

PARIS

August 5, 1957

Each of these briefs merits an article by itself -- as the product of past moves or setter-in-motion of future problems.

The London Disarmament Conference: The French press leaned backward to please Washington but discontent with British-American willingness to suspend nuclear tests on Russia's promise is heard though not written. The French see it as a plan on the part of these Three to deprive France, the West's other partner, of trying out theirs. Again in reaching for agreements that will be valid across boundary lines America makes a Western partner feel rejected while Russian Communists are treated like gentlemen signing, instead of the world revolutionaries they are, ready to violate any pact clause by clause.

Mr. Dulles' mind again seemed quite 'unmade' about Russia as recently as May 30th, 1957 when he was reported saying of the disarmament negotiations, "I don't think you can go on talking and talking year after year without getting somewhere."

Unfortunately we go 'down' instead of 'up' in security as each year Russia talks and talks us out of something and themselves into a parleyed gain at the free world's expense.

If America is to participate in talk-talk can we afford the immaturity of

'a Mr. Stassen' as our representation? Why not send more seriousness, quality and mature judgment to speak for us at these conference tables? We would do better if we augmented our economic health and its attendant military strength with the political and diplomatic skills of persons of such authority that present convenience and expediency would not tempt them nor deceive them.

Algerian Terrorism in France: A few weeks ago it was rampant. Algerian gangs fought it out among themselves and between fights shot French soldiers and fellow Algerians thought to be pro-French. Suddenly it stopped. Why? French Communists passed the word along to "lay off." If the violence continued the government could be expected to declare a state of siege. This would bring in the military, perhaps risk a coup-d'etat.

Le Monde and Figaro papers reported on July 2nd a two hour exposition of 'the new form of conflict' by Col. Lacheroy, chief of the service of psychological action and information of the National Defense. He spoke without notes to 2000 reserve officers -- a whole lifetime of reflection and work was mirrored in that talk. Could the Communists, in the face of such an exposition have decided not to push their luck too



far in creating violence?

We Americans are too uninformed on the understanding and strength against Communism in France -- we seem to have only the doings of their Communist Party reported to us.

Russian Naval Movements in the Mediterranean: On June 20th and 21st Russian naval units passed through The Dardanelles moving into the Mediterranean. One long-range and two short-range submarines were delivered to Egypt, the first to be received at Alexandria's new sub-base. This sub-base could be strengthened by Russia in a relatively few hours by a means that does not seem to have been reported.

In Albania are bases for the servicing of 'disassembled submarines,' flown from Russia in monster transports of the Ukraine type. These subs arrive in 'detached pieces' as our build-your-owns come. In fact the American term "prefabricated" describes them nicely. Upon arrival they can be assembled on the spot.

Egypt's new sub-base could be strengthened at will from these same Russian Ukraine 'flying shipyards' sowing subs in the Adriatic.

What is behind this and the passing of Russian naval units into the Red Sea via Suez? The guess of Europeans in the know is that aggressive Israel touched off this latest development in a deliberate search for a showdown.

Israel 'leaked' that Israeli freighters were bringing in war materiel from Santa Domingo, that another freighter was taking on material in Earle, New Jersey suitable for anti-sub action and that an Israeli test ship would attempt

passage of the Canal with orders to fight if stopped. Let us not unthinkingly sigh with relief if that test ship does go through. Russia and Egypt are in no hurry to move until they are ready.

Faced with this we Americans have provided too little strength to the disapproval that is uneasily regarding the Suez situation created largely by acts of our government.

Is a policy of propitiation of evil men like Nasser to be the missionary work for our beliefs and principles in Africa and Asia and the vaunted defense of our values in life?

H. du B. did note with pleasure Mr. Dulles' long overdue but at last forthright words spoken recently in San Francisco to the world about our policy towards the Free-China Red-China situation.

A carefully formulated expression of our interests in the Near East and our policy in support of them is needed there too, instead of a "wishing on a star" plan, like the Suez Canal Users' Association. Ideas like that one remind you of the concoctions improvised by children turned loose in a soda bar -- short on thought but long on all-around havoc.

Algeria: Apparently our U. S. does not understand that French public opinion will not tolerate our butting in between her and Algeria. If France loses Algeria we'd better not be the cause. Algerian secession is to France what our South's secession was to us.

Senator Kennedy's speech attacking France about Algeria and the early July meeting of our labor leaders, Irving Brown, Reuther and Ross with Bourguiba in Tunis have left

explosive deposits.

Our countrymen should weigh their words and acts in affairs where the blood of others, not ours, sanctions their errors. Meddling of this sort dangerously encourages native groups to further excesses -- or is that what their ambition seeks?

Peace: Our political and communication media leaders are always talking about peace but seldom in the vein of making the American people conscious that the solutions of ideological and nationalistic problems concern them, not just the scholar, the earnest few and those in government.

Their approach is the one of frightening people into relinquishing constitutional powers, increasing foreign aid, arms, etc. as being the only 'paving' for the road to peace.

People need to be helped to see that the necessary complement to the peace these leaders speak about so anxiously is the public's own conscious resolve, expressed unmistakably in personal terms, not to fear life in our time nor to be afraid to fight for our version of it when necessary.

And it would be mighty helpful if our allies would do some self-searching too. Increased productive efficiency could bring back their economic health. Free trade is purely academic today but we can all work at freer trade.

Not speeches, but increased practice of working in support of our Western values together can convince Asia and Africa that our life is more humane and agreeable.

Cheers!



PARIS

October 28, 1957

Thailand: Your correspondent was in Bangkok in late August. Diem was receiving Thai honors far above his rank in Thai eyes, to please Americans who had put the pressure on Pibul Sonngam. The native press in Bangkok blasted their government for making this fuss over him while the press controlled by the U. S. hailed the visit as "a new step in a free world!"

Our American policy in southeast Asia will continue to prove untenable in a showdown if we persist in basing it on such nonsense and deviations from reality and the truth. The next newsletter will carry a report on Thailand.

Minh Tan Press, at 7 Rue Guenegaud, Paris: This printing plant is called Minh Tan meaning New Light -- an interesting coincidence that Communists call their movement New Light Illuminating Asia, and their forces Viet Minh?

Running this plant is a man named Nguyen Ngoc Bich (pronounced Beak)-- not a printer but an engineer who boasts of his exploits for Ho Chi Minh. He is the engineer whose bridge demolition work in Cochinchina for the Communists made Ho Chi Minh's victory possible. Asked on May 2, 1957 to join with other Vietnamese in their anti-Communist anti-Diem "National Salvation Movement" Bich refused when his price for 'coming along' was the opening of South Vietnam's northern frontier

and cooperation with the Communists, which was promptly turned down by The Movement.

With the above background of this man in charge in mind, the American taxpayer will be interested to know that huge orders of books for South Vietnam are printed in this plant. Piled high, they await shipment to Saigon. Each package bears the American Aid label.

One asks why the Saigon American Aid Office has its printing done in far-off Paris? Vu Van Thai, Pres. Diem's American Aid Administrator, who traveled in Pres. Diem's party when he visited America recently, is a fellow Viet Minh with Bich. Vu Van Thai, as administrator of American Aid, ordered this printing job, made the currency exchange available and is funneling Saigon's far-off business to this Minh Tan Printing Co. in Paris. Why? Why?

The alleged answer to that 'why' in Paris is that the American Aid jobs furnished by Vu Van Thai enable this printing company to finance the pamphleteering of the Communist Viet Minh League in Paris. Last month's newsletter pointed out that Diem's selected and appointed Vice President Nguyen Ngoc Tho was arrested as a Communist on October 5, 1945 and that his son is an agitator in the Communist Viet Minh League in Paris.

The President of this League is the



father of Albert Pham Ngoc Thao who is Pres. Diem's brother Nhu's right hand man and present head of the Credit Office of the American Aid Section, National Bank of South Vietnam. The reader will recall Thao's background as organizer of Ho Chi Minh's Intelligence in Cochin-China.

Americans should take note again that this Viet Minh League puts Communist pressure on Oriental students studying in Paris. These students are the coming natural leaders of their countries in Asia. Their families and those countries want a western education, not Communism integrated with their own Asian culture.

The indignant American taxpayer may wonder why the French do not close the Minh Tan Printing plant. Your correspondent suggested it to a Frenchman. The answer was "Not on your life! Your embassy would completely ignore the strongly suspected Communist connection between the League and the printing plant as our reason for closing it. We might be accused of closing down a printing firm doing work for an American mission in Saigon in our own colonial interests! If you want it closed you go to your American Embassy and get their canceled order first!"

We both knew why he spoke as he did. A report against Vu Van Thai would be regarded by America's Embassy as a report against Pres. Diem. Our American official propaganda seems dedicated to promoting the idea that an anti-Diem report is an anti-American report. The Embassy does not want such reports brought to them. They try to muffle Diem's critics not listen to them. Is it not time for more Americans to ask why official America feels so

unquestioningly secure about these so-called "converts" from Communism who infest Diem's administration? With Dr. Hoan's men, Pnom Penh, Cambodia: We were in a garden outside Pnom Penh at ten o'clock in the morning, an hour when faces can be studied and judged. A Vietnamese student, whom your correspondent knew well in Paris, acted as sponsor.

Six of us sat there among the lichee trees. A young business man who had lost everything he had in Saigon and was starting over again in Cambodia spoke sharply of the causes of South Vietnam's economic troubles. "Conceding Diem to be anti-Communist in intent he is obstinate and most of his moves react to aid the Reds. The people's suffering and resentment, under economic breakdown, is just as great whether caused by Diem's own unyielding stubbornness or the undermining advice of Red infiltrators in his administration who know what they are doing and why."

"Can you give us a rundown on events producing this breakdown?" your correspondent asked. What follows condenses the young man's long earnest discussion: The government raised the deposit demanded on import-export firms. Set so high only big firms could meet it, the small firms collapsed. The government spent this deposit bonanza in hand and hard pressed, when the day of reckoning came, it could not return the money.

Diem and his Minister of Economics decided to take rice selling away from the Chinese merchants and give it to a government cooperative. Because the government had no well-oiled distribution machinery, as did the Chinese, two situations



developed: 1. The cooperatives soon had depots filled with rice and no one with money to buy. 2. The government operation began to exploit the rice growers, after prohibiting sales to the Chinese, resulting in the rice growers growing rice only for themselves.

The young businessman told us at length of the economic effects of the Nationalization Act of 1956 discussed in last month's newsletter. He pointed out that both flight of capital and "sitting" on their money by the South Vietnam Chinese were only preliminaries to the deepening and spreading of that Act. The sympathy of the powerful Chinese communities of Laos and Cambodia and 3,000,000 Thailand Chinese for their South Vietnam brethren bodes ill for Diem economically.

Your correspondent, back in Paris, recalled last week this young man's prescience when reports came in of recent happenings in South East Asia. The reports said Pres. Diem and Vice Pres. Tho shipped 40,000 tons of rice to Hong Kong in a desperate effort to get money -- this in the face of the suffering of the South Vietnamese from a combined rice shortage and its high price. Hong Kong Chinese boycotted it. As Diem would lose face by returning it to Saigon it was next shipped to Singapore. The Chinese rice merchants controlling the market there also would not touch it. The report said Diem then rented warehouses to store South Vietnam's needed food in Singapore!

Why is official America so sure of Diem's worth and seemingly so indifferent to the suffering his administration produces? Are the reports coming into our State Department recast in the field in Diem's favor? Or are we afraid to liquidate our mistake of early 1955

when we bluntly insisted on Diem for South Vietnam?

There are three more men in that lichee orchard to be heard out. A quiet brown-eyed boy, who spoke no French but on meeting inspired confidence, is the commandant of a small mobile band of Nationalists, operating against both Diem and the Reds. Asked about the Communist strength in South Vietnam he replied, "Very dangerous now because it is growing. Since Diem's return from America there has been a rapid gain in Communist cadres. You see, the people believed Diem would not come back. Then stories, reprinted in Saigon, of America's reception discouraged them that America will ever tire of him! So -- many give up and are going over to the Reds."

"Why didn't you Nationalists uproot Communism in your areas long ago?" your correspondent asked.

"Because Diem's prisons face us Nationalists all the time when we fight and work all-out in the open."

"Is there danger of the Communists trying to wipe you out now before they start an all-out offensive against Diem?"

"No, no danger of an all-out attack against us -- to wipe us out would sap their strength. The Communists want to be intact when their Big Day comes! Assassination squads try to kill our strongest leaders -- those who have taken action against them. They also signal our hiding places to Diem's men. They fear us more than they do Diem's army because the people are with us. The morale of his army is very poor." With a deep smile he added, "Otherwise we could not stay alive!"

As the young field commander talked



another member of the group nodded in agreement. "We founded our first group in our area," he said, "in 1927 -- purely Nationalist against the French. We revolted in 1930 and again in 1945 and 1946., We fought the Reds too in the north but we have had to stop fighting Communists. We have to work now for our own survival because both American agents and Communists cooperate with Diem's secret police to wipe us out. Your American agents say they come to work against Communism but they point us out to the police -- informers paid with American money are everywhere to turn us in. We have worked since 1927 against Communism. Now we can either do nothing in order to survive or join the Communists! Will you tell your country that?"

Completing the group that morning was a Municipal Councilor from Saigon whose term of office had not expired but who, after a disagreement with Pres. Diem, chose to spend the rest of said term beyond the border free and alive! He spoke gravely, "Diem's government wastes so much American Aid in daily doles to refugees. The money is not spent to get them working or on their feet, but to keep them idle for "spontaneous demonstrations" at the airport and public square, when Diem returns from a junket or appears with a naive American V.I.P. These refugees are picked up by government trucks, rushed to the place of demonstration, pushed out by armed soldiers sort of 'up-la--here you go! Get up there' business. When the "spontaneous demonstration" need has been filled they are just as unceremoniously pushed back into the trucks!

Thoughtfully he continued, "It is hard to make our people see Communism as the enemy it is. They ask, 'what is the difference between the terror, cruelties and prison you tell us

about under Communism and what we already have under Diem?' The Communists aim at the people-- America just says, 'There is no one but Diem!' Then, too, the people have watched American personnel and O.S.I.S. help to create and maintain a national defense that thwarts, hounds and imprisons us anti-Red Nationalists, not the Communists! America said she understood our Nationalist fight for independence against France. Does she not know she is the sole support of a worse government for South Vietnam under Diem than we ever had under France?"

Let not the reader in any part of the world, who is on the side of individual freedom, dismiss the members of this group because of their simplicity. Make no mistake, their earnestness made that simplicity impressive. Those men will be heard in Asia.

Cheers!

PARIS

December 2, 1957

Fare consisting of strange names we must learn to place, pronounce, and spell is tough chewing but America's administration has elected to go international and we cannot deal justly with the problems of our international involvement without full and accurate information spread widely among the people, who after all have to back a commitment to make it stick.

Thailand: Today's reports are conflicting but the outlook is unpromising. The situation since the September coup d'etat is deteriorating for the West.

The prime factor: Red China can no longer be ignored. The peace loving Thai, like his American brother, does not mind watching wars in other parts of the world not threatening his own involvement. But realities have to be faced so he is now taking another look at Neutralism and Co-existence. Why? Every Thai border today is an Achilles heel -- Cambodia and Laos are already Neutralist. Red China and North Vietnam are out and out Red with Burma in the Communist camp as far as U Nu's government is concerned. Thailand knows that America supports U Nu and ignores the Burmese anti-Communist opposition as it also knows of our official, unquestioning support of Diem's dictatorship in South Vietnam larded with "converted" Communists. It also knows of Diem's recent overtures to India's Nehru.

Thailand's present Premier Pote Sarasin is Secretary-General of Seato and known as pro-Western. Twenty days after September's coup d'etat the part of the Thai press, usually sympathetic, was still with America Neutralists were unpopular and called "un-American." But a few days later came demands in the same press for more independence of America, double-talk of "friendship with all nations." Awe of Sputniks I and II was evident!

Your correspondent's mind goes back to an editorial in the Siam Rath Weekly Review to find a real answer to waning American prestige in Thailand. The editor discussed first the procedures in Thailand, following their various military coups d'etat, which have become so usual, by repetition, they now assume the tradition of a Thai religious ceremony!

He concludes with this, "Such are the results of Western Democracy upon Thailand. Every Thai constitution so far has been western in its concept of democracy. The method of government outlined in each constitution seems to be almost Anglo-Saxon in temperament. Logically, no one can deny that the provisions of each constitution are the best means whereby freedom, justice and good government can be achieved. Practically, however, they always fail since none of the temperament and characteristics for which these means have been molded,



exist in this country. It is fortunate that we are blessed with all the chimerical characteristics of the Thai race. Without these we would not know how to take it!"

Realistic Thais must have a lot in common with down-to-earth Americans who wonder how long they can take their own busy-body American brethren who go out over the world with too much money buying lip service to our political and economic concepts from peoples not temperamentally suited to them nor understanding them at this time.

Turkey-Syria Crisis: Both Turks and anti-Communist Syrians are realistic. They reason that time is working for Russia because America will do nothing until it is too late -- thus the clash becomes inevitable sometime when Syria, through Communist expansion, becomes a serious threat.

