

so far, the inexperienced Cambodian army lost 150 men killed or missing in 48 hours.

Cambodia's convulsions had special impact on South Viet Nam. Some 1,500 Vietnamese flowed into South Viet Nam to escape both the fighting and the hate campaign. Meanwhile, as many as 2,000 South Vietnamese troops streamed across the border in the other direction to aid Cambodian forces in harassing Communist sanctuaries.

**Nixon Doctrine.** The U.S. insists that it has not taken part in the ground fighting in Cambodia. Nevertheless, Washington now faces an uncomfortable military decision. Taking to national radio, Premier Lon Nol announced that "the gravity of the present situation" made it necessary for Cambodia "to accept all unconditional foreign aid, wherever it may come from." Next day an itemized list of needed hardware was handed to U.S. Ambassador Lloyd Rives. Even though troop support was not even mentioned, the Nixon Administration is understandably chary of committing further military aid of any kind to Southeast Asia. For one thing, the President is scheduled to appear on nationwide television this week to announce a new cut in the U.S. forces, now down to 429,000 men. For another, he has already been warned by several prominent U.S. legislators against drawing the U.S. into propping up another Asian government of dubious strength. Still, Cambodia—even more than South Viet Nam—is fighting a foreign aggressor equipped by outside powers. As a high U.S. diplomat in Phnom-Penh put it: "If Cambodia doesn't qualify for aid under the Nixon Doctrine, who does?"

Cambodia needs all the help it can get. The 45,000-man army has enough supplies for less than two months. Its troops are transported on commandeered buses and trucks. Should the U.S. decide to help at all, it may do so by offering financial aid so that Cambodia can go shopping on the international arms market.

**Regional Approach.** For a short while, it seemed as if the U.S. dilemma over Cambodia might be eased by an unexpected demarche that occurred last week at the United Nations. Answering questions at a news conference, the Soviet Union's chief delegate Yakov Malik declared that "only a new Geneva conference could bring a new solution" to Southeast Asia. Was Malik proposing a reconvening of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva negotiations? If so, the U.S. would suddenly have a promising third route—apart from the stonewalled Paris peace talks and the slow-moving Vietnamization program—to settle the war. The U.S. has recently urged the 14 signatories of the 1962 Geneva Pact to cooperate in a new effort to ensure the neutrality of Laos. At week's end, Malik dashed U.S. hopes by declaring that a reconvening of the Geneva conference would be "unrealistic."

## A Night of Death at Takeo

*TIME's Robert Anson and T.D. Allman arrived in Takeo, 50 miles from Phnom-Penh, only hours after Cambodian soldiers had gunned down more than 150 Vietnamese. The victims included 110 men, 30 boys under the age of eleven, half a dozen government officials of Vietnamese extraction, and an unknown number of women and girls. Anson's and Allman's report:*

**W**E came upon the massacre almost by accident. In Takeo we hoped to get a military briefing from the local commander, a tall, soft-spoken captain. We called him "Killer" because journalists here believe that he was responsible for the massacre of 92 Vietnamese at Prasaut. We were heading toward Killer's office—he refused to give us his real name—but we decided first to visit the 200 Vietnamese men we had seen interned at the Takeo primary school two days earlier.

From a distance of 200 yards, we knew something was wrong. Before, the men and boys had been crowded into a bandstand, and you could see their black shirts from far away. Today the place seemed nearly empty. We got out of the car and ran. Blood, flies and bullet holes were everywhere. Crouched in one corner were the 50 survivors, every one of them wounded or sick, waiting to be shot.

They told us that early in the week all Vietnamese males from the age of six up had been arrested in the Takeo market and herded into the schoolyard bandstand. For two days they were without food, water or sanitation. Last night, a few minutes after a Cambodian officer arrived on the scene, they were ordered to lie down on the cement floor and go to sleep. Seconds later they heard the order in Cambodian: "Ready, aim, fire." There were three fusillades in all, administered by Cambodian troops shooting into the darkness. Some soldiers then waded into the tangle of bodies, shooting the wounded in the head.

At 2 a.m. a truck arrived at the school and soldiers loaded the dead and dying onto it. They were dumped into nearby woods. It was afternoon before we reached the school and found the survivors and the bodies of three men who had died since. The Vietnamese had had nothing to eat or drink and no medical treatment, even though there is a hospital in Takeo. Both of us had just one thought: to save at least some of the survivors. "Please stay with us," an old man

wearing a Catholic cross pleaded. "They say we are Viet Cong, but we are not. They will kill us all unless you stay."

Promising to return within two hours, we scooped up the most pitiful of the wounded, a little eight-year-old boy with two bullet holes in his mangled right leg, put him in the back seat of the car and rushed back to Phnom-Penh. All the way, he kept a tight grip on Allman's hand; it was the only way we knew he was still alive. We dropped him off at the French hospital.

Back at the blood-spattered bandstand, we crammed four kids into the bucket seat in the front of one car. Three men got into the back seat, one of them terribly wounded in his stomach, chest and limbs. Another, for whom



DYING VIETNAMESE (FOREGROUND) & WOUNDED AT TAKEO

there was simply no more room, told us solemnly: "Please rent a truck in Phnom-Penh to take us out. We will pay you for all your trouble." His two sons had been killed the night before and his brother was lying badly wounded on the cement.

Next to the suffering, the most horrible thing in Takeo was the hope that our presence created. We naively assumed that other people would be carrying these victims out. We could not have been more wrong. Nobody gave a damn. We know that even now, if the Vietnamese haven't all been shot, they are sitting there in the dark, alone, with the Cambodians all around them, hoping against hope that we'll show up again.

