

in the magazines

FUNK is here, and despite the improbable-sounding initials, it is very much a factor in parts of the Cambodian countryside and in the border regions; indeed, it "just might be the final straw that either mires Uncle Sam in Indochina forever or sends him packing for home"—this in the opinion of Michael Morrow, Vietnam correspondent of Dispatch News Service International, captured by pro-Communist forces in Cambodia last spring (*War/Peace Report*, October).

FUNK is the acronym of *Front Unis National Khmer*, a pro-Communist liberation movement, and the word "Unified" in its title, says Morrow, "points out a possible discrepancy in the analysis of the political-military situation in Cambodia that President Nixon has evidently accepted. Is the situation in Cambodia so clearly one of 'North Vietnamese aggression against the people of Cambodia'? Is there not an element of 'Indochinese solidarity' against the American and South Vietnamese presence in Cambodia? Is there not also a certain amount of Cambodian authority in the situation as well?"

"The last two questions should be answered 'Yes,'" according to the writer. "There is no doubt that FUNK exists and that it is tied closely to the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. But it is also oriented toward the restoration of Sihanouk, the deposed head of state, and it has a sufficiently indigent makeup so that it must be called Cambodian."

Given these facts, Morrow asserts, "it seems impossible at this stage" for the U.S. Government "to draw such a neat distinction between U.S. military action directed at the North Vietnamese and military action directed at FUNK. The U.S. cannot in fact deny it is taking sides in a Cambodian civil war."

"The crude use of mechanized warfare, particularly air power, has already gone far toward creating popular sentiment against the U.S.-Saigon-Lon Nol axis. Such sentiment was evident from the strong feelings often expressed spontaneously against me personally by ordinary people. . . . There is no reason to think that this trend will not continue as long as Americans or even American weapons are used where circumstances make it extremely difficult to prevent civilian casualties and property damage."

"... If a complete collapse of the Lon Nol regime is not inevitable, at least the growth of extensive liberated areas is. With liberation forces now battling Lon Nol's troops within a few miles of Phnom Penh, the government has already, in effect, abandoned most of the countryside."

"There is no reason to think 'Indochinese solidarity' is not reciprocal. Thus, the U.S. is faced with the possibility of having large sections, if not all of Cambodia, mobilized to support the liberation movement in South Vietnam. . . ."

• "Aboard U.S.S. Shangri-La, off North Vietnam, Nov. 2 (AP)—So many American planes are bombing the Ho Chi Minh trail in southern Laos that military officials have established traffic patterns similar to those in use at major American airports."

"They have set fixed altitudes at which the Air Force fighter bombers based in Thailand and South Vietnam and the Navy aircraft from carriers like this one in the Gulf of Tonkin fly to and from the target area, and have coordinated other aspects of the flight plans to insure the fliers' safety. . . ."

"The biggest danger along the trail these days isn't that of being shot down—it's running into somebody else," said a pilot aboard the Shangri-La, one of two carriers operating in Yankee Station in the Tonkin Gulf. . . .

"Enemy fire has not been heavy, according to reports. One reason, Navy pilots believe, is that the North Vietnamese find it difficult to move modern radar-controlled antiaircraft equipment down the muddy trails into Laos. Another is that the bombing itself has apparently restricted the movement of supplies. . . ." (*New York Times*, November 8).

• Reflecting on the acts of "urban terrorists" in Quebec and in the United States, James Burnham notes (*National Review*, November 3) that "the duality between ordinary crime and revolutionary struggle is a pervasive feature of our century. The relationship between the two is dialectical; it is impossible to determine in the abstract at what exact point a gang of common criminals becomes a revolutionary army. . . ."

"In a war . . . you don't go to court for a search warrant before breaking into an enemy installation, or presume each enemy soldier innocent until proved guilty, or grant prisoners immediate bail, or make sure that a lawyer is present before beginning an interrogation, or publish the enemy's books and provide him a public forum to conduct his psychological warfare and instruct his agents. In a war, moreover, you are not fighting individuals but a collectivity, the enemy army; far from condemning each of the enemy soldiers as 'guilty,' you may much admire them even as they are trying to kill you. . . ."

And finally: "It is a remarkable proof of how thoroughly we have been brainwashed by the anti-McCarthy generation that not a single candidate in this year's country-wide election, Republican or Democrat, left or right, conservative or liberal, not even James Buckley, has been willing to propose what scores of them unquestionably believe called for: the outlawing of Weatherman and the Black Panthers. No doubt we're all waiting until William Rogers or Melvin Laird is snatched." PAMPHILUS