No doubt both Moscow and Syria knew that top Syrian exiles in Turkey, Hussni Barazi, former Syrian Prime Minister, Mihail Elyan, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Colonel Husseni were planning something in Turkey, that some Turks were in on it and that those Turks had urged Loy Henderson to give them a green light for some sort of military demonstration on the Syrian frontier timed to facilitate a take-over of the Syrian government by the West's friends inside the country. The report said Henderson's reply was an unqualified American refusal. Certain Turkish staff officers then deliberately arranged a "leak" hoping to unleash a crisis. Risky? Of course, and they were certainly the ones with everything to lose by a miscalculation but, as they reasoned, nothing can be more dangerous than to let the Russians score a new victory in the Middle

East.

And London and Paris, who were stopped by America from finishing their move against Russia in Egypt at the time of the Suez Canal seizure by Nasser, can only watch this Syrian drama unfold, committed to the result but helpless to influence it one way or the other until American policy outgrows its unrealistic hopefulness of solving those world problems created and maintained by Russia, through ballyhooed meetings "at the summit," Stassen-led disarmament talks and meaningless negotiation in the U.N.

Tunisian Arms Storm; As an American to whom a horde of Frenchmen talk and pour out their feelings, your correspondent is passing these outpourings on. French resentment stems from their present troubles, many of which they feel were presented to them when their experience with the Moslem world was disregarded over and over by America. It is better late than never that American policy is now concerned with 750 million Moslems whom we pushed into the arms of the West's enemies for whom Islam had no stomach without that push, by our clandestine arming and articulate support of Israel.

But is our concern prepared to deal realistically with the fact that the 750 million Moslems do not regard Israel as "here to stay?" That it could be as futile for powerful Arab leaders to try to restrain their peoples from a Russian-agitated war with the appearance of a Holy War against Israel, as for the Japanese Emperor to have tried to stop his militarists in the last war?

The French people felt that the Suez action, with all of its risks was better than going down without a fight. Reports piled in to the



French army in the summer of 1956 that this was to be Nasser's move toward domination of the Moslem world, with Russia's help. And paralleling that was evidence of his plans for leadership of black Africa. Then came America's hand staying British-French action but her crowning blow to her French ally was bitterly resented by an old gentleman in a Paris cafe. "Our powerful ally voted with Russia against us and our do-nothing government obediently returned to position?" he cried.

American "idealism" got the French out of Syria, too, and as the French army knew would happen, in came Communism. This background of the French view of the results of our policy in the Near East and Africa can furnish a key to an understanding of their storm of disapproval of our arms deal with Tunisia.

Last April a dinner was given for Bourguiba in Rome by the Tunisian representative. Eight ambassadors, mostly Arab, attended. Cursing France and boasting of having duped them, Bourguiba announced an accord between Russia and the Algerian F.L.N. (the extremist movement) for a direct supply line of arms passing through Tunis and running south of Sfax. Tunis did not enter openly into this negotiation!

The French are divided about Bourguiba. Some consider him honest, others believe his outbursts denote a dangerous instability. Americans make the Chamberlain mistake of "thinking him like we are," overlooking the city Arab's genius for conspiracy and pious deceit. He is overcome by his ambitions now. Satisfied at the Tunisian level he aspires to the role of an Arab world leader.

As the reports came in to your

correspondent Mr. Dulles may have felt between "the devil and the deep sea" about arms for Tunisia. Bourguiba told our American ambassador in September that Russia had promised to deliver arms to him before the end of October, adding the customary line in such cases, "of preferring to deal with America but this is the way it is!" To round out the picture we find Bourguiba's son as Ambassador in Rome extracting offers from the Russians for us to outbid in the Moscow-Washington blackmail while, on the international scene, Bourguiba himself is playing America, to whom the anti-colonial fight is so dear, against France, her ally. The resultant divisiveness is bleeding Western unity to death. The tragedy is that the best America can expect to get from the Arab states is neutrality with a price on that concerning Israel.

Official America speaks as though Tunisia is better off politically free. It is really flat on its back economically. People doing business there say it is because Tunisia was not ready to run its "own show." Bourguiba blames the French war in Algeria. Reports say his ambassador told Mr. Dulles that there was no point in Tunis remaining in the Western camp if we do not protect Tunis from poverty and loss of dignity! Quite a trend can develop there if the American taxpayer submits to such blackmail.

King Mohammed of Morocco will visit America shortly. He is a calm thoughtful man well deserving the reception he will receive. But strange powers are at work in Morocco undermining his authority--and his absolute authority is the Free world's hope for that part of Africa. Political parties and foreign agitation weave a maze of cunning intrigue beneath him, playing



alternately on the hates and avarices of a backward people.

Possession of property is gradually becoming dangerous, for the Moroccans found that independence did not make them rich. It is also evident that colonial exploitation was not the cause of their poverty! American labor organizers came onto the scene showing methods for which Moroccan labor, in its backward state, is not yet ready. As they saw these methods, here was a perfected means of blackmail against their oppressors, the land-owning lords. But at the top of this class is King Mohammed himself. This could be the first sign of chaos, with the King fighting for his dynasty if not his life.

Eisenhower vs. Khrushchev: No U. S.-Soviet top level talks are likely under present conditions. America cannot afford to be put across the table from Russia in our present state of inferiority after Sputniks I and II. Our attention should be on Europe's mood. It is uncertain, questioning and groping as the December Nato Conference approaches.

The administration, trying to strengthen itself at home is taking the democrats into the Nato renovation. The man chosen was Adlai Stevenson, certainly not noted for arousing any American public judgment or action against the dangers of Communism. He is even quoted as having said, "I don't think we ought to be too tough on the Commies."

After that appointment all conservative Americans can join our European allies in groping too, and with the question, "Can Americans trust themselves today?"

Remembering Adlai Stevenson's visionary call for an end to H-bomb

tests when he was campaigning for the presidency we cannot blame Nato if its judgment of our muddle-headedness in international affairs has now jelled.

Both sober-minded Americans and our allies should ask, "Is this appointment just poor judgment, a domestic political gesture to attract American liberals? Or is sending this shadow-boxer against Communism to help represent us at this Conference further evidence that America's official attitude dislikes distinguishing sharply between the free and the unfree and between our friends and our enemies?" This Conference is being held to build confidence among Nato members and a defense Russia cannot misread, or isn't it?\_

Hilaire du Berrier's American sponsors present his credo in reporting as our Christmas Greeting to you. It is taken from Sir Walter Raleigh who expressed the force behind his own quests in this way:

Go, soul, the body's guest,  
On a thankless errand,  
The truth to be thy quest,  
And life to be thy warrant.

PARIS

February 1958

Readers who have joined this newsletter since the explanatory letter at the beginning should know of your correspondent's censure of reporting that is recast in the field to conform to current popular misinformation. No doubt the whole truth can be more disturbing to the public's mental quiet. But "chickens come home to roost" for both individuals and countries when policy has not been sound. And the reckoning is not postponed because of ignorance due to poor information.

The World of 1958: It will be months before realization of the changes in world attitude reach the cities and towns of America. There is doubt that it has yet penetrated Washington. World political edifices and accepted bases for thinking are crumbling. Since we in America have not put forth our best effort our position is grave but not hopeless. What we must define for ourselves is: What is our best effort? Leadership whose only answer to every "jam" we get into is "more billions and spend them faster" won't do.

European thinking has changed. Yesterday Europe regarded American arms and bases as necessary to her defense. Russia's big enemy was America

but to reach her she would have to clear the path by first conquering Europe. Today, the knowledge that Russia can strike America directly changes everything. Resentment has smoldered over what Europeans regarded as American indifference to their vital problems. But they swallowed that resentment to obtain security. Now Europeans can remind Americans that they are necessary to our security!

Military leaders, statesmen and citizens listened in Nato's December meeting in Paris, then cast an eye over the world situation. They made it plain that they are still with us, even willing to provoke a rising Russia to make bases available to us for missiles. But there are a few matters that must be settled and to their satisfaction first.

Here is a rough picture of one of those matters: The French have pointed out from the beginning that British American arms delivered to Tunisia might be turned over to Algerian rebels with whom Tunisia sympathizes. France asked for the serial numbers on these arms and was refused. Had we complied, France could have ascertained if these



February 1958

Page 2

arms were reaching Algerian terrorists.

If Bourguiba is not allowing the arms to ship through to them what reasonable objection could he make to France knowing the serial numbers? Thefts from G.I. dumps in Europe and North Africa have been so cunningly organized a stream of new U.S. guns is reaching the terrorists under the table. In Algeria these guns can be made to seem a part of the American official shipment to Bourguiba above the table. Refusing the French request for the serial numbers of the official shipment has greatly increased our ally's difficulties. We backhandedly encourage the Algerian rebels to hold out longer, to increase their effort against France. Thus a negotiated peace is further postponed.

The Cairo Conference: The "little Cominform" of Africa and Asia that ended 1957 and started 1958 brought up new questions for the West to answer. Pakistan and Ethiopia were loyal to us. How far is the West prepared to go to repay Pakistan's devotion when Kashmir comes up and India's questionable friendship may be the price at stake? Sometime in 1958 it must be faced.

Ethiopia is another matter. An important point has been overlooked there. After the last war Ethiopia was greatly enlarged. This enlargement swelled the Moslem population from a minority to becoming a majority. Ethiopian Moslems are sensitive to the flames sweeping all Islam. Haile

Selassie is devoted to the West but he is sixty-five. Ethiopia is no pro-Western pocket that we can take for granted indefinitely.

West Germany: A Germany linked with France is on the doorstep of 1958. The miracle of French-German cooperation is one of this year's hopes as it was the bright spot of the Nato Conference at 1957's end. While only one Frenchman in four feels that Germany regrets her acts of '40 to '44, a cautious confidence is awakening as both countries grow in understanding of their mutual inter-dependence. Many Americans too should review their feelings concerning Germany in the light of today's realities and conflicts.

In West Germany President Heuss is still at the top and Chancellor Adenauer is leading his third government. There are only eighteen ministers this time. The last government had twenty-one with four without portfolios. These extra ministries served to balance the coalition government. Challenging the Adenauer leadership are the Ollenhauer Socialists with Ollenhauer leading the traditional Marxist extreme. As Adenauer's support gird for a showdown with the Socialists those extra ministries have been suppressed.

The man to watch behind Adenauer is his Vice Chancellor, Professor Ludwig Erhardt, Minister of Economic Affairs. We will better understand his real strength



later, as Adenauer's intended successor in German politics, if time is taken here to familiarize ourselves with his economic policy as revealed in "Prosperity Through Competition:" "At the end of August, 1948, before taking over the Economic Affairs Ministry, I outlined my aim to create an economic structure within which it would be possible to lead the German people in ever-widening circles towards prosperity. Competition is the most promising means to achieve and secure prosperity. It allows working people to secure higher wages out of increased productivity. I have worked towards expansion without endangering the healthy basis of our economy or currency."

On the subject of unions: "The problem of organized pressure groups as part of society is yet to be solved. This has allowed an increasing number to demand more from the economy than it has been able to afford. Successes so gained are Pyrrhic victories. Every single citizen pays for them every day and every hour through increased prices."

Regarding social security: "A free economic order can continue only so long as the social life of the nation contains a maximum of freedom, of private initiative, and of foresight. If social policy aims at granting a man complete security from the hour of birth, and protecting him absolutely from the hazards of life, then it cannot be expected that people will develop that full measure of

energy, enterprise, effort and other human virtues which are vital to the life and future of the nation. The close link between economic and social policy must be stressed."

He warns that progress cannot be maintained in a country that increasingly adopts a way of life in which no one wants responsibility for himself. Professor Erhardt's "musts" for a free economic and social order might be thoughtfully pondered with profit by Americans. Are we in America today settling for only an echo of what we once had in a dynamic economy, as we substitute more and more socialized practice into it, while Germany acquires the substance?

To the Free Western nations who have not been very "true" to the development of individual responsibility so needed in their Way of Life the Professor could have great significance as the expected successor to Dr. Adenauer. The integration of a European Common Market will exert great influence in the Foreign Offices concerned.

Adenauer has foreseen this development and has moved to keep other hands off of the negotiations of his apparent successor by his refusal to create a Ministry of European Affairs. Thus Erhardt alone will direct Germany's economic entry into the Common Market.

Vice Chancellor Erhardt has a clear road ahead, as long as the Socialists are prevented from taking over. A resurgent



Socialist Party, opposed to everything this new Germany and America support, is a darkening shadow. This shadow takes form in the person of Herr Ollenhauer, leading the party's extreme elements.

American union power is involved in rebuilding German socialism as well as German unions. One Max Brauer went to America in 1936, became a citizen and dug in with American union labor. After V-E Day he returned to Germany for the A.F.L. where he took back German citizenship. His recent election as Mayor of Hamburg was a defeat for Adenauer in a city-state election. It is significant that the workers of Hamburg, directly under this socialist-labor-leader mayor are giving Erhardt the most trouble. Hamburg's organized shipyard workers are making social security demands Dr. Erhardt brands as "suicidal to the German economy." This ascendant power plant of socialism and unionism could carry extremist Ollenhauer into power and the West's friends out!

A growing number of Europeans are making what American labor's hidden objective is in going beyond its declared purposes in our domestic industrial relations. It now crosses national borders, delves in foreign affairs and even promotes changes in government. Are American unions planning control of management by taking over executive, legislative and judicial power though elections in foreign political fields? If so, this is class war and we

Americans had better ask questions, too!

In Foreign Affairs: Look for no immediate West German establishment of diplomatic relations with, nor arms for, Israel. Adenauer wants to compensate for the past but Bonn is not anxious to start a wave of Arab recognition of East Germany.

Bonn will be careful to sound out Moscow before any direct talks with Warsaw, Prague or Budapest. She wishes to avoid an intimation that she is out to liberate Moscow's satellites. Bonn's anxiety over the rupture with Belgrade, caused by Tito's recognition of East Germany, is balanced by her conviction that Moscow pushed Tito into that recognition hoping to provoke a West German reaction that would undermine those in Adenauer's government who are in favor of closer ties with Warsaw.

The Storm in Bonn over Adenauer's stand at the Nam Conference continues. Briefly his previous policy was for firmness -- meet Russian threats with force. In Paris, however, he was the first to suggest talks with Moscow. Some American papers reported his stand as neutralist. Adenauer enemies at home spoke of it as a doublecross, his supporters as realism! These realists feel that he gave America every assurance of continued support and agreement but in the two years that will elapse before our intermediary missile's are ready for delivery, many

February 1958

Page 5

unforeseen political and  
strategic happenings can  
develop.

Adenauer's policy of force was founded on America's atomic and technical superiority. This supposed superiority compensated for Nato's weakness on land. Successful Sputniks and the setbacks in American launchings gravely hurt German confidence in us. A move toward prudence was in the works!

However, men close to Herr Franz Joseph Strauss say that there is no slackening in the setting up of West Germany's defense system. German Intelligence reports the development of a New Russian plane, exceedingly fast and designed to fly low enough to escape radar detection. So German stress is being laid on rapid interceptors and away from ground-to-ground and air-to-air projectiles which are radio-controlled and directed toward their objective by radar.

Joukov's fall was not displeasing to Bonn. His mania was Russian security. This meant a divided Germany period -- and what Bonn wants is reunification. Joukov or no Joukov, many Western leaders still believe that Russia's only alternate offer to a divided Germany will be a neutralized German people.

All Western realists want Germany as the good partner she can be in the struggle against World Communism. Her great strength must not be neutralized through Moscow's

maneuvers nor by European members of Nato, more interested in expediency than in reconstructing a defense Russia will respect.

Cheers!



PARIS

May 20, 1958

Specters and Nightmares: Your correspondent is gambling on his readers' desire for the truth instead of comfort. Most American editors do not question an out-and-out anti-French report but will neutralize or hurriedly discount any solid information about France and her Algerian problem as being pro-French or even propaganda.

On past American insistence France granted independence to Lebanon, Syria, Morocco and Tunisia. Belatedly it is recognized that those initiating the hasty procedures did not understand the perplexities of that region. Now the Algerian rebels are demanding independence, and again American officials are encouraging them.

Some Americans seem bemused by the problems that under-developed peoples do present to today's socially conscious world. When official, their hasty meddling and risky intrigue interfere with the development of a practical understanding, by these inexperienced peoples, of what independence entails -- that thirst for independence is just the beginning of getting it and hanging on to it!

Officially America has panicked before the world "colonialism." And our resulting policy has pushed us into forcing a production of infant states in strategic spots around the world which Communism

swallows by subversion or outright aggression. With little economic and political experience to support their independence, these peoples come to hate us as they sink into anarchy or dictatorship -- as specters they should haunt us.

But the nightmare of thinking Americans is an America, stripped of allies, and forced to go it alone. NATO is already sicker than the doctors have told the family. Britain's next government will be Laborite and Neutralist. Our repudiation of our allies at the time of Suez doomed Britain's government that was with us. And in France, events since Suez have increased the prestige of the army that had the situation in hand. Each succeeding month takes its toll in French respect for their government that acceded to America's ultimatum over Suez.

Jacques Soustelle: Monsieur Jacques Soustelle, archeologist, lives in a ground floor apartment at 85 Avenue Henri-Martin. Since the rebel Algerians placed a price on his head, two armed guards and a plain clothes man are outside the door. Books and objects from Aztec and Inca excavations line the walls of the drawing room where the visitor waits. Monsieur Soustelle emerges from a small study off the hall. His desk there is littered with arriving letters, each one of which he reads personally. From these

letters, which have inundated him since the Paris NATO conference last December, comes a picture that is frighteningly serious. Frenchmen think they have answered Pres. Eisenhower's plea for free world solidarity affirmatively, but that their loyalty has not been returned.