## GREECE

### A Sop to the Critics

After three years of iron-fisted rule, Greece's military junta suddenly seemed to be relaxing its grip. A total of 332 political prisoners were unexpectedly released from jail en masse. Twenty-seven men and women convicted of participating in a bomb plot that rocked Athens last summer were given lighter-than-expected sentences. A hand-picked senate of 50 men from various income levels and occupations was being formed to advise Premier George Papadopoulos and his colleagues.

Last week the colonels who run the government authorized the most surprising relaxation yet. They released Mikis Theodorakis, 44, one of the regime's leading political enemies, because he is suffering from tuberculosis. During 20 months of detention, Theodorakis,

a Communist, wrote the score for the current award-winning movie *Z\** and had it smuggled out of Greece. He also wrote the musical score for *Zorba the Greek*. Theodorakis flew off in a jet chartered by French Publisher-Politician Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. At Paris' Le Bourget Airport, he was greeted by 100 Greek opponents of the Athens government, including Actress Melina Mercouri.

**Persistent Pressure.** Servan-Schreiber's precise role in obtaining Theodorakis' release was unclear. The pro-Gaullist *Le Figaro*, no friend of the man who founded the anti-Gaullist magazine *L'Express* and is secretary-general of France's rejuvenated Radical Party, called it a PUBLICITY STUNT in headlines. Cynics pointed out that the Greek junta had already quietly informed the Council of Europe that it was willing to release Theodorakis.

The reasons behind the junta's unwonted burst of benevolence were obvious. This week marks the third anniversary of the coup that overthrew the short-lived government of Premier Panayotis Kanelopoulos. More important, the Council of Europe was about to convene in Strasbourg to consider censuring the regime. Last December, Greece resigned from the council to avoid expulsion on charges of violating the European Code on Human Rights. Last week all but two of the council's members voted to condemn the junta on ten specific counts of torturing political prisoners.

Cyprus abstained because of its close ties with the regime. France loftily insisted that a vote of censure amounted to interference in the internal affairs of

another state; a more convincing reason for its abstention may be that Paris is dickering with Athens for the sale of gunboats and Mirage jets.

Plainly, the council's report on the junta's repressiveness and persistent diplomatic as well as moral pressure from Europe (West Germany and Scandinavia in particular) has had some effect on the colonels. Some—but not much. The recent relaxation, *TIME* Correspondent John Shaw reported from Athens, amounts to little more than a sop to the regime's critics. Nearly 2,000 political prisoners are under arrest; last week about 40 of them were suddenly exiled to distant Aegean islands as security risks. Parliament remains shuttered, and parts of the constitution are still suspended. Newspapers are required to censor themselves, and their efforts do not always satisfy the colonels. Last month a military tribunal sentenced the editor

gato dresses, Cardin shoes and Pucci sportswear. Among their best customers are the wives of the nation's 10,000 army officers, who need only flash ID cards to receive a 20% discount.

The military may be skimming the cream from the modest boom, but others are benefiting too. The minimum wage for laborers has risen 15% in three years. Income taxes have been cut as much as 13%, but tax revenues are up 60% because of stricter collections. Independent sources expect the economic growth rate to reach 8% this year, higher than it was when the colonels took over. Greece, an associate member of the European Common Market, is pushing for full membership; 1984, ironically, is the target year. A \$350 million deficit in the Greek trade balance should be trimmed by such new industrial projects as oil refineries, an aluminum plant and expanded ship-

yards that are to be built by golden Greeks like Aristotle Onassis and Stavros Niarchos.

**Nothing Untoward.** On balance, though, the extra drachmas that jangle in the pockets of many Greeks are small compensation for the loss of liberty. Many Europeans, convinced that the colonels would retreat from dictatorship if more pressure were applied, are furious with the U.S. for its policy of pragmatic neutrality. The junta is receiving sizable U.S. military aid. This year the total will come to about \$50 million, twice the amount Congress authorized.

Washington's explanation is that lecturing or pressuring the colonels would only make them more intransigent. The real U.S. fear is that Greece may be irretrievably lost as the eastern anchor of NATO unless the situation is handled

with care—though it is hard to imagine the rigidly anti-Communist members of the junta getting too cozy with Moscow. Moreover, with Turkey demonstrating increasing anti-Americanism, Libya reclaiming major airbases from Western control, and Soviet naval strength growing in the Mediterranean, Greece figures even more significantly in U.S. planning. The country now serves as a resupply and liberty spot for Sixth Fleet ships, a refueling stop for U.S. planes en route to Southeast Asia, and a prime location for communication nets and missile sites on Crete.

Since the Administration regards its strategic requirements as paramount, a certain degree of cooperation with the autocracy is necessary. Even so, when U.S. Ambassador Henry Tasca arrived in Athens three months ago, he had orders at least to nudge the colonels toward democracy. So far, they do not seem to have felt the American poke very strongly.



MERCOURI GREETING THEODORAKIS IN PARIS  
An unwonted burst of benevolence.

and four staff members of the 57-year-old Athens daily *Ethnos* to prison for as long as five years for publishing "antinational propaganda."

**Target Date 1984.** Sensitive if not responsive to criticism, the colonels reply that they have made progress in other areas—most notably, the economy. Athens' streets are sweet with the smell of orange blossoms and alive with tourists. More than a million visitors—40% of them American—are expected this year, and they will spend \$200 million. The only conspicuous soldiers in Athens are evzones in white skirts, red hats and pompon shoes. They guard the royal palace as though King Constantine were still there rather than in Rome, where he fled after seeking to stage a countercoup in December 1967.

*Bouzouki* restaurants are crowded, although the puritanical military has banned the popular custom of smashing dishes on the floor to demonstrate pleasure. French restaurants are heavily patronized, and so are shops carrying Un-

\* Based on the 1963 death of Greek Deputy Gregory Lambrakis in Salonika, it is a fierce indictment of the present rulers.