most corrupt and discredited elements against the people.

Over $2,000 million have gone to Laos and $3,000 million to South Vietnam since the Geneva Agreements in 1954 in order to destroy the Agreements.

The U.S. object in Laos has been to establish a regime there similar to that in South Vietnam. But the Pentagon planners have once again left the people out of their calculations.

The U.S. Puppets Perform

For Laos, the Geneva Agreements provided for the formation of a neutral coalition government, new elections and the unifying of the armed forces.

Before a coalition government could even be formed, and while the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma was still holding discussions, the U.S. had manipulated their first "strong man," Katay, into power and war was launched against the Pathet Lao armed forces.

"The replacement of Phouma by an American-sponsored 'strong man' became a pattern—it was to recur three times in six years," U.S. author, Anna Louise Strong, wrote in her book, "Cash and Violence in Laos."

Each time the strong men attempted, with U.S. military advice and assistance, to smash the Pathet Lao, and each time they were defeated. In 1962, after repeatedly breaking cease-fire agreements with the Pathet Lao and renew-

ing the civil war, current U.S. strong man and would-be dictator, General Phoumi Nosavan, found himself facing complete defeat.

In typical upside-down fashion, the U.S. presented this situation to the world as a violation by Pathet Lao of the cease-fire agreements. It became the pretext for U.S. military occupation of Thailand and a threat of SEATO intervention in the war.

On April 19, 1964, the pattern was repeated once again. A group of right-wing generals seized power in the capital, Vientiane, and arrested Souvanna Phouma and other neutralist ministers in the Government of National Union. For such a government had been set up as a result of a new agreement at Geneva in 1962 by 14 nations. The New York Herald Tribune put the matter in a nutshell when it said that the United States had "reluctantly assented to the Geneva Agreement" in-as-much as "there seemed to be no hope of a favourable military solution."

The leaders of the new coup d'etat presented Souvanna Phouma with demands that boiled down to breaking up the tripartite government, forcing out the Pathet Lao ministers and thus effectively placing control of the government in the hands of the right-wing generals, with Phoumi Nosavan, the Ngo Dinh Diem of Laos, at their head.

The coup itself was, of course, a complete violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreement. However, it was certainly not the only one, for Nosavan and the right-wing had already launched a military attack on Pathet Lao weeks before. This was revealed in a cabled news item to the Evening Post of May 16, which, referring to the capture of Tha Thom by Pathet Lao, said:

> **"It was from Tha Thom that a strong right-wing strike force set out on deep raids into Pathet Lao territory TWO MONTHS AGO." (Our emphasis.)**

The report quoted the strength of the force at 1,400. Thus, the question of who has violated the Geneva Agreement is not open to doubt. **The renewal of civil war and the smashing up of the Government of National Union are both the direct responsibility of the right-wing and their U.S. masters.**

Having been severely thrashed by combined Pathet Lao and neutralist forces in 1962, over the last year the right-wing adopted the new strategy of sending troops, battalions at a time, to "join" the neutralists and oust real neutralist commanders wherever possible. By these means they managed to obtain control of a portion of the neu-

tralist forces which they were able to use to attack Pathet Lao in an endeavour to further disrupt the possibility of a neutral coalition government for Laos. However, backed by the people and with the support of genuine neutralist forces, Pathet Lao has again routed both the right-wing and the false neutralists.

The Pattern of Lies

Repeated right-wing coups to overthrow neutralist governments in Laos is one pattern which events show. There is another pattern as well, inseparable from the first. This consists of repeated attempts to crush Pathet Lao by force in order to establish a right-wing military dictatorship, accompanied by the charge that North Vietnam is intervening and that Pathet Lao is therefore violating the Geneva Agreements.

In 1955, the Royal Army, under the command of the U.S.-backed Katay Government, were being defeated after being sent to crush Pathet Lao.

Katay then declared that North Vietnam and China had invaded Laos, but the lie was very quickly exposed when his troops found themselves fighting only Laotian peasants and tribesmen and began to surrender and to revolt. The story backfired to such an extent that the Katay Government fell soon afterwards.

Again, in 1960, the charge of North Vietnam intervention and a "foreign invasion" was made, this time by the Nosavan-Boun Oum Government, which had recently overthrown neutralists to seize power. Then none other than Lincoln White, spokesman for the U.S. State Department which supported Nosavan and Boun Oum to the hilt, found himself compelled to admit that **"the Department had had many reports from various quarters that troops from North Vietnam had been introduced into the fighting on the side of the Communist-led rebels against the Central Government, but IT COULD NOT ACTUALLY CONFIRM THESE REPORTS"** (Evening Post, 29/9/60; our emphasis).

Other people were more outspoken than Mr. White. Under the headline, "Laos Invasion a Fantasy?" the Wellington daily, the Dominion, on January 6, 1961, published the following cabled dispatch:

> **"The Government of Laos (Nosavan – Boun Oum) was described as liars by the Daily Express to-day, and the 'foreign invasion' dismissed as a fantasy. . . . The accusations were made by the Daily Express roving Far East correspondent, Bertram Jones, who flew to Thailand to file his**