The extent to which solidarity has decreased, since that plea was made, can be judged by the circumstances of the fall of the Gaillard government on Tuesday, April 15th. Upon receipt of a note from Pres. Eisenhower, Premier Gaillard weakened his former stiff position before the Anglo-American mediation mission in North Africa.

Deputy Jacques Soustelle, long regarded as France's coming man, charged in the French Assembly that French policy was being made in Washington. The Gaillard government fell before this attack by a vote of 321 to 255. Pres. Eisenhower's reaction termed the Soustelle speech "a political gimmick.":

In the new mood of France, the most important piece of real estate to the West's defense in the free world, Pres. Eisenhower's next plea for solidarity may find instead the realization of all the things strategists fear. If the collapse of western defenses starts, it will be here, in France.

Only by knowing how our allies feel and then allowing a certain amount of give as well as take are we going to keep NATO's props from caving completely. And the commodity in this give and take must be mutual consideration, not dollars. Finding out to what extent Deputy Soustelle was speaking for his country would seem to be a more responsible

approach than Pres. Eisenhower's attempt to play down that speech.

France's army and her "man in the street" feel sold out -- their country has leaned over backwards to please America and it has brought neither American respect nor goodwill. Whether Americans agree or not with this French conclusion is incidental. Of prime importance is the fact that the basis for their reaction has gone unaired before American public opinion -- too often French feelings have been oversimplified as just "anti-American."

TIME-LIFE (April 28th) pictured Jacques Soustelle as anti-American, an assassin of governments. However, the Wall Street Journal (April 25th) quite frankly discussed the difference between America's declared policy toward our NATO partner, France, and our backstage maneuvering with her enemy, the revolutionary Algerian F. L. N. (Front de la Liberation Nationale.) This paper's reporting also bears out Jacques Soustelle's remarks, making his words anything but "a gimmick." The paper reports an American official as saying, "It would not do to administer too much of a shock but we want to put the French on notice that any new government they come up with will have to take a more liberal line on Algeria if it wants to get along with us." How do self respecting Americans feel about being represented by officials whose irresponsibility leads them to such "dollar" insolence toward an ally? France is our partner -- not a satellite!

The Algerian Problem: French reactions this week, in both France and Algeria, seem to be anticipating



May 1958

3

a coming change in U. S. official policy. The change would replace our official and unofficial back-stage direction of the rebels in securing their demands from our ally, France, with open American support of the Algerian rebels' demands for independence!

We have not fooled the French people nor their army. America has been surreptitiously aiding and abetting the F.L.N. to continue their struggle -- thus we have strengthened their will to resist and to make their demands so unconscionable as to be unnegotiable.

The grievances of the French army in North Africa deserve an American airing and fair consideration before we again adopt a policy as divisive as our actions concerning Nasser's seizure of Suez have proven.

On June 22, 1956, French Captain Moureau, a career officer and Arabic language specialist, was kidnapped with three other officers by the Moroccan National Liberation Army. They were at French posts recognized by treaty. Reports drifted in that Moureau, with his eyes put out, was being shown from village to village in a cage. March, Amena and Cacciaquera are believed dead but all French demands for information from King Mohammed V have met a blank wall.

The "Moureau affair" was not mentioned in the American press. The French government, fearful of cries of "colonialism" and "menacing Morocco with American arms" did not lift a finger. French soldiers and their parents feel that these enemy atrocities have been accepted by their weak officials rather than risk measures that might offend the U.S.A.

-- that Frenchmen are expendable as Americans are not. The French recall our American reaction to the imprisonment of American aviators by Red China. Our public opinion insisted on knowing whether our men were alive and where they are.

"If NATO is important," says your Frenchman, "is not the loss of good French officers a concern of America, too?" When Mohammed V visited Washington last winter, had our government asked the King, on the human level, to do what he could to relieve the anxiety of these officers' families, it would have thawed the French army's feelings and provided an "out" for the King. He could then have pointed out to the irresponsible N.L.A. that Moroccan prestige, as well as his own, was at stake with America. But the Moureau affair was not mentioned! Against this morale-destroying background the French army was assigned its difficult task in Algeria.

Enter Sakiel: The frontier village of Sakiel-Sidi-Youssef has long been a haven from which the Algerian F.L.N. has made raids with impunity. (American reporting has implied that it was "a belief" or "assumption" of the French that it was an Algerian sanctuary -- a reportorial device used for clouding the truth and bitterly resented by those French suffering the raids.) On January 11, 1958, a dawn raid from Sakiel developed into a battle, about three miles from the Tunisian border, that lasted from 6:30 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. Five soldiers of the 12th French Infantry, on duty at the frontier, were captured. One died, the other four were taken to Sakiel and then brought back into Algeria. To the army it could become another

May 1958

4

"Moureau Affair," this time in Tunisia. French permission to retaliate was given.

Some 30,000 French troops patrol this Tunisian-Algerian border, nerves harassed and tempers frayed by 5,000 rebel Algerians who fall on outposts at night -- then withdraw to Tunisian asylum, protected by a "one-way street" of international law! Friday afternoon, February 7, French patrol planes were fired on from gun emplacements in Sakiet. This was the 30th such attack in a period of five months. Captain Bernon, Commander of an Alsacian Company, walked down to the Tunisian border post on the banks of a stream, and informed the Tunisian officer there, "This is not to happen again. If it does we will take action." The Tunisian officer saluted and turned away without replying.

The following morning, February 8, 1958 at 9:05 A.M. a French Ouragon plane patrolled the Algerian side of the frontier. The guns in Sakiet opened up -- smoke began to pour from one of the plane's motors. It managed a landing at Tebessa. One hour and five minutes later eleven B26's, (purchased from America, not given) six corsairs and 8 mistrals took off from Bone, Telergma and Tebessa. Rendezvous: Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef. Objectives: (1) an abandoned iron mine a mile and a half from the village whose galleries had become a barracks and arms depot for Algerians being trained and outfitted there, and (2) the seven anti-aircraft machine gun emplacements in the village center. French military intelligence insists that the school was an F.L.N.H.Q.

The anti-French wave stirred up was vicious -- the American press,

reaching back into a far away past for Tunisian grievances, made no mention of the grievances of France, our NATO ally, nor that her officer gave that final warning on February 7th.

In Paris Premier Gaillard and Edgar Faure learned of the raid over luncheon coffee, Minister of National Defense Chaban Delmas heard early in the afternoon and Foreign Affairs Minister Pineau did not know until the following morning. Minister of Algerian Affairs, Monsieur Lacoste, telephoned General Raoul Salan, the French Commander-in-Chief in Algeria. To Minister Lacoste's questions Gen. Salan replied that a ground operation would have produced street-fighting and use of artillery, with heavier losses, and French parachutists would have been picked off like pigeons by the enemy if ordered to their chutes. Minister Lacoste ended it, "We shall continue to retaliate but the manner will be decided in Paris and not by local commanders."

To the army this was notice that nothing effective would be done unless they took a determined stand with their own government -- both the colonials and the French at home, whose sons are the 20 year old conscripts being sacrificed by half measures, support the army's position. Americans, who remember back to Korea and the Yalu, will hear an echo in their own hearts of the distress of these French fathers and mothers.

Months ago "H. du B. REPORTS" (see letters of August 5, December 2 and February 3) warned of the state of mind in both France and Algeria. The complexities and strains producing



the events of this week compel America's most serious attention. Reporting, either careless or deliberate, that characterizes these outraged colonials and French citizens as mobs inviting anarchy, or that presents the French army as irresponsibly flouting civilian direction reflects a child's comprehension of the situation. Good will between France and America will do much more for Algeria in the long run than American involvement in support of Algerian rebel demands for independence. What will the rebels do with Algeria if they get control? They would not know how to develop the country. Or is American foreign aid to support their independence in a style to which they wish to become accustomed?

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Berlin: French foreign office opinion believes Khrushchev is out to swallow Western Germany by splitting the Western Alliance. General De Gaulle's determination that the West must not give an inch, even if it leads to shooting, is unconcealed--and even more important, unwavering.

Khrushchev appears determined to bring the Western peoples to their knees--and with no sparing of feelings, as this reporting reveals. This may bring the comprehension the whole West needs--that this crisis concerns them personally.

Paris believes Khrushchev is bluffing, and that he, Khrushchev, is convinced the West is frightened. The West, as far as Paris represents it, is not. But Paris would feel better if a telephone line between the White House and sick Secretary Dulles were not the Free World's life line. The least that is needed from America now, in representation, is a strong man with full Secretary of State prestige. For America's minister to the May conference to carry the indefinite rank of Representative of the Secretary of State implies an impermanence and lack of footing for decision. Our allies rightly fear that Russia, of course, will capitalize on such bad judgment.

Because of America's preponderance of power and our position as arms provider for the West, our Allies know by experience we are going to provide the answers. Russia knows this, too. America may have forgotten, but our Allies have not, that at the time of Suez, America voted against them. Temporarily our Sixth Fleet did support Russian policy, not France and Britain. And Khrushchev remembering, too, is certain his threat to take military action in Egypt was our real reason for voting against our Allies--not the lofty, moral principles we expressed at that time, to cover the weakness and folly of our position and actions.

No matter how fierce or indignant our outcries against Communist threats and actions have been at the start of each crisis, America has a sorry record of action in opposition to Communism. And against that background of almost consistent futility we must now shake Khrushchev's conviction that we are just bluffing again--and this time about Berlin!

The urgent need to undo his conviction that America will not act as she talks is increased by reports that Khrushchev, himself, is under some Russian internal propulsions which could tempt him now to make his destination a point of no return. Khrushchev is convinced that what Eisenhower says and does "today" is only camouflage for America's cave-in "tomorrow". To undo the ample proof in support of his conviction America must say in unmistakable terms what she means and then she must mean it -- and stay with it. We do have channels through which Khrushchev could be advised, "This is it, with us!"



That Visit to Moscow: MacMillan's trip to Moscow was tacitly blessed by Paris and Washington. The reasoning? France will not budge an inch--and America must not. But if Britain could, just possibly, arrive at some point of speaking relationship with Khrushchev and East Germany it would provide the West with the middleman, through which a modus vivendi might be reached without either side appearing to bend at this time.

Khrushchev's insulting treatment of MacMillan and the public rudeness to Selwyn Lloyd, when he asked before diplomats and journalists, "Tell me any problem you have settled! Tell me one!" removed the possibility of a face-saving that was never more than a hope.

Now that MacMillan's Moscow visit has back-fired, new questions pose themselves to the specialists charged with finding the reasons back of any Soviet move. From the first, Moscow tried to make the trip appear as a humiliation, a modern "walk to Canossa" for MacMillan. In terms of Western mores MacMillan was encouraged to come to Russia that he might be insulted before the whole world--and Russia.

Rochtchine, the Soviet charge d'affaires worked very hard to affect that trip. The ground was well prepared. With Dulles immobilized and America floundering, Rochtchine pointed out to the British that now is the moment for Britain to re-seize direction of affairs. If it were British diplomacy that eased tension, Britain could claim a preponderant position in the Allied camp.

But we now come to the meat in the cocoon. Rochtchine also assured MacMillan that the European Common Market, which the British regard as an economic gang-up against Britain, is as much detested by Moscow as it is by the British themselves. Consistent with reports of this preparatory London build-up was the army of specialists and advisers MacMillan took with him--certainly not needed for a simple look around Moscow.

The heavy artillery of Rochtchine's argument was commercial--trade with Russia and afterwards with the Communist world, was held out to MacMillan. The impulse to provide the British voter with reassurance, after the spectacle some American businessmen made of themselves over Mikoyan, may have played a part in MacMillan's receptiveness. But the real attraction was the possible British answer to the European Common Market (Europe's six) contained in Rochtchine's proposition.

The British Board of Trade (which had a mission in Moscow along with MacMillan) wrote officially that Russia would quite likely desire large credits, and, if so, it would not be wise to refuse them as the Americans had done. Discussions on facilitating British exports to Russia and the Soviet bloc were started. The Bank of England was authorized to make favorable discount rates on such credits, during the period necessary for Russia to acquire foreign exchange.



At this point there is no defense of MacMillan's unreliability as the West's representative. He went to Moscow prepared to respond to Khrushchev's encouragement of what an important foreign office refers to as "the imprudent dynamism of Britain." But, in fairness, we must remind the reader that "H. du B. Reports" (see May 20, '58 letter) warned then, that "America's repudiation of our allies at the time of Suez doomed Britain's government that was with us" -- that the consequences of the Suez debacle could be British neutralism because of Labor's pacifist influence.

During this visit to Moscow an ironical incongruity of far-reaching importance to the West came to light.

Baghdad is withdrawing progressively from the sterling bloc. Whatever Kassem may or may not do about the Reds in Iraq, he is moving economically into Moscow's camp.

For just that reason, an Iraqi mission was in Moscow all the time MacMillan was there. And, paralleling Russia's waltz with the British, Moscow was preparing to send experts into Iraq to set up factories there to produce most of the goods hitherto purchased by Iraq from Britain!

So, after refusing American offers, Iraq moves deliberately towards Russia. And Khrushchev and Rochtchine use the loss of the Iraqi market, which they, themselves, are stealing from the British, as an argument for Britain's reaching for the Communist world markets Russia is now holding out to her! Listed as a chargé of cultural affairs, Ralph Murray, the British Middle-East specialist was in the MacMillan party. Looked at all around, it would seem that Britain went to Moscow well-prepared "to be had".

The Mood of France and Her Military: Our correspondent reminds the reader that a renaissance of spirit is uneven in any country. France is no exception. The March 8th and 15th elections came too soon after the rebirth for any offsetting miracles to have been performed. The new shoes are pinching each vested interest at this point. When subsidies were stopped, some pensions cut out, and other financial reforms initiated, grumbling and some revolt were bound to follow.

The Movement for the New Republic (M. N. R.) groundwork for their finish fight against the Reds began with a close scrutiny of the local administrative units called communes. There are around 38,000 of them--more than 23,600 have fewer than 500 inhabitants. The M. N. R. found Communist mayors holding office in less than 1500 communes--about 4%. Not much, but Communist centralized bureaus dictate the organization and regimentation of their municipalities into efficient centers for both the day by day struggle and the long-range revolution.



Once a Communist city hall has had time to indoctrinate the community a hard shell is formed against all the conventional forms of campaigning and political counter-attack. As many inhabitants as possible, of that commune, are given something that they would lose if other than a Communist mayor were elected! The perquisites, treats, subsidies and constant propaganda doled out to the party faithful have produced parasitic bodies on the French economy, having no municipal fiscal responsibility.

As Soustelle and the M. N. R. are determined to clean them up, cries of "fascist" will be heard from these 1500 Communist party nerve-centers. America should be very wary of anti-de Gaulle, anti-Soustelle, anti-M. N. R. stories in their own press from foreign correspondents taking the Paris "Express" as their source because it looks like Time magazine!

It should be remembered, too, as we read and listen, that some American journalists are devoted to tearing down tough thinking and leadership whether at home or abroad. The problems DeGaulle is attacking today in France are the same problems Americans are senselessly creating for themselves here.

A report of French distrust is not alarmist imagining. This is a poor time to threaten France with "a get back in line or else" tone. More to the point would be an attempt to find out why her army, navy and airforce regard America as a secondary enemy--and to recall also that America's preoccupation for some time has been the separation of Algeria from France (France considers Algeria her own domestic problem).

We need to go back to the seed of French distrust. In 1953 France had 500,000 men in Indo-China--the flower of her army. At the time of Dien Bien Phu 278,000 Frenchmen were fighting Red Ho Chi Minh--whom we had armed against them. An American General was making speeches over Ho's Hanoi radio and American inspired pamphlets incited the natives "to spit on the dirty colonialists" -- America's own ally.

The excesses, then, of some of our American military and O. S. S., in their ardor against Western colonialism, are now having their effects outside the framework of Indo-China. What was sown long ago is being reaped. America should remember that as she sets her course today.

Those French officers, formerly in the Indo-China theater, are now running the French army, navy and airforce. They know that "the business" of some American officers out in Indo-China has never been repudiated--seems even to have been rewarded by promotion to the Pentagon. To the French, as things stand now, they have strong enemies in our military at decision level, who already have proved themselves willing to trap these same French officers.

Is it not time America abandoned our checkerboard policy of alternate insult and request for loyal solidarity? If France is our ally in Europe why do we continue to



act contrary to her vital domestic interest in Algeria? As we look back we do seem to wind up doing an excellent job of psychological warfare for Russia. Last month's news proved how disastrous to America's prestige in the Near East was our panting and hasty recognition of the new government in Iraq, after the revolution of July 14th. Iraqis, devoted to the West, warned that the revolution was Communist-controlled and that Baghdad would become the center for Communist operations against Iran. And American citizens, caught by the revolutionaries, were killed that day, too--killed as Arab revolutionaries do the job!

Is not Russia on America's doorstep already, with Fidel Castro's Red-backing in Cuba? Our Cuban policy reveals our government either did not know the facts of life or there is a restraining hand somewhere betraying our own interests when Communism is involved.

All these situations in which America has "flubbed" our action against Russia rise up to haunt us now. Pres. Eisenhower is having the usual difficulty--keeping his mind made up. His basic stand at the beginning of a crisis with Russia always sounds decisive (as it did concerning Berlin the evening of March 16th). Each word-encounter after that loses for us a part of the essence of that basic position. Soon we stand holding a hollow shell--for the egg has been blown.

Through Prime Minister MacMillan's English opportunism Britain again has reverted to "doing something for Britain." National opportunism provides only a wet straw for other peoples trying to draw nourishment to maintain their freedom.

Today General DeGaulle, Pres. of France, impresses the Free World that he knows what this crisis is about, does not fear it or its makers, and does not intend to negotiate something that is already ours. He has not varied from his stand that a Summit meeting should come only "out of the envisionment of genuine progress at the top". The needed opening-up for that must come during the foreign ministers' meeting.

If the West would rally around DeGaulle's staying-power and his incorruptibility to Communist threats and promises, instead of devising formula after formula to reconcile its own noble words and concepts with its ignominious practices, we could then meet the challenge of our time united--instead of divided as we are today.

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To Our Readers: Our concern over the illusion of world affairs most Americans accept today as reality has increased in this past year of waiting to resume publication. In the coming year we will gamble that many people over the world do prefer truth to comfort. Our aim is to bring faithful reporting, incisive comment and any background material necessary to keep the reportings in focus.

Our letter will be a four page international newsletter. The subscription rate will be ten dollars a year for ten newsletters. Address all domestic business and subscription correspondence to H. du B. Reports, 120 Fremont Place, Los Angeles 5, California. Address all foreign business and subscription correspondence to H. du B. Reports, c/o Hotel Lutetia, 43 Boulevard Raspail, Paris 6, France.

Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
Doris A. Parks, Editor



Geneva: The Foreign Ministers' Conference got off on an unrealistic plane. Such little optimism as was felt was based on each side's delusion of having gained a point on the other. You will recall that Russia wanted to invite the two Germanys to sit at the table. The West said no - and then professed satisfaction when Bonn and Pankow were seated away from the conference table itself, with only limited rights to be heard. But, from the moment they were installed in the room at all, Gromyko had made progress. Toward what? Toward Russia's objective: 1. to maneuver the West into even the vaguest essence of recognition, as an entity, of Soviet East Germany. 2. to propel Bonn toward dealing with East Germany in any way, officially. In Khrushchev's mind these are paying moves toward his real goal. Russia wants legalization of her violation of East Germany. Every threat and move is in that direction, not toward a re-unification of Germany, that would create a new powerful partner for the West.

Why does the West continue to fall for the preliminary pretenses, to these periodical masquerades of Russia, that she will ever free any people from her clutches for humanity's sake? Tough Western economic bargaining perhaps could make Russia pay political prices for the West's technological know-how; priceless, time-saving machine tools she needs to create new industry; and trade and credit aids she desperately wants. But to bargain further with Russia politically today only lowers the flame of freedom for us all - our own soft Russophobes see to that.

The British Position vis-a-vis both her partners and Russia could not be considered dialogue between equals. Germany, France and America give every semblance of firmness. Selwyn Lloyd took up his position on shifting uncertain terrain, to wit his public at home. He could mirror no more firmness than Britain feels today.

Britain sees a Russia of 208,826,000 people - with only 25 cities of over 500,000 inhabitants - secure in the vast expanses of their decentralized country. London becomes "a sore thumb" in comparison. And consummate propagandist that she is, Russia has concentrated on increasing Britain's fears. The Russian refrain constantly refers to Britain as a "one bomb target" and reminds British leaders that they can threaten a nuclear war but cannot survive one. With exquisite understanding of the West's weakest spot in morale and spirit, Khrushchev placed Britain first on the list of Russia's targets in the event of war. Already he has made even the thought of a nuclear war unbearable to them.

Selwyn Lloyd's colleagues in Geneva are aware that softened British opinion holds a knife at the back of their Foreign Minister. But they also know that, in Moscow, British Sir David Eccles with a large delegation, is negotiating an increase in Russian-British trade - this, at the moment Mr. Lloyd is sitting on the Western side of the table in Geneva. Moscow certainly did not arrange that by accident!

Britain's Lloyd in Geneva has almost extra-sensory-perception of Sir David's needs in Moscow, as he represents trade-hungry Britain in talks on which his Government's life may depend at the British polls.

Since Russia's strategy is to split the Western Allies, now is certainly no time to express insulting doubts of the British Foreign Minister's intentions and loyalty to the



West. But it is also no time for resolute and knowledgeable people in the Western camp to allow Britain's economic imprudence and political demoralization to mislead Russia as to what the rest of us will protect - and when.

M. Couve de Murville speaking for France, put it mildly when he declared The Talks were starting under difficult circumstances, in an atmosphere of menace. On the eve of the Conference there was some tension between France and Germany over the uncovering of a French Intelligence network watching arms shipments from Hamburg to F. L. N. terrorists. Hamburg is under a Socialist mayor elected by grace of American labor support (see "H. du B. Reports" Feb. 3, '58.) And American Labor put itself on record in Tunis in July of '57, as backing the F. L. N.

In spite of West German government assurances to France that, left to Bonn, the F. L. N. activity in Germany would be checked, it continued because Bonn could not control the Hamburg Socialists. Resulting French operations, to safeguard French interests in Germany, in turn displeased Bonn. So De Gaulle and Adenauer settled the difference in an afternoon, as allies should, and sent their men to the Conference firmly united.

Christian Herter with the eyes of the world on his trial run, was given every opportunity to make good, if he had it in him. So far the impression has been good. For one thing, he started work with a down-to-earth talk with outspoken Charles de Gaulle. The two sat down together at 4:00 p. m. on April 28th. They talked for 35 minutes. When they got up each knew where the other stood. A heavy tarpaulin of secrecy was spread over that talk. Your correspondent learned there were no wasted words. The principal points, on which Western unity would rest, were outlined.

Then de Gaulle pointed out the importance of Africa and the Middle East. And the significance of Allied coordination in Africa was firmly planted in Mr. Herter's mind. It was a strong hint! Unless, as has often been claimed, the Reds are actually calling the shots within our government, there should be no more State Department-inspired hints of imminent American recognition of the rebel Algerian "government".

The Arab World and the Berlin Crisis: While Russia has kept the West looking at Berlin Communism has out-flanked us around the world.

Irak: Look for trouble to increase. Irak is in the Communist bag. Principal agitators are the young diplomats and foreign service employees who flocked home from abroad to take the government seats vacated by Kassem's purge. Most of them are Communists converted in the West, not in Irak. Foreign business, with contracts under the old regime, is their first target. In this campaign against Western capital and business, their one aim is economic and political profit for the Soviet Bloc.

The Sudan: Kartoum is showing alarm. The Communist framework quietly disappeared underground before a clamp-down by Gen. Abdul Waheb. Under new labels, the labor unions or the Popular Democratic Party, they are now coming to the surface. General Abdoud's new government will face its big test in the showdown with the Reds.

Syria: Leaders of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist party have demanded that Akram el Haurani, Vice President of the U. A. R. (United Arab Republic) permit



Geneva: The Foreign Ministers' Conference got off on an unrealistic plane. Such little optimism as was felt was based on each side's delusion of having gained a point on the other. You will recall that Russia wanted to invite the two Germanys to sit at the table. The West said no - and then professed satisfaction when Bonn and Pankow were seated away from the conference table itself, with only limited rights to be heard. But, from the moment they were installed in the room at all, Gromyko had made progress. Toward what? Toward Russia's objective: 1. to maneuver the West into even the vaguest essence of recognition, as an entity, of Soviet East Germany. 2. to propel Bonn toward dealing with East Germany in any way, officially. In Khrushchev's mind these are paying moves toward his real goal. Russia wants legalization of her violation of East Germany. Every threat and move is in that direction, not toward a re-unification of Germany, that would create a new powerful partner for the West.

Why does the West continue to fall for the preliminary pretenses, to these periodical masquerades of Russia, that she will ever free any people from her clutches for humanity's sake? Tough Western economic bargaining perhaps could make Russia pay political prices for the West's technological know-how; priceless, time-saving machine tools she needs to create new industry; and trade and credit aids she desperately wants. But to bargain further with Russia politically today only lowers the flame of freedom for us all - our own soft Russophobes see to that.

The British Position vis-a-vis both her partners and Russia could not be considered dialogue between equals. Germany, France and America give every semblance of firmness. Selwyn Lloyd took up his position on shifting uncertain terrain, to wit his public at home. He could mirror no more firmness than Britain feels today.

Britain sees a Russia of 208,826,000 people - with only 25 cities of over 500,000 inhabitants - secure in the vast expanses of their decentralized country. London becomes "a sore thumb" in comparison. And consummate propagandist that she is, Russia has concentrated on increasing Britain's fears. The Russian refrain constantly refers to Britain as a "one bomb target" and reminds British leaders that they can threaten a nuclear war but cannot survive one. With exquisite understanding of the West's weakest spot in morale and spirit, Khrushchev placed Britain first on the list of Russia's targets in the event of war. Already he has made even the thought of a nuclear war unbearable to them.

Selwyn Lloyd's colleagues in Geneva are aware that softened British opinion holds a knife at the back of their Foreign Minister. But they also know that, in Moscow, British Sir David Eccles with a large delegation, is negotiating an increase in Russian-British trade - this, at the moment Mr. Lloyd is sitting on the Western side of the table in Geneva. Moscow certainly did not arrange that by accident!

Britain's Lloyd in Geneva has almost extra-sensory-perception of Sir David's needs in Moscow, as he represents trade-hungry Britain in talks on which his Government's life may depend at the British polls.

Since Russia's strategy is to split the Western Allies, now is certainly no time to express insulting doubts of the British Foreign Minister's intentions and loyalty to the



re-establishment of the Syrian Communist Party, with full liberty of action. Leaders of the Nationalist Ba'as party admit concern. Danger signals are not coming from their party framework, but from the party base, which is more perilous. Climate and mood of the base, at this moment, could produce a mass desertion to the Communists.

Egypt: Is Washington trying to regain the West's position in Cairo? It can't be done. 1. Israel, the impassable barrier to American accord with the Arab world, precludes it. If relations are eased, that period will but give the Arab World time to resharpen the knife. 2. Nasser is already too far "in hock" to Moscow. Playing Khrushchev against us, Nasser's army and police have been infiltrated. Soviet technicians and money flow into Egypt - "Soviet Specialists" arrive and take over. Informed European sources sum it up - Nasser will submit to Moscow, in the pinch, or he will be deposed. The mass of the people will not defend his regime - bad as their lot was when the land-owners were their bankers, it has become worse. When Egypt falls completely to Russia, the moves will start - Russian expansion towards the Sahara, Algeria and Morocco. Libya, holding America's great bases, Bengazi and Wheelus, has already been softened.

With diabolical cynicism, Russia has already marked out her airdrome sites in the desert and stock-piled materiel. The French Army knows every point where arms are being passed to the areas marked for subversion, and then occupation. But there is nothing they can do as these American and British arms shipments continue to flow to unstable, underdeveloped peoples about to be gobbled up by Russia. It is as though America and Britain were trying to beat the Russians to the game of preparing Russia's offensive for her! Americans can only hope that de Gaulle succeeded in firmly planting in Herter's mind the significance of Allied coordination in Africa!

The Algerian Situation: De Gaulle's statement that "the F. L. N. (Front de la Liberation Nationale) is not representative of Algeria or even the Algerian Moslems" is succinct and to the point of what our correspondent has reported. Ferhat Abbas, head of the F. L. N.'s shadow Algerian "government", has just made a tour of India and the Iron countries seeking recognition. Nehru advised him to go back and talk to de Gaulle. He had no success with the Red countries either, other than promises of some arms and money. Why this unusual restraint of nations who traditionally yell their heads off on the "Western Colonialism" theme? De Gaulle - with the brevity and no-nonsense purposiveness, that have marked his words and acts since coming into power, sent a note to every nation with Paris representation - except Britain and the United States - that if they recognized the F. L. N. "government" France would break off diplomatic relations. The United States and Britain were informed of these notes. That was sufficient! No one peeped - and Ferhat Abbas was cold-shouldered down the line, even by the Reds.

Americans, with gumption, have felt for a long time that the way to handle international bullies is with more resolution - and the same could be applied in our relations with politically inexperienced peoples, who have a lot to learn about independence - other than yearning for it.

Bourguiba of Tunisia: In any crisis an Arab "catches on" fast. Dividing the Western Allies, as a prime Russian objective, is a project your Arab leader understands, and



will promote for a little blackmail. Bourguiba has come forth with an offer to let France have Bizerta, her Mediterranean base, under a special long-term arrangement - if the French will make a negotiated peace in Algeria along lines demanded by the Revolutionary F. L. N.

De Gaulle has been trying to negotiate a peace settlement with the F. L. N. - and for weeks, as the moderates within F. L. N. pressed for acceptance of his terms, signs of discord and weakening within their ranks have been evident.

Using this period of delicate mission for France, on two continents, Bourguiba now steps up with a monkey-wrench. All the Allied bases in North Africa are at stake on de Gaulle's acceptance of the terms demanded by the F. L. N. - or he, Bourguiba, will carry his case to Nato, and issue an ultimatum to that effect, regarding Allied defense of the Mediterranean. The threat implied? An invitation to America to again meddle in Algerian affairs, to use "the good offices mission" - technique and put pressure on France at this critical time.

In a long session on February 25th, The French Council of Ministers went into Bourguiba's blackmail threat thoroughly. There is not a chance of de Gaulle standing for any foolishness. The arrest of six Tunisians in Paris, important in one of Bourguiba's networks, was France's first reply.

No doubt Herter was reminded in his talk with de Gaulle that, if the French were run out of their naval base at Bizerta, a general shake-up would be necessary with France reclaiming the Villefranche base, presently occupied by America's 6th Fleet. On de Gaulle's desk too, as he talked to Herter, were reports that "volunteers" recruited among the Russian Moslems of the Caucasus and Asia Minor were to be sent to aid the F. L. N. - that delivery of Czech arms to them was being stepped up - that F. L. N. pilots are being trained at Communist airbases in China on materiel furnished by the Peking government. This airforce has been planned as the F. L. N. answer to the electrified barriers the French have strung along the Moroccan and Algerian borders. Using bombers, helicopters, and parachute troops they have planned to jump the barriers. The catch is: such maneuvers will have to take off from Tunisia or Moroccan fields, built and left behind by the French. The French will bomb such fields the moment they are used.

Out of Cairo were reports that a nine-men F. L. N. military mission, headed by Omar Oussedik, the Willya No. 4 commander, was bringing back promises of support from Communist China and North Vietnam and also from Chou En-Lai of "the total support of 650 million Chinese". When the Communists find troubled waters they certainly know how to keep them troubled!

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The Albania menace is extremely grave. Ideologically Albania (Europe's Moslem country) is linked with North Africa. By stretching the point just a little, Red leaders can assert that Albania has the same right we accord Bourguiba, --the right to help her "brother Moslems". Geographically the country is in place to sweep the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and to neutralize Otranto. But more still: Italian Reds have taken a big step forward. Sicilian elections showed their success (reported by our correspondent last January) in taking in and using all forces, even anti-Communist. (They used the Catholics in the Sicilian election). Real meaning of this: No other country in Western Europe has a Communist party in any position to risk a civil war. The Italian party, if supported by a Pan-Communist group in Albania, with Italy under threat of both rocket attack and invasion "to help Italian loyalists" if "necessary", is in just that position. Look over the recent meeting - Peking, North Korea, Albania and Russia!

Laos: Carefully concealed from America by both an acquiescent press and our State Department's costly and unwieldy public relations agency, USIA, the general situation deteriorates in South East Asia. Tiny Laos has had a bad press in America. Washington, swallowing a camel and choking on a gnat, has closed its eyes to the corruption, Red infiltration and scandalous waste of our aid in South Vietnam and turned a spotlight on Laos' petty pilfering.

Fighting has broken out in the northern jungles of Laos. Under Chinese-Vietminh orders from Hanoi, fifty Vietminh officers with radio equipment crossed the Laotian border to spread the fighting. One of two hard-core Communist battalions, held in virtual imprisonment since the cease-fire of December, 1957, managed to break out. Tough friend-of-the-West, Gen. Ouan Rathikoun, fought to prevent the revolting battalion from crossing into North Vietnam.

In 1957 His Royal Highness, Prince Souvanna Phouma, negotiated with Communist Pathet Lao for re-integration into Laos of the two northern provinces they held. He was not aiding and abetting Communist infiltration of Laos, as accused, but rather by retaking the two Communist-held provinces and holding them, contrary to all predictions, he accomplished the first and only roll-back of the Communist wave - and against America's wishes. His reasons for braving the current made sense. 1. He was not going to forsake the non-Communists in those provinces. 2. Leaving those two provinces in Communist hands would establish a de facto divided Laos. West Germany, The Free Republic of China and South Korea all understand what that means.

Prince Souvanna Phouma is now ambassador to Paris, one of the most reasonable and intelligent statesmen in South East Asia. When interviewed he discussed the fighting in his country. It may prove a powder keg - but better risk it than see his country change color by osmosis - without a fight.

Last January, as the Red threat grew, Laos was given an ultimatum by General Ouan and the army, "Stand up to the Reds or I'll take over". Premier Phoui Sananikone, head of the new government, stood up to the Reds. Civil War, with Red China and North Vietnam fomenting it and then backing the Red rebels, is a possibility. But the men on the spot, who have the most to lose, are showing the will to fight. It is a healthy sign for the West.

Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
Doris A. Parks, Editor



Note on West Berlin: Short of military invasion, economic strangulation is the measure which Russia intends to apply. West Berlin is costing the Bonn government a sum roughly equivalent to the expense of the Algerian War to France. That cost will mount as the economic warfare against West Berlin continues. How long can West Germany carry it without an internal Socialist revolt or an act of defiance on the part of the Bonn government itself, to break the stranglehold?

British Labor's Position: On the very eve of America's official announcement of the transfer of our 200 fighter-bombers to Britain and Germany, British Labor, in an inter-party vote, went on record as opposing our stock-piling of nuclear weapons on British soil. The previous week Mr. Frank Foukes, Communist President of Britain's Union of Electrical Industries, was voted in as President of the Maritime Construction Union and the Union of Heavy Industries. The full import of that election should be clear to the most loyal Briton or well-wisher of Britain - the most vital industries in the infrastructure of British defense are now enemy-controlled. We have a British Left swinging ever closer to the enemy camp (Britain lists 26,749 Communists, an increase of 1,436 in seven months.) Should not Britain's Right, Nato and America pause and consider the facts of their situation?

Guinea: As reports become more alarming, look for a Communist take over one of these days. Once again Intelligence focuses on Moscow's time-tried strategy of helping a weak left-of-center government into power, then seizing complete control from the native government's failing hands. Moscow-trained Sekou Toure led the country out of the French Community last December and towards the U. S. S. R. satellites. Under Toure's brother, Ismail, and long-time Communist Keita Fobeda (now Minister of the Interior in charge of police and internal security) a movement is afoot to seize direction - and presently Guinea will become Russia's foothold in Black Africa!

In the meantime last June America gave 5000 tons of rice and 3000 tons of flour to Guinea. This gift only spurred Guinea's two-pronged advance: 1. towards Communism; 2. further anti-French agitation in Ghana. Taken as our pat on their back, it encouraged a trend that is very unfavorable to our cause. Contrary to all reality, America's policy regarding underdeveloped peoples 'midwife's' these states into being, for Russia to swallow through unprepared, naive, native governments. We need a new pattern.

It is a Big World: Russia knows it if the West does not, as she spot-lights our attention to one place. In the midst of the world's pin-pointed crises two simultaneous side-struggles can escape notice - and they are important. No. 1. Egypt is jockeying to undermine or break every alliance and treaty perpetuating Israel.

Bear this in mind: France has a treaty with Israel. French jets compose the striking power of the Israeli airforce. The French army (and this means the Foreign Legion first) is committed to the aid of Israel in the event of any outside act of aggression. During the Ministers' Conference in Geneva who should show up but Nasser's former Naval Attache to Paris. His proposition to M. Couve de Murville? Nasser would start the Arab exodus from the F. L. N. (Front de la liberation Nationale) camp by throwing Ferhat Abbas's shadow Algerian "government" out of Cairo - he would also yield to French demands in the Suez settlement - if de Gaulle would tear up the treaty with Israel. M. Couve de Murville promised nothing.



Our correspondent has consistently reported for months that Nasser is "in hock" to Russia - he must be useful or he will be deposed. Is this proposition, to relieve France of a Western obligation in the Middle East, an attractively baited maneuver towards Russia's objective, control of the Middle East? Or is the proposition another tactic of an implacable enemy resharpening the Arab knife against Israel?

Paralleling this first maneuver is side-struggle no. 2. Funneling out from a North African vestibule, Russia's objectives in Africa proper demand the demoralization of the French army - particularly that crack mobile force, the French Foreign Legion, which plays a role similar to our United States Marines.

Soviet strategists have been directing and pushing the F. L. N.'s monster propaganda against the Foreign Legion, inciting desertion and passing-to-the-enemy in Algeria. Stepped-up campaigns in Switzerland, Italy and Germany urge their governments to press France against acceptance of their nationals in the Legion. False stories, claiming a Legionnaire is forced to commit atrocities in service, have been circulated to enlist European public opinion against the Legion - all proof that demoralization of the Foreign Legion is an immediate "must" for the Algerian F. L. N. and a long-term plan of Russia. And whatever the looks of Nasser's proposition, made for him in Geneva, his inextricable Russian captivity makes Russia's plan become also the objective of the United Arab Republic under Nasser's domination.

Hollywood, U. S. A.: Distance in the aggregate is great, separating Israel, France and Hollywood, but these side-struggles link them importantly. There is still a big question as to the stand of Hollywood in world affairs. In view of the American film capitol's generosity to and support of Israel, many have insisted that Israel could provide an internal unifying agent for America against Communism - as well as become a valuable ally in the Middle East. Such has not been the case.

Too many Americans remember that Zionism, over the years, has been associated with Communism and pro-Soviet policy since the Russian Revolution. When Russia turned on Israel, Israel of course went anti-Soviet and Hollywood's Jewish opinion publicly proclaimed itself anti-Communist. But in a showdown its action still cooperates with Russia. An example: the scurrilous propaganda film, against the French Army in general and the Foreign Legion in particular called "Horizons of Glory", serves both Russia and the Nasser anti-Zionists. Since the film harms Israel's committed French defenders, it is hardly conducive to arousing any desire in them to risk their lives in defense of this nation Hollywood has so handsomely financed. The film leaves no doubt where its producers and backers stand. It is a back-stabbing of the only army likely to come to Israel's aid - proof sufficient of a stronger attraction toward Communism than Israel, or of a colossal ignorance of where Israel's self-interest lies.

Frankly, Hollywood, as the big-hearted external Jewish influence where Israel is concerned, has contributed greatly to the reluctance of the Western Powers to concretely support Israel. This propaganda film against a Western partner supports Western public opinion's belief that Hollywood's Left hand controls its Right. And the film cannot be "sweetened" by recataloguing it as a "cultural" exchange-effort with Russia!



South Vietnam: The picture darkens. Why? 1. The causes of many problems there are American-imposed. 2. American public opinion has not been correctly informed - which discourages the Vietnamese. An example: In early June of 1958, less than three weeks before South Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, the American Friends of Vietnam Chairman, Brig. General O'Daniel, in a letter accompanying a report marked "Confidential Intelligence", warned of about-to-be border troubles - asked the American public not to believe the "Communist Reports" that would come out of Southeast Asia. A favorite trick of American supporters of Pres. Diem is to brand any unfavorable report of his regime as "Red-inspired" - thus the ground is cut from under reports trying to alert the American public to the truth. Our correspondent reports below what Gen. O'Daniel was trying to neutralize.

Diem's decrees against Cambodians in Vietnam had sown ill-will. (Diem's Nationalization Decrees of 1956 forced Vietnamese citizenship on all nationals born in South Vietnam - see "H. du B. Reports" Vol. I September 16, 1957). In late June 1958 Diem's agents tried to kidnap a Vietnamese refugee in the heart of Pnom Penh - border incursions were a daily affair - in some places Diem's troops even moved the boundary markers. On June 25, 1958 H. M. King Norodom Surimarit announced that Diem's forces had invaded Cambodia and occupied Pak-Nhai, five miles inside the border. Our State Department refused to mediate or restrain "our man" - replying to Cambodia's request for mediation, that mediation was impossible without requests from both parties! Peking stepped in with an offer to protect Cambodian territorial integrity. Rather than blame Diem for Cambodia's "slide" towards Peking, the Peking Accord has been used as justification for further anti-Cambodian activity and been reported barefaced as Diem's fight against Communism!

On July 6th, 1959 the Los Angeles Times reported that Dep. Police Chief, Frank Walton, of the Los Angeles Police Department has a new job - as a U.S. foreign service officer he will be "public safety adviser to the government of South Vietnam." Walton was to report that week "for a period of indoctrination in the International Co-operation Administration program. "

Put more plainly, Mr. Walton will become the police adviser in a country where the police-grip is actively or silently opposed by 90% of the Vietnamese who also happen to oppose Diem's dictatorship. South Vietnam has evaluated the fact that Walton's appointment is by the State Department - to them his "period of indoctrination" looks like "brain-washing". It becomes another confirmation of what Southeast Asia has already suspected - an association between I. C. A. 's "indoctrination" of personnel and Diem's interlocking, Communist-dominated "security" organizations. There is much that Mr. Walton should learn before going "out" to his new job.

A U.P.I. correspondent got too close to unsavory facts - was roughed up by Diem's "security police." Over 200 officials were assassinated in the first quarter of 1959, a government battalion was decimated south of Tayninh and the rebels control the regions south of Saigon. Our correspondent again reports that only those rebel troops operating in Vietnam's Plain of Junks and Caman Point, old strongholds of the Vietminh, are Communist. Those in the regions of Long-Xuyen, Chauduc and Travinh are Hoa-Hao, Cao Dai and Binh Xuyen allies under General Bay Mon, former Chief-of-Staff to the Binh Xuyen leader, General Le van Vien.



American officials and "statesmen", who supported Pres. Diem in the senseless moves that drove the two sects and the Binh Xuyen, all anti-Communist, into Civil war, have insisted for four years that their power was broken. When forced to admit their existence, Diem apologists have branded them Communists. Neither statement is true. With all-out American support, Diem has been mercilessly trying for the last four years to destroy the Cao Dais, Hoa Haos, Binh Xuyens and Dai Viet Nationalist Party fighters - who someday may be our only partisans against the Reds in that part of the world.

On May 17th, Pope Pham cong Tac, in exile in Pnom Penh, died of a heart attack. Spiritual leader of two million Cao Dai followers, he was lauded as our friend when he held the Tayninh area against the Communists and was maligned and sneered at when Diem forced his flight to Pnom Penh in April, 1956. Until his death he held the Cao Dai sect out of the Communist orbit. His martyrdom will increase Cao Dai activity against Diem's dictatorship but Communism is not the factor.

U. S. Chamber of Commerce Chairman Clement Johnston reported to Washington in 1957 that U. S. funds were "being used to build and equip armed forces in Vietnam, some of whose officers and men seemed to think of their mission in terms of ancient hostilities and rivalries". He added the thought that Communist aggression did not constitute the primary menace there.

American Aid to South Vietnam: A bulletin released by the Vietnam Embassy in Paris on May 15th, 1959 states that America has already installed two atomic reactors in South Vietnam - one in Blao in the agricultural school, the other in the Saigon Botanical Garden (not far from the isolated torture center in the same garden). American Aid is installing two more reactors in Hong-Loc and Banmethuot. This project will be closely associated with the Vietnamese Public Works program. Tran le Quang, its director, is a former top-level Vietminh (Communist) leader.

Pres. Diem, by decree, created an "Office of Atomic Energy" on October 11, 1958 - and dispatched two "Vietnamese technicians" to America to take a special course in nuclear energy. By an agreement signed on April 22, 1959, American Aid was extended still further in the nuclear field. Information on models, construction, functioning and research was promised. Private contracts for nuclear development were approved - a provision was arranged whereby "nuclear material and technical aid would be appropriated". Could the Communist-infiltrated government be waiting for completion of the improvements and atomic lures before opening the gates for a Communist takeover? Security adviser Walton may have his hands full!

The same May 15th, 1959 bulletin discloses that America dumped 7,730 tons of threads and cotton in South Vietnam in 1958 - this being called our "policy of generating local currency". In the process of pouring our textiles into the country we ruined their profitable native textile industry.

Our Foreign Aid Chief there approved foreign exchange for the purchase of gunny and jute sacks, cigarette papers, beer bottles and metal caps, office supplies and airplane accessories. Excepting some of the airplane accessories, all of the above items could have been produced in South Vietnam had we set up and encouraged small industries. Instead we gave them a watch factory and four atomic reactors - a dandy way to "make friends and influence people"?

Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
Doris A. Parks, Editor



September, 1959 is as crucial a month as the West has faced since that same month 20 years ago. Despite the waves of publicity claiming new diplomatic triumphs for each traveling world leader, and the impressive crowds they attract, who love a show, there is ominous weakness in the Free World Alliance.

The realities of the East-West military picture do not make comforting reading.

1. Russia has reached parity with the West in nuclear strength -- ruling out quick atomic victory for either side.
2. Barring use of a nuclear deterrent, today's conventional forces of the West could not stop a Soviet roll across Europe tomorrow.
3. Because American factories are regarded as the Free World's armorers, Soviet sleeping cells in those factories would be depended upon by Russia to cripple Western retaliation potential. And there are no corresponding cells in Soviet factories to aid the West.

Elimination of sabotage and espionage cells in America is only possible by summoning citizens to throw what personal light they can on the enemy roster. If each summoned-citizen named the subversives he knows, and each named-person proved his loyalty to America by doing like-wise (or showed his true colors by his refusal) security lines could be drawn. In the past that attempt was frustrated in the hate and passion of "getting McCarthy". Will America now put her mind to this urgent problem of the security of what we say we cherish and would uphold or will we continue to harbor treachery through misuse of the 5th amendment?

Another unpleasant bed-rock condition, in a different field, that operates against the West's military: we must face it, confidence in American diplomacy throughout Western European officialdom is non-existent -- and remembering Yalta, this lack pertains to its honesty as well as to its capacity.

Nixon in Moscow: European chancelleries knew on July 22nd that Nixon was representing the American government, not just opening a fair in Moscow. His daily morning conversation with the White House and his evening talk with Herter moved the center of activity from Geneva to Moscow for both world camps.

A typical Khrushchev maneuver was the "face" he deliberately gave to Nixon in America, by their verbal exchanges in Moscow. Receiving Nixon with brutal discourtesy and warming to him later implied Nixon made headway with him where others failed. Will this play to give Nixon a build-up at home be used later by Khrushchev to cinch a Summit meeting in spite of no ministerial progress? The play into Khrushchev's hands could come during his American visit -- with Nixon at the peak of home popularity beside him, Khrushchev could "suggest" Nixon be sent to save the Geneva Conference on its death bed. It would be later that both America and Nixon would wake up to find again that Khrushchev only deals on his own terms.

Informed European sources believe Khrushchev sold Nixon two ideas in the secret meeting July 26th. 1. Khrushchev knows every important Nato decision. 2. No East-West understanding is possible if America re-arms West Germany -- particularly with nuclear weapons. These same sources watched Vice-Admiral Rickover in Moscow with approval -- but were convinced that Vice-President Nixon's interest was in Mr. Nixon. His aims were obvious: 1. Contact-making that would permit him



to promise, in the 1960 election campaign, a revolutionary and successful era of American-Russian good will: 2. To hedge all his bets in Moscow, should anything go wrong. His subservience to his mentor, the political thinker for the White House, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, provided the "out" for disclaiming responsibility if events went awry.

Nixon in Poland: Before Nixon's arrival in Poland, reports had come out of Warsaw of a "moderate" wing being created in East Germany to treat with the extreme wing of West Germany, to throw the latter off balance -- part of a developing plan to use World Socialism as the transition space into Revolutionary Communism. The signing in East Berlin, during the first week in August, of a declaration of common front between the Italian General Workers Congress and East German unions, is another link in this new Communist plan to form a Popular Front with the Socialists of the Left -- with the unions, in this instance, the pole of attraction.

It is the business of certain top-secret West European offices to scrutinize each crumb of information dropped in Central and Eastern Europe. They detected a sudden flurry of activity among Europe's Socialist parties before and after Nixon's visit to Warsaw. The climate during his visit was clearly International-Socialism. Who greeted Nixon at Babice Airport? Who made his visit a "triumph" -- hailed by our American press at face value, as "a victory for the West"? It was Oscar Lange, Vice-President of Poland. A Socialist, he was for many years a professor at Chicago University -- is now Poland's top specialist in American affairs. Reports of Lange's "courtship" of Nixon in Warsaw indicated that Lange was using Nixon more than Nixon was conquering Poland. While Lange, in Warsaw, was believed to be planting the idea in Nixon's mind that Central European Socialists are fine fellows and can be won over by America, a scheme was hatching in Naples. Maurice Thorez slipped ashore there from the Russian tour cruise of The Pobeda to meet top Italian Reds in secret conference in a port-side hotel. A leak revealed plans for using the Bevan, Mendes-France, Nenni Socialist groups in Communism's new "pipe-down" offensive. The West is to be sold on the use of Socialism as a valuable force against Communism.

We hope Mr. Nixon does not have to back track on his words to the V.F.W. Convention in Los Angeles recently when he said, "I think it is time for us to recognize that the Communists are not so smart, and we are not so dumb".

Afro-Arab Conferences: Keep them and their purposes in mind: 1. Monrovia, August 4th to 8th, to weld Black Africa and the Arabs -- thus to produce a solidarity for the vote in U. N. to discuss Algeria. 2. Casablanca, August 31st, to temper the cutting edge of that alliance; 3. Cairo, September 7th, to finalize plans for a unified policy on the anticipated field day in U. N. in September. The all-out drive will be against France -- "Colonialism" will be the theme.

Monrovia Conference: Powder-packed, nine Afro-Arab nations were there: Ethiopia, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, United Arab Republic, Libya, Tunisia, the Sudan and Liberia, the host, whose puppet role under the U. S. could saddle us with lots of responsibility for anything that comes out of the Conference. Although unlisted, the Algerian rebel "shadow" government was treated as an independent state -- only Ethiopia and Liberia failed to establish formal relations with it.

No wonder the Algerian F. L. N. (Front de la Liberation Nationale), though harassed in the field to the point where of their six Wilaya (districts) chiefs only one is living in



Algeria, is convinced now is the time for a propaganda fight in U.N. Their reasons are specific: 1. The message of Joseph C. Satterthwaite, America's representative, was warm -- but had it been thought through? It stated America's understanding of "the aspirations of the Africa people" -- thus treating them as a bloc, whose consolidation we encourage -- an entity with whose aspirations we are in sympathy whether fulfilled by hate, blood and intimidation or peaceful means. We should differentiate. 2. Archibald Ross represented Britain. His main pre-occupation was encouraging superstitious, Black African clamor against French A-bomb testing in the Sahara.

Britain does not long for a membership increase in the exclusive A-Club. The French A-bomb experiment will be a ground explosion in the middle of the Sahara 1720 miles from Monrovia, where the African orchestration against it was being drummed up -- all precautions will be taken. Someone should warn Nevada, too! 3. Communist aid to the F. L. N. is on the upswing. In the Kabylie region Gen. Challe is fighting to break a revolt before Washington tries to legalize the situation that Communist aid is striving to create there! There is a new outbreak of black rioting in the Congo. Both terrorists trained in satellite Czechoslovakia and Czech advisers are aiding Sekou Toure of Guinea in his spade-work for Moscow in the Camerouns and the Sudan -- Ghana furnishes the financial aid for his projects.

Specifics such as these have convinced the Arab bloc, rightly or wrongly, that America, knowing the threat of further Russian help if America does not pay, will herself pay any price to keep the Afro-Arab nations quiet -- such as, desert our ally, France.

The Casablanca Conference: Two purposes developed: 1. the temporary soft-pedaling of the Israeli struggle -- Israel will be thought about again when the Algerian struggle ends. The economies of Tunisia and Morocco, in a bad way now because of difficulties with France, face anarchy when that fight is over. Redirection then of the internal hates of their ambitious, excitable politicians, ready to eat each other, may provide the "must" for the jihad (holy war) against Israel. 2. Unifying of Arab nations to provide the spearhead in U. N. on September 15th -- back of which the nations of Black Africa will constitute the supporting mass of force. The Arab League's Secretary-General Abdel Khalek Hassouna has been negotiating behind the scenes to patch things up between Nasser and the Arab Leaders Nasser has tried to assassinate or depose: Bourguiba of Tunisia, Kassem of Iraq and Jordan's King Hussein. Hassouna is determined to present such a united land mass of Moslem nations in New York on September 15th that, as long as the mass remains mum about Israeli and cool in all dealings with Soviet Russia, that meet the eye, the United States will not rock the boat.

The Cairo Conference: The man to watch in this third Arab Conference, the most important wire-puller in Afro-Asiatic affairs, is Herr Gypter, East Germany's Ambassador to the United Arab Republic, stationed in Cairo. He is the leading non-Arab, non-black agitator. His influence stems from the efficient aid his East German instructors have given F. L. N.'s Special Organization (S. O.) located in Cairo. The S. O. network is extensive -- divided into three sectors: 1. The Feddayan or volunteers of death recruited in Algeria, plain assassins and considered expendable; 2. The sabotage teams -- highly trained specialists, too valuable to lose, who take as few risks as possible; 3. The Intelligence teams who furnish operational information for both killers and saboteurs -- and report Intelligence to their advisors, whose European headquarters is in Hamburg, West Germany! Herr Gypter brings to the Cairo Conference the Soviet



bloc's promise of solid support of the Cairo meeting's perfected plan to sell U. N. Sec. Gen. Hammerskjold an idea -- the idea of a Socialist "Confederation" in North Africa -- their solution to the Algerian revolt, as opposed to Federation with France. Nothing will be said, of course, about the fertile, workable interim period this Socialist plan would provide for Communist control later.

The U. N. 1959: In 1958 France blocked an Algerian debate in U. N. by one vote. America's abstention left a big question in France as to the depth of meaning the Franco-American Alliance has for America. Most American reporting has overlooked de Gaulle's repeated attempts at negotiation with the F. L. N. - and does not seem to know that F. L. N. intractability has been increased by America's own undercover encouragement. An example: Some part of our government picked the last days of August to land another shipment of American arms in Tunisia. When de Gaulle heard about it he shook his head and observed, "Truly, they have an excellent sense of timing" -- the Monrovia Conference had just ended, the Casablanca meeting was about to commence! Tracts were already appearing in the F. L. N. centers in Morocco and Algeria: "America is sending arms to our Tunisian brothers. Hold fast, for aid is coming."

Our President expressed his warm feeling for the French people thus, "Je vous aime tous" (I love you all). It can become meaningless if America's past attitude and actions toward the Algerian struggle persist. The facts are that any weakening on de Gaulle's part there would mean the events in France of May, 1958 all over again. For of all the sacrifices the country behind de Gaulle, and the army symbolizing that country might make, concessions on Algeria are not among them.

Communism has wired itself in both Africa and Asia to the dynamite of naive, sometimes greedy, inexperienced native unrest, and desire for independence before ready for it. Do-gooding Western leadership will not be "quality" enough for the battles in the U. N. General Assembly of 1959.

Laos: Under cover of torrential rains, long trains of coolies have filed through the northern jungle, encircling Sam Neua Province, building up supplies for this all-out Red offensive. The mountain tribes have been effectively worked over by neighboring Communists who are pushing the offensive under the label Pathet Lao, the former native Red formation.

96 American and 96 French instructors are stepping up the training of new Royal Laotian Army formations. American cooperation with French officers, experienced in this area, is a new step in American policy in Southeast Asia. It is believed Americans will advise behind the Laotian command -- French officers and instructors are the backbone of the infant Laotian airforce.

This is a first exercise, for American military leadership, of a "popular" war against Communism in jungles with uncertain fronts and long distances between bases -- Southeast Asia and much of Europe watch with interest.

The Sicilian Crisis: which is being hushed up abroad, is a direct result of Khrushchev's top-secret, top-level Communist meeting in Albania (see "H. du B. Reports" June, '59). The Red Scheme is to install a local Sicilian government favorable to Soviet plans -- then to promote a violent Nationalist and Separatist campaign there. Thus will Sicily be turned into another independence-demanding Cyprus -- and become the next stepping stone for Russia towards the soft under-belly of a Europe diverted and lulled by goings and comings of V. I. P. s.



## TO OUR AMERICAN READERS

The Home-front: Many Americans work cross-word puzzles for the word-interest. For years the editor of this report, when reading or listening, has done a mental propoganda analysis of political, economic and educational items -- just to keep track of the realities, and the illusions America was substituting for them.

The lulling of Europe, through the excitement afforded by V. I. P. comings and goings, is the simple circus technique, diversion. Recently our administration has concentrated on an overwhelming insistence on its point of view with us. Short-circuiting the field of reason, for weeks we have received massive doses of comforting word-pictures -- leave everything to Ike and Dick.

Using a "see the birdie" technique our President, while abroad, was focussed for us "relaxing before a fire", "chatting of babies" with a Queen, "his grin easing tensions" -- the idol of thousands wherever he went. An "all is well with the world" (or at least with America) atmosphere was being created. Official and non-official propoganda labored repetitively with us citizens, that we appreciate our good fortune, "when Khrushchev sees our strength". What strength -- when we have gradually allowed our responsible citizenship to be transformed into unadulterated mental subjection to Washington?

The Khrushchev visit propoganda beats all past attempts at "doing our thinking" for us. Had American public opinion been dunked in tenderizer its softening-up could not have been more deliberately attempted. And with too few exceptions, in all fields, America's leaders have taken to "the sunny side of the street" regarding Revolutionary Communism -- as though hope and aspiration could suddenly replace hopeless reality for the millions locked in forever within the Soviet system.

In contrast our correspondent reports from Paris: On hearing that Eisenhower was going to talk to Khrushchev directly de Gaulle exclaimed, "God help him; he is going to talk to the devil himself!" On second thought de Gaulle added, "The more I think about it the more apprehensive I become over such a tete-a-tete. The President is the victim of hopeful opinions and he does not want to destroy hope. I do not believe that he wished such a meeting. He has been carried away by the crowd. Khrushchev is the one who wanted it -- he has wanted it for years -- and for him it is his greatest victory".

And victories will continue for Russia as long as the complexities in world situations bore America -- are too hard to understand and to solve. Are we too fortunate perhaps, materially speaking, for our own good? Too interested in diversion to want to comprehend and be responsible?

D. A. P.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
Doris A. Parks, Editor



The Communist World: Three events give Communism the stage in this special report: 1. Khrushchev's visit to America in September; 2. the October 1st celebration in Peking observing the tenth anniversary of the Communist government in Red China (the Republic of China on Formosa commemorated the 48th anniversary of its founding on October 10th --known as Double Ten Day); 3. the October 7th anniversary of Communist control of East Germany.

Communist big-wigs gathered from all over the world for Peking's celebration. The Khrushchev-Eisenhower talks at Camp David called for a Communist "Summit" Conference. Khrushchev sent Koslov, Vice-President of the Soviet Council, and Sorin, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the East German observance in Pankow--their rumored mission, to dampen temporarily East Germany's bellicose ardor towards West Berlin. Khrushchev wanted no boat-rocking in Pankow or Peking that could upset Pres. Eisenhower's "in return" visit to Moscow this spring.

Khrushchev: Wishfully thinking that America changed Khrushchev--like applying Bon Ami, our advertised scratchless wonder powder, to wear away granite--many Americans now feel justified in a mental ease towards Communism.

On Khrushchev's last night at Camp David, we are told, he requested and was shown the U. S. Navy film of the cruise of the Nautilus under the North Pole. Those who stated, "he does not know enough about submarines to have learned anything" were speaking with the certainty of ignorance.

The submarine is an offensive arm, not defensive--and the Nautilus' achievement was one to fire the Khrushchev imagination. The possibilities, such a voyage in reverse unfolded, are dear to his heart. The impetus to do likewise, that the Nautilus film-showing would promote in Khrushchev, seems not to have been considered by his hosts. Was the Navy, whose job it is to watch constantly for Russian submarines lurking off America's coasts, consulted in the decision to show him the film?

The curiosity of the man is limitless. Though Khrushchev started as a farm boy, and is now thought of as a politician, it would be a grave error to under-rate him as a technician. His boundless energy and interest, and his love of the concrete, formed when he worked with his hands, have combined to make him no ordinary sight-seer. In Pearl Mesta's steel plant, watching a machine cutting conical gears, he was reported to have exclaimed, "What a waste of steel! Why don't you roll it?" He then proceeded to tell how it should be done!

The Khrushchev Visit: Past, but the returns will keep on coming in--that we must bear in mind. Washington knew that a Russian was huddled over a push-button for the duration of Khrushchev's visit--ready to unloose destruction if anything happened to him here. Russia's trigger-readiness set in motion the opposite equal in each link in the Free World defense chain. The result? Around the world, airbases, rocket dumps and submarines at sea awaited "the" signal that a chance shot from a Soviet victim or a maniac might touch off. These special precautions went unreported while the finger-on-trigger vigil ran its course. But for the period of Khrushchev's American "campaign", the two worlds faced each other -- ready.



Russia told America, with no "ifs" and "buts," that we would be wiped out if anything happened to Khrushchev. Contrast their blunt directive to America with a recent report from an authoritative Washington source that a Russian missile on an American city would not be followed by immediate American retaliation--that America would ascertain first that it was not a mistake! Eventually, how reluctant to act in our own defense will this constant dosage of "peace with honor", "lasting peace", "a just peace", etc. make America?

Russian Military Realities: Our correspondent has compiled solid figures--when they are no longer valid he will bring them up to date.

Their army: On the foundation of 190 million regimented and propagandized people, Russia has built two monster armies. One lives in today's world. In its frame work of 175 divisions, some 2½ million men are maintained on a war footing--225 divisions are in reserve and capable of raising that figure to five million armed men in 30 days. 22 Soviet divisions stand poised in East Germany. This conventional army is composed of masses of motorized infantry, modern tanks and highly mobile artillery.

Russia's other army lives in the realm of Science Fiction. It is a force of guided missiles and rockets. Planting a man-made object on the moon, less than one-half degree off course and only one minute and 24 seconds behind schedule, served notice to the West of Russia's advance in propellants and guidance development.

Their Airforce: Here, too, we have specialization by one force in rockets and guided missiles. Russia's reply to our S. A. C. (Strategic Air Command) consists of a second striking force of 1000 long-range jet bombers designed to destroy America's cities with A and H bombs accumulated for the last six years for that purpose. Will these figures cause the West to seek renunciation of nuclear weapons, even guided missiles? The disadvantage, then, of the West's posture is glaringly obvious--remaining to Russia would be her overwhelming classical army. If war came, revolt and wide spread desertions in the satellite countries are possible. This report, however, is confined to what we know, not what we hope for.

Their Submarines: From scratch Russia has assembled the most powerful submarine fleet under one flag--an estimated 550 subs afloat. Two atomic boats, smaller but faster than the Nautilus, are on the ways. As compared to the American Polaris--carrying sub of 5,400 tons, the Russian Z class submarine with 1,850 ton displacement composes most of their fleet. The existence of over 150 ocean-going subs with 20,000 knots range and 1200-mile range rockets has been verified. Most have been built since 1950. On February 17, '59 Rear Admiral John S. Thach, Commander of the U. S. Navy's anti-submarine defense group A. L. F. A., estimated that a dozen such subs could wipe out 70% of America's economy in one surprise blow.

To achieve Russia's present sub fleet Khrushchev had to expose his aggressive intentions. How? 90% of their cruisers were scrapped. 15 of the 20,000-ton Sverdlov type cruisers were consigned to the wreckers at one blow--five were left unfinished on the ways. The Leningrad, newest of Russia's fast, compact 15,000-ton cruiser fleet, will be converted into either a guided-missile or mixed military transport.



The conclusion: All Russian emphasis is now on the submarine, the most efficient attack arm of our time. Khrushchev is said to regard the sub as more mobile than either rocket or bomber. Capable of creating tension by an appearance in time of cold war and useful for landing spies, they are equally adaptable to limited wars or general conflict. We are reporting now all the facts we could gather about Russia's offensive might and her intent--not later when history may show it is too late!

Albania, The Enigma: Closed to all observers, it is unreported as it sits there on the Free World's door-step, seemingly ignored. Albania overlooks the waters where Don Juan of Austria destroyed the Turkish fleet. The sea battle line is roughly the same today--but the menace to the West is greater.

Albania's Communist Party is the youngest in Europe. Founded in '41 it "elected" its first central committee in march, '43 and seized power in '44. No serious Western concern attempted to save the forces in contact with King Zog, before Albanian Reds destroyed them.

Official propaganda says Enver Hodza, Albania's Red Leader, is the only hero of that revolution--other founder members of that Communist Central Committee have been liquidated or expelled from the party by him. Under Hodza, Albania is a completely monolithic state converted to a vast rocket base with its projectiles facing towards Europe. Four Russian subs are reported based in Albania's naval base of Sasseno with its modern submarine pens--by rotating them Russia could have several times that number there. Our correspondent reported the existence of pre-fab subs flown from Russia, dis-sembled in Ukraine-type transports, to be assembled in Albania's submarine base (see H. du B. Reports Vol. I August 5, '57). Red China reports seem to verify Chinese entry into submarine construction--this could have some bearing on a Red Chinese technical mission active in Albania.

H. du B. Reports Vol. II, letter 3 reported the significance of Moslem Albania, as the Balkan tie with Islam. Albania is now said to be the training ground for a Communist Foreign Legion, whose European and North African units are really national groups trained and ready to be dropped in their own countries to tip the scale in a "popular civil war". In both her present and future roles, Moslem Albania, as the thin northern edge of a Communist wedge, will bear on events as Communism maneuvers to dictate in Africa.

Africa's Communization: On the North African stage Nasser and Bourguiba struggle for leadership--but a war against Israel or the West would compose them in a common front. Nasser uses Israel to rally the Arabs behind him. The Casablanca meeting of the Council of the Arab League voted a 250,000 man army--in reality a force of trained guerrillas to be incorporated into Nasser's Egyptian army. To count on Western aid, the West seems to require from Nasser only profession of opposition to Russia. Bourguiba's role is to remain mum about Israel, concentrate on the anti-colonialism theme and America's "liberals" will try to buy peace for Israel by supporting him. Bourguiba's phony indignation against colonialism, wherein the recent hated exploiter is now blamed for all the wheels that stopped in Tunisia when self-hypnotized Tunisians chose freedom from France still incites natives and confuses Western "liberals". Last year Nasser backed Salah Ben Youssef to assassinate Bourguiba. The plot misfired and Youssef is still sheltered in Cairo. Let us re-emphasize: Russia is the long-range heir of either leader--in a historical sense it matters little which one wins.



There is evidence that Nasser honestly fears the present Red Chinese African "invasion". During this month's Peking celebration, Khaled Bakdash, leader of Syria's out-lawed Communist Party, attacked Nasser. Peking broadcasted the speech over Cairo's protest. The rash of Peking consulates and diplomatic missions in Morocco coincides with the tightening grip of Ibrahim's extreme-Left Labor government there. Spain has pulled home 49,000 of the 60,000 men protecting her interests in Morocco. American oil companies are conducting research in the territory these Spanish troops have been policing. In Paris during September, Spain's Foreign Minister admitted that the American army's announcement to King Mohammed V of its completed withdrawal within five and a half years, at the latest, accounted for Spain's hasty troop withdrawal. The four American bases at Tangiers, Nouaceur, Ben Guerir, and Port Lyautey will be directed from Madrid, under the 16th Airforce Command at Torrejon. Rocket launching bases in Spain will eventually replace them--only the Sixth Fleet's central base at Rota (near Tangiers) will remain. Everywhere Nasser looks he sees the structures he had his sights on threatened by Red China's horde of ants--the Western Force positions, so useful as whipping boys and so needed as police, grow shaky or are being abandoned.

Further cause of worry was the Algerian "provisional" government mission's presence, under fanatical Social Affairs Minister, Youssef Ben Khedda, at the Peking reunion where Nasser was insulted. Red China's and Nasser's aims for Algeria differ. Nasser wants an independent Algeria--in common cause with his Arab Commonwealth. Peking, believing the way to World Communism is by guerrilla warfare, sees Algeria as her North African springboard. She wants France to retain enough influence there to keep the anti-colonialist theme effective among Western "liberals". And Red China's spreading control into the nether-most corners of Black Africa is foreshadowed by her establishment of an embassy in Guinea.

Kassem and Nasser: Nasser was convinced that Peking had fastened on Kassem's Baghdad government--that Irak was receiving nuclear arms. Plane loads of arms have been delivered regularly to the F. L. N. (Front de la Liberation Nationale) from Irak bases. Did Nasser see Algeria's "shadow" government, that formerly moved between Cairo and Tunis, leaving those camps for Baghdad and the protective wings of Mao and Kassem?

The Nasser-engineered assassination-attempt of Kassem brought new facts into the open. Kassem's oil revenues supported more aid to the F. L. N. than Nasser could give--three plane loads every 48 hours was Kassem's boast. In Kassem's acclaim from Lebanon to Libya and Tunisia, Nasser saw his dream of Arab leadership fade and he acted in desperation. The failure may boomerang. Kassem's supporters have started the superstition of his charmed life, under Allah's protection--that Allah's back is turning on Nasser. Russia does not care who wins here, either! Washington may awaken some day from its sleep-walking, as regards Africa, to find Khrushchev demanding status quo there as well as in Europe.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
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Mr. Sékou Touré: President of the young West African Republic of Guinea and honor guest of the United States for a 16-day visit in October, does not miss any bets - on November 21st he posed a wreath at the foot of the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum in Moscow.

As our affairs decline, Mr. Touré's visit emphasizes a condition very forcefully. The techniques of advertising and publicity, that contributed to America's well-being, are now being used increasingly against our best interests. They were perfected to sell products -- and if necessary to create wants and needs, where none had existed. Now, used to sell men and policies, these same methods of mass-influencing create an illusion of value and stability in any world area our government wants spotlighted. The truth should have "come home" to us by now, that these techniques have sold America moral retreat, appeasement and acceptance of undesirable foreign leaders, all under soothing labels. There has been nothing about Sékou Touré, the man, the labor leader nor the politician to justify the honors we paid Sékou Touré, the negro -- which he will further exploit in an Africa being made anti-white by the same mass-media repetition, which promoted him here in October.

To fill a deficit created where press-agent publicity has supplanted printing news, our correspondent offers a study of the objects of Washington's recent enthusiasm, both the leader and his country. We are not anti-negro at all. But we are mindful of an obligation to a public we promised, "the truth to be our quest" -- and we are "Pro" the negro marked for massacre and communist slavery, if the developments America is hastening are permitted to run their course. The following truth needs to be faced. For a hypothetical domestic negro vote in 1960, we may lose Africa, the continent, forever -- and with it go the vital bastion of Free Europe and the lives and liberties of millions of black people whom we want to really lead and help.

Sékou Touré was born in Faranah, French Guinea in 1922. His father was a merchant -- one of his maternal ancestors, an African conqueror. With an elementary school education and some experience with the French Nigeria Company, in 1941 he went to work as a postal and administration bookkeeper. This was too hard going -- Sékou Touré wanted power. In a stirring Africa, the labor movement, adeptly manipulated as a political weapon, was the way to get it.

In 1945 Touré founded Guinea's first union and bargained himself into the position of regional secretary-general of CGT (The General Congress of Workers). Union agitation was world-wide in this post-war period -- and Touré's good fortune was Africa's virgin territory, so ripe for working. He soon became secretary-general and coordinator of CGT unions in French Occidental Africa and Togoland. In 1947 he became Moscow's boy, when he signed the famous Communist Stockholm Appeal. To prepare him for his career in politics and unionism, that led in October to Washington's White House, Moscow gave him courses in Marxism that included Prague, seat of the Communist Congress of Free Unions, and Red China.

Well-versed now in Communist dialectics, he returned to challenge the CGT, as a French tool for perpetuating colonialism. In April, 1956, aided by outside agitation (both Communist and American), he founded CGTA (General Congress of African



Workers). As CGTA was only a blackmail weapon to show CGT what he could do with the "colonialism" cry, he then proceeded to unite with CGT, CATC (Confederation Africaine des Travailleurs Croyants) and several smaller unions to found UGTAN (Union Generale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire). This central union is the most powerful in French Occidental Africa. Touré controls the directing committee and proclaims it independent of any outside union or political organization. His own political weapon, he has used it to advance himself in RDA (The Rassemblement Democratique Africaine). In turn this political party strengthened and protected his union. Continuing his climb he founded PDG (Democratic Party of Guinea) as an affiliate of RDA. Totalitarian, it enforced a one-party system using the time-tried methods of the misnamed "popular democratic" parties of Russia's acknowledged satellites. Inducements alternated with threats -- the political party tried persuasion and the striking force of his semi-savage unions, under his ruthless direction, menaced any opposition. Thus he rose from Territorial Assembly member in 1953 to Deputy in 1956 and Vice-President of Guinea in 1957.

An example of Touré's cunning is revealed by recalling the trap set for de Gaulle in late August, 1958. This invites a cool look at what America, too, can expect when neutrality has been played for its last American Aid million and its last ounce of America's moral and diplomatic support. De Gaulle had flown to Conakry to ask: did the Guineans want independence or membership in the French Community? It was a "yes" or "no" vote -- a direct "no" vote should still have permitted plans for future cooperation between the leaders. But Sékou Touré's eyes were on the rest of black Africa -- and his tricky mind on the prestige to be gained by publicly humiliating the leader of the country that had ruled Guinea.

He set the stage to the smallest detail. Ordinarily wearing European clothes, he met de Gaulle at the airport in a Nehru cap and tunic. The welcome was magnificent -- de Gaulle was lulled. So smoothly had Touré prepared his deception, even Houphouet-Boigny (Touré's leading African enemy and supporter of Community status for the black nations when free) assured de Gaulle's party that Touré's speech would be moderate. Still charming, Touré mounted the platform with de Gaulle. Before them was a claque of Touré's militant party and union supporters. They led the cheers as Touré threw off the mask. Beaming his diatribe at Black Africa, in the best Soviet tradition, he viciously attacked "colonialist France" -- when all he needed to do was state that his people wanted independence. His object? To insult the European leader with impunity before Africans -- thus was de Gaulle, the first French leader to make the blacks citizens and the first President to offer them independence, rewarded! Of the 1,408,500 registered voters in Guinea, 1,203,875 went to the urns. Those in favor of independence, 1,136,324; for Community status, 56,981. The day after the referendum Toure's Guineans refused to pay for railroad tickets -- they had been told that after independence everything would be free!

Touré was re-elected on October 2, becoming also Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Defense. He sent his army commander to Prague and began negotiations for arms, instructors and commando training in Czechoslovakia for his leaders and riot-organizers who would fan out through neighboring states in the unite-black-Africa-movement. Ghana's N'Krumah, in his role of Africa's firebrand, could not



match the power of Touré's interlocking network of black unions, which Africa's industrial development does not justify as labor unions -- but which Touré manipulates as a political party to provide the needed weapon, a "democratic" vote or rioting strikers. N'Krumah, no pushover in the African independence - leader game found himself outpointed through Touré's Moscow training.

Touré has started agitations in the Soudan and the French black Community of Mali. On October 8, 1959 his shock brigades overturned foreigners' cars in Abidjan to cries of, "Long live Communism! Down with the whites! "Africa is one and indivisible", screamed Touré on September 19th to his party. That is the concept behind Touré's pleas to Washington and the UN "help us liberate Africa" -- his Communist jargon for "conquer". And America gave him stature while here, that will immeasurably advance his project.

In Washington, Touré appointed himself spokesman for Africa -- and got away with it. De Gaulle was condemned for his "brutally abrupt withdrawal from Guinea, leaving her poor and helpless". Aid was granted for the "poor man" he was pictured to be. A cultural exchange agreement will send professors, students and citizens back and forth between Guinea and America. What hope is there that any of them will be other than of one political view and sociological conviction parroting, "Blacks unite! You have nothing to lose but your 'chains!" How much thought will be brought to the preparation of Guineans for life in their newly-won independence?

Africa is Communism's prime target today -- this Communist black bloc, as a single state, would become the western pincer arm to the yellow bloc of Red China.

Black Africa, crazy-quilted with divers tribes in vastly unequal stages of evolution seethes with other passions than that of hating the whites. The Bahutus, after generations of docile submission to the Watusis, are now cutting off the feet of all Watusis they can catch. The pygmies are attacking the Bahutus, in defense of the Watusis. This Ruanda Urundi territory is boiling. In the heart of the Belgian Congo the brutal Lulus have massacred hundreds of Balubas. These are not isolated outbreaks -- they begin a trend and it is not spontaneous! Moscow has always known that once she played out the inequalities to the white man the Blacks complained of, the greater injustices and inequalities suffered by weak or unintelligent tribes juxtaposed to strong or more intelligent ones would provide her next inflammatory fuel. Late reports from our correspondent show this latter phase of the African conflagration caught Russia not ready. Result: 50 top Russian Africa specialists are working day and night to set up an Africa Institute to exploit this unrest to its limit -- 40 hand-picked Touré men are already in the Institute! In the final analysis the whites themselves, by not having their "feet on the ground", have "created" a revolutionary "elite" that Communism expects will deliver the continent to them. Who believes the 29 UN votes of the Afro-Asiatic bloc will support any European move to preserve order in irrupting Africa?

Our correspondent further reports Sékou Touré inspected the Africa Institute in Moscow, before proceeding to the Black Sea town of Gagry (near Sotchy) on November 23, 1959 to meet Khrushchev. For fear of disturbing American confidence in Khrushchev's reform and Touré's virtues details of this meeting have been withheld,



even from the satellites. The appearance is to be one of acquaintance, not friendship -- neither cahoots, nor conflicts. But Sékou Touré and Frol Kozlov (First Vice-President of the Soviet Council) signed a joint communique November 26, 1959, after unrevealed negotiations, stating, "Complete agreement exists between the governments of the USSR and the Republic of Guinea on all questions interesting the two countries." Touré then invited Khrushchev to visit Guinea -- in principle the invitation was accepted but the date not yet set.

Let us now review Pres. Touré's reported words at the Bel-Air Country Club in Westwood, California: "The union, as proposed by France with her former colonies, can only be a union of rider and horse." After a talk with Pres. Eisenhower on Guinea's need of technical and economic aid, but that it must be offered on a basis of mutual respect, Touré was reported at the National Press Club, "We are not begging for assistance, however. We prefer liberty to charity." If survival is an American goal, is it not primary to it that we stop being suckers?

Peking: Red China is rising. There is a rash of Peking consulates and agents over Africa. We learn she has advanced five billion francs so far to the F. L. N. and Omar Oussedik's mission to Peking (see H. du B. Reports May '59) brought back the bacon.

As early as 1954 a joint Sino-Russian atomic project in Mongolia, working on an A-bomb for Red China, was reported. Red China appears today to have her A-bomb -- and with no reproaches from the Afro-Asiatic bloc in UN. We have already reported her submarine force. Far East Intelligence Services are on the qui vive following guided-missile falls reported northeast of Hawaii and in the Bering Straits off Alaska. Japanese Intelligence reports them as Peking test-firings of the 4,700 mile and 5,700 mile missiles designed to carry the nuclear warheads gifted by Russia in 1958. Other services agree these missiles, now being launched in Siberia and Northern China, are the type formerly tested in the Caspian.

A-bombs, submarines and guided missiles, in Red China's lawless hands, put teeth in their all-out propaganda offensive against Formosa. The world-wide acceptance of the statement, "the policy of force passed with Dulles" infers negotiation will bring a thaw in some theaters, but in the Far East it has become a green light for aggression. Simultaneously a new outbreak of Peking-Formosa negotiation rumors has appeared. To suppress the details and workings of this propaganda drive against Formosa would be a grave dis-service to the Free Chinese. We report it to alert Formosa's friends. Peking's purpose in ballyhooing Peking-Formosa talks is to make them seem to have gone further than they have. This built-up implication could demoralize Formosa, accustom America to accepting Formosa's "going" with resignation and inspire the Southeast Asian Chinese with a "Let's do it now because it is inevitable" urgency. Behind this is the constant drip-drip of "America is going to drop you anyway".

Mao Tse-tung's close friend, Chang Shih-chao, was sent to Hong Kong in November 1958. Waivering Chinese there were urged to join the Red band wagon -- Formosa-committed, to make a switch. The line: that Formosa would rejoin the mainland in 1960 or 1961 -- after Washington stopped all aid to Chiang Kai-shek. Hong Kong's bankers bought it. Chang Shih-chao returned to Peking in mid-April, 1959 satisfied.



A triumphant Khrushchev, fresh from America told Red Chinese leaders in November that Chiang Ching-kuo, Russian-speaking son of Chiang Kai-shek would not be displeased by a Peking invitation to study developments in his old home. Peking broadcasted it. Formosa understood the trick. Peking was not selling Chiang Ching-kuo anything -- but rather, through a directed campaign over and around his head, hoped to create a soil among non-Communist Chinese in which the Peking visit and the "soft solution" would take root and flourish. Khrushchev also assured his Peking partner, "The American-Russian thaw will bring on Peking-Formosa negotiations more quickly than bombarding Quemoy".

It is too early to know Red China's policy -- reports out of Peking are conflicting -- probably intentionally so. British observers take the Moscow-Peking rift at face value. French diplomats think the disagreement suggested by Peking's belligerence and Khrushchev's reasonableness is phony. What we may be witnessing is the most versatile Communist duet, played in our time, on the world keyboard. Unless the realists take policy and direction out of the hands of the sociologists, and quickly, Africa and yet-free Asia may well go down together.

#### TO OUR AMERICAN READERS:

The Homefront: Popular relaxation is what Khrushchev played for during his American visit -- and that hopeful mood is what America is enjoying today, while only a handful of backroom experts, who study facts, and a few thoughtful citizens are more worried and aroused than ever. There is a gulf in both thinking and action, between dictators and free people, that wishful thinkers do not comprehend when left alone "to wish" their way through today's realities. Generally speaking, we have given up effective conversation in America, which social practice further protects "the wishers" in their naivete! Our educational elite has sold us on the barbarity of meaningful, controversial exchanges of ideas -- and what a foolproof preparation for losing our Republic that is proving! The American scene could stand a revival of courage in discussion -- and no other fountain can revive courage so completely as our own Christian Gospel. First, we must face down the unbelievers, accusing us of mere pious aspiration, as they tick off world problems -- ending with A-and H-bombs to mock us. The appeasers' arguments must be met, that to do the right thing and to stand for right is to end this planet's life. But how? By a declaration to them of our own understanding -- that in a relationship with God the awakening is essential. God requires to be called upon before he can intervene in our behalf. As Christmas approaches we do not need a fresh ideal -- we need but to work for, and live by the one we have.

D. A. P.

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Doris A. Parks, Editor



1960: A good time to remind ourselves that expression of contrary opinions and publication of unrecast reports are vital to the life of our Republic. H. du B. Reports offers this balance sheet - here is where America stands at the start of this New Year.

United Nations may be entering the penultimate phase - if not, the alternative is Western suicide. UN starts 1960 with 82 members and 82 votes. Occidental Europe, including "neutrals", has 17 votes. The British Commonwealth (Australia, Canada etc.) has four, the United States one and the Communist bloc ten. Two giants, the Latin-Americans and the Afro-Asiatics have the rest. In principle these giants vote en bloc against America. America has tried to win them by supporting them against our own Allies - thereby creating an inflationary spiral of their demands, and bitterness among our Allies.

Since the Communist vote supports them, these giants together can dominate the "world". Already any effective steps for peace are blocked. 1960 will see The Camerouns, Togoland, Dahomey and Mali (Senegal and the French Sudan) certainties for membership. A report just in, that comes from left-wing Mehdi Ben Barka, notes that Peking Ambassador to Morocco, Mr. Pei-Jen, pointed out these certainties to Sékou Touré, then visiting in Morocco. And also reminded him that 1961 would bring Cyprus, Rhodesia, Nyassaland, Tanganyika, Uganda and the Belgian Congo into The World Organization - inviting Afro-Asiatic domination, with or without Peking.

All of the prospective members fall in the Afro-Asiatic framework, the most violent against the West. Manipulators of Afro-Asiatic hatreds, needs and wants dangle possible recession of their hatred for us before America. Our anti-colonialism complex is fanned, then traded on. We have been sold the cry, "Full equality and independence Now!" for peoples backward to the point of barbarity. Responsible blacks, like Houphouet Boigny, have warned that premature independence does not serve the needs of a people - only their vanity and avarice of demagogic leaders.

Any ballot in the U.N. Assembly can offset America. Libya's 500,000 nomads have the same voice as America's 170 literate millions. One backward Libyan represents the same deciding power in life and death matters of the West as 340 Americans, 120 Britishers, or 86 Frenchmen.

The approaching imbalance in UN announces the insolvency of the West in The Organization. Created, sheltered and disproportionately financed by one-vote America, by 1961 UN can become a coalition of enemies against America. Led by Russia, the Afro-Asiatics will have an absolute majority in the Assembly - can carry the field without debate - their word will be law. Red China can be voted in, with or without America. Further: As soon as the new entries give the Afro-Asiatics and the Red bloc a majority above the 2/3 requirement a plan is afoot for UN to demand that America halt nuclear testing. This could account for Russia's dropping the fight for halting tests, destruction of bomb stocks, inspection, etc. on the disarmament program level. On said level a like action is required of Russia - letting the UN push the demand against us puts us alone in the position of defendant.

Those people, who from the announcement of the Russian "thaw", have doubted a rift between Mao and Khrushchev are more than ever convinced that they are playing the "color" game together. Russia is warmly wooing the West by withdrawing from open African agitation while Mao's agents enjoy a free hand there with the advantage of their color. When a Western diplomat pointed out to Khrushchev that Chinese African penetration was far out-weighting the benefits to the West of Khrushchev's "moderation" he blandly replied, "There is nothing I can do. The Africans have a color complex. They prefer us to you but between a Russian and a Chinese they prefer the Chinese every time." America will not start the exodus from UN but the Western nation that does may be saving themselves And us.



Panama: Utmost secrecy is surrounding preparation for the January meeting in Cairo between Castro's personal envoy and President Nasser - United Arab Republic leaders will participate. This meeting may have far-reaching consequences for America - could present a threat in Panama and the Caribbean grave enough to force American neutrality in the Middle East. Let us look at Panama today. It is our Achilles heel. By the precedent we set and made stick, when our Allies took measures to safeguard their treaty rights on the Suez Canal, how will we effectively defend our interests in the Panama Canal? When it comes, the showdown may be disguised as a spontaneous wave of nationalism - but the time-bomb is already in the packing!

In today's play at the world table a nation uses other nations, drawing them into their "hand" for diversionary value or solid front support. For example: Egyptian Nasser's loss of the Middle East and North Africa to Iraq's Kassem with Red China in Kassem's "hand" was a great blow (H. du B. Reports Vol. II Letter 6). Today, Russia's pre-occupation is charming the West's Big Three away from each other - so Nasser cannot draw on Russia. Two alternatives were left to Nasser and he is playing both. First: he massed a troop build-up on the Negev frontier, alerted his Sinai forces and announced his leadership of a defense of Islam against any diversion of Jordan's waters. If Nasser decided from there to risk everything on an Israeli "preventive war", such action would require a strong threat against America elsewhere to immobilize her. Second: in the parallel between the Suez and Panama cases, and the fact that by successive steps he had ousted the British from Suez, Nasser had the card he wanted. Defeated in the Middle East and North Africa, Nasser turned his attention to Cuba and Panama. A two-broadcasts per day radio drive has been launched on Panama - and his Panama legation is being crammed with psychological warfare specialists.

In 1954-55 French sportsmen requested permission of Nasser to do some skin-diving in Aboukir Bay where Admiral Bruix's fleet was destroyed by the British on August 1, 1798. Having his eye on reported priceless loot, Nasser refused unless it became a joint Franco-Egyptian venture. Accordingly a frog-man team of Egyptians was trained. They became the nucleus of the under-water demolition team Nasser had at Suez - and are the mainstays of the plan for training similar teams of Cubans and Panamanians.

Equally disquieting are Nasser's Germans led by a crack commando group leader of Hitler's, whose specialty is arms, demolition material and revolution equipment, with salesmen ready to double as technicians and instructors. This agent and his group are putting teeth in the new Cairo-Havana, Cairo-Panama axis. Early last November Nasser also assigned Rummel-trained German intelligence and sabotage specialists to a top-secret operation, with Cuba as the relay station, to prepare a Panamanian coup d'etat before the American 1960 elections. The aim is a violently anti-American pro-Fidel Castro government. Nasser's broadcasts are softening Panama for this move.

Envisaged, then, is pressure for the end of Panama's "colonial status in perpetuity" to the U.S.A. They will be backed by the Soviet Republics, Latin Americans and Afro-Asiatics - all accompanied by disorder and violence. Will America use force? Or follow the precedent of Britain at Suez - pull out her troops and trust defense of the canal to Panama's solemn engagement? From there on the reader but needs to remember Suez. American concessions appease only friends. They encourage our enemies. And American force will entail moves America denied her Allies at the time of Suez - but 1960 will see an increase, not a diminution, of the threat to that front-door back-door passageway.



Nato: National divergences are wide. Relations will become more strained in 1960 before they become better, partly because of America's elections. Nato Allies will not cease thinking, writing, and acting for six months while we elect a president - the ego-centric among us, however, will charge them with seizing that period to rock the boat.

Too little has been written or done about the causes of the stresses and strains within Nato. For instance: Nato was meeting to iron out its member differences as Pres. Eisenhower arrived on December 18th in Paris. Pres. de Gaulle had learned that Gen. Nathan Twining's attack on the French, supposedly before a secret council meeting of the Pentagon, had been prepared by our State Department and "leaked" by it to the press. Almost simultaneously the American delegation to UN had abstained from supporting France in a vote aimed at forcing de Gaulle to open negotiations immediately with the Algerian rebels (F.L.N.), whom he does not recognize as representative of Algeria, and without the preliminary laying down of arms necessary to an unarmed public's safety. The American press has been silent about the risk taken by de Gaulle when he made his unpopular September 16th declaration to France offering self-determination to Algeria. This offer was the price he had to pay for the promise from Eisenhower of America's support - and America reneged (Cabot Lodge abstained in UN).

In the Eisenhower - de Gaulle meetings Eisenhower is reported to have said, "I understand your reasons for offering self-determination. You have my support, but I do not understand your firmness regarding the conditions - and American opinion does not understand the difference between your giving Black Africa independence for the asking, while refusing to do the same for the Arab north".

Replied de Gaulle, "And I understand your incomprehension. In that lack of understanding of the Algerian situation lies the drama of the affair. It (Algeria) is not a conquered territory, nor a colony. It is high time that the Algeria-of-papa ceased to exist. They are French departments, with their peculiarities, but as much French departments as those of Metropolitan France. There are almost 2 million Frenchmen born there, who have planted western civilization in territory inherited from barbarians. They have enriched this country and built the white cities that are our pride. Their very lives depend on our presence; do you want us to abandon them?" Then, in a warmer tone, "Come, Algeria is our South." Eisenhower appeared moved but not convinced. He touched on Bourguiba's idea of an association of North African states, the Moghreb. De Gaulle answered, "The Moghreb is not a geographical entity, but a mosaic of races, people that were never meant for marriage." The insecurity in Morocco and Tunisia, experiments which American "liberals" are urging a repetition of in Algeria, has not been adequately reported in America.

The quarrel over the integration in Nato was barely touched in the talks. Thinking Frenchmen may agree in principle that it is ideal. Thinking Americans are selling an Ally short if they dismiss the obstacles to integration as "de Gaulle's stubbornness" or "ideas of grandeur". De Gaulle mirrors the sentiment within the French services formed, from American policies and acts in Indo-China and Algeria, our threat of 6th Fleet action against France at Suez and our recent abstention in the UN - all in all a sizable stumbling block only Washington can remove. But to explain to America now that things in Algeria are not as they have been led to believe would look like a concession rather than "the first gesture from the strong" toward understanding. That diplomatic ghost, the de Gaulle letter of Sept. 24, 1958 demanding equal treatment for France, still stalks unanswered by Eisenhower. Why did America refuse the right of consultation to France, on the use of our stock of nuclear warheads stored there - a right we had already granted to Britain?

The meetings left most of the differences in suspense. Eisenhower said of them, "We made rapid headway, without pressing ourselves. There was a true relaxing of



tensions". De Gaulle added, "Everything has been said." The Foreign Office qualified both statements with the observation that none of the subjects of contention had been deeply explored. (shades of Camp David). Obviously the sores went untended, were left to fester.

An Economic Trend: International politics in international commerce lacked the seal of respectability when MacMillan, accompanied by a trade mission and motivated by the then frowned-upon "imprudent dynamism of Britain", made his mid-1959 trip to Moscow. Khrushchev's American trip removed the apprehension of nations hesitating to offend the United States - the Camp David weekend blessed and precipitated the rush to Moscow of business men from all over the world. The scramble for contracts was on. Three sugar refineries, each processing 500 tons of beets a day, will be put up by the French - in Siberia another French firm will build the world's largest cement factory. Locomotive deals are high on the list. French 525, 000 volt transformers will equip the new high tension electric line between Moscow and the Caspian.

Signed in Moscow on December 29, 1959 was the contract for the most significant deal - the construction, by an American firm, of a 50, 000 spindle textile works at Kalinine, near Moscow. This ultra modern plant handling cotton, combed wool or synthetics will be one of the largest in the world - it is the biggest Soviet-American deal since the war's end. The meaningful part of this contract is this: the American firm, Intertex, bid a little over \$30 million. The British bid was almost \$7 million less - but America got the contract. Intertex explained that American material is superior. The British pointedly retorted that British industry gains over American have been due to a growing world conviction that American labor is not turning out a reliable or finished product.

Diplomatic opinion is that Russia is willing to pay a great deal to draw America into freer exchanges with Moscow - as part of Russia's "warm" campaign, America will get a preponderance of Russia's future business. Projecting conceivable long-range realities, Russia's demanded long-term credits open some thought-provoking possibilities for Western commerce and politics to ponder: 1. repayment of loans by Russia in inflated currency; 2. A world blow-up before the date of payment comes at all (hastened by these very commercial deals); 3. Russia's sudden modification of policy may be due less to an internal demand for a higher scale of living, only modernization can fulfill, than to the planned prospect of Western business firms rushing the construction of her plants for her - with which plants the freeze-out of the West from our already narrowing world markets (Africa, Asia, Middle East) will be expedited with Russia's government controlled, cheap-labor products. Are not "Peace with Justice" rather lofty words to cover our part in this promotion of Russia's new masquerade?

Organized Labor in International Affairs: America allowed her leaders to settle the domestic steel strike with a red apple for organized labor and a political deal with management. But the strike did jolt America. Will 1960 see our awakening to labor's creeping strangle-hold on diplomacy - bring the demand for an end to the laissez-faire era of a duped public that believes labor's international maneuverings will save us from Communism by taking us to the way-station, Socialism? Too valuable to cut, this report continues in Letter 9.

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"Algeria: What?" Part of America's press reported the Algerian explosion thus: to put de Gaulle's power to the test, the F. L. N. issued a deadly new order to concentrate on killing civilians. Half-mad with bereavement and fright, Algeria's Europeans responded to this F. L. N. strategy with a showdown.

Nothing could be more specious. The order to kill civilians was not new. Broken militarily, the F. L. N. was powerless for the first time to attack soldiers, so civilian killing was stepped-up. The French military position was never better. But political deterioration was at the point of off-setting the collapse of the rebel forces. The drama lies in the story of that deterioration.

As non-commissioned officers in the French army in Indo-China, many F. L. N. officers learned their lessons in revolutionary war. Start with terrorism--draw in popular support. If the opposing, organized forces are impotent to halt terrorism, popular support grows. Guerrilla action follows; enlarges and widens its scope to enough power to launch the G. O. G. (Grande Offensive Generale)--the dream of every guerrilla force. Because the population supported the movement in Indo-China, it was successful. In Algeria, it went no further than guerrilla bands because the population was against it. Terrorism was stepped up to frighten the Algerian masses into a degree of cooperation, that could be pictured in the corridors of UN as support. When guerrilla action failed, the movement reverted to terrorism and was about to disintegrate.

Suddenly came a ray of hope--de Gaulle's declaration of 9/16/59, offering self-determination. Overnight the strategists of the broken military revolt changed tack. To keep the revolt together, while they moved from the military to the political, hundreds of followers believed guilty of weakening were executed. Terrorism had failed to bring the masses into the field or to prevent their informing the French--but it could and would bring them later to drop a paper into a box. The invisible eyes of "big brother" F. L. N. terrorists, hovering over frightened Moslems before the plebiscite, would turn the trick. And the Afro-Asiatic group in UN would help F. L. N. to hamstring the army, that had hitherto protected the Moslems--UN would pronounce its presence undemocratic. To remind the population now of this unseen F. L. N. menace was part of the reason for stepping-up civilian throat-cutting--not any far-sighted plan to test de Gaulle's power.

"Algeria: Who?" I. The Moslems. Moslem uneasiness was evident. Although F. L. N. military action was reduced to groups of 20 or less, due to dissension, desertions from Moslem "home-guard" organizations of the French resumed. In voting for the referendum and the elections that brought de Gaulle to power, the Moslems felt they had already taken their stand. Asking them to repeat the operation, under the eyes of disbanded terrorists returned to their villages as election campaigners, meant only one thing--the French were not determined to stay. What had happened to the Moslem friends of France in Tunisia and Morocco could happen to them.

The Moslem respects strength, is wary of half-measures. De Gaulle's declaration, offering determination, undoubtedly was influenced by Eisenhower's persuasive promise of support in the forthcoming vote in the UN. The Algerians regarded de Gaulle's September declaration as weakness. The French army, that had won the military challenge, found the political ground crumbling under them. They wanted reassurance that de Gaulle would not negotiate with the self-appointed F. L. N.--that they would be on the spot to protect the natives' voting. The settlers and city dwellers wanted assurance that guilty terrorists would be dealt with, not turned loose in clemency moves. The air of uncertainty grew out of the September 16 declaration, through Eisenhower's visits to Tunisia and Morocco and the U. S. abstention in UN. De Gaulle assured the army that support in UN and influence in the corridors would out-weigh the psychological ill-effects



of his declaration in Algeria. De Gaulle counted on that American promise of support -- its failure to materialize was a failure of his policy. In Algiers, a city of soldiers, this question arose: could they have faith in de Gaulle's plebiscite gamble if he was so wrong about his gamble on America? Would he be persuaded to leave the Moslems unprotected?

"Algeria: Who?" 2. The French Army as of 1/1/60. 400,000 soldiers losing 40 to 60 men a week. Facing them in Tunisia across the electrified barrier, 15,000 well armed Algerian F. L. N. -- 5000 more camped in Libya guarding immense arms stocks. Awaiting orders in Albania, an estimated 15,000 volunteers with 2000 Chinese group-leaders and instructors. Between 5,000 and 10,000 F. L. N. are camped in Morocco with arms stocks for a campaign. 30 F. L. N. planes are based in Libya. Other Algerian aircraft (including Migs) dot Tunisian and Albanian airfields. Convinced that a general Algerian uprising could be touched off, German advisers in Cairo had drawn plans for simultaneous attacks on the east and west barriers of Algeria. Uneasiness spread -- brought a wait-and-see reaction to Moslems previously committed to the French and a desperate revolt to the latter. De Gaulle refused to modify his position. The F. L. N. hardened its claim to represent Algeria on its "energy in conducting the rebellion". Before the United Nations Mr. Chanderli pleaded that UN take action "to prevent the French from killing his people".

"Algeria: Who?" 3. General Jacques Massu, Paratroop Commander in Algiers, was interviewed by German journalist, Kempfsky, for Munich's *Suddeutsche Zeitung* on 1/16/60. Working through an interpreter, he credited Massu with saying that the army had chosen de Gaulle for want of a better man in 5/58, and perhaps chose wrongly. Massu denied the lines that offended de Gaulle -- but he was recalled. Massu's conduct was exemplary. As the storm built up, from his room in Paris' Hotel Raphael, he phoned Algiers again and again -- begging insurgent Ortiz to do nothing desperate and his old command to remain loyal to the government. Sneered at and reviled as a "trigger-happy colonial officer" in 5/58, by an irresponsible press, it was his presence on which the confidence of Algerians and settlers alike was based. The Army gave its word that Algeria would remain French -- that they would be there to protect civilians before and during voting. To Algiers, Massu more than Challe, his Commander, represented the army. They counted on Massu's personal word.

Vis-a-vis the insurrection, the country was thoroughly behind de Gaulle. As regards Massu, from the first the public felt and higher-ups knew he had been framed. One conjecture: was intrigue in the Presidential Palace behind his fall? Intelligence discovered that Kempfsky's chief, foreign affairs editor Birnbaum, had a Communist apparatus record from '48. The Massu interview, at influential German request, was arranged through the French embassy in Bonn. High Germans are in contact with the Hamburg H. Q. of the Algerian F. L. N., operating under the umbrella of a Socialist mayor. Also, East Germany's Communist government has its lines running into the F. L. N. base in Hamburg. Another thread leads back to those German advisers in Cairo: Johannes von Leers, operating as Omar Amin; Ludwig Zind, escapee from a Bonn prison two years ago, known now as Mahmoud Salah; Leopold Glein, wartime Gestapo chief of Warsaw and Joachim Daemling, his counterpart in Dusseldorf, are with them. Hans Alpert, who translated "Mein Kampf" into Arabic, is attached to this group as head of the psychological warfare section of the Egyptian army. This outfit has been exceedingly adept at "feeding" the American press, as long as the circuit runs through West Germany. Many people for many reasons wished Massu removed. The barricades in the streets and the measures that had to follow may add up precisely to one of those reasons -- after all they derived from his dismissal.



"Algeria: Who?" 4. M. Jacques Soustelle. Within the government itself, de Gaulle's grip tightened. First Pinay, then Massu were removed and the protests suppressed. When Soustelle and Cornut-Gentille left the government, no dissenting voice remained in the re-formed cabinet. De Gaulle's power had grown, but his mandate had weakened. Of the 25 ministers and secretaries of state in the new government, only 14 have been elected by the people. The mutations took their toll in France's over-all support. The inner crisis, leading to Soustelle's departure, is difficult to describe in a few words. Viewing the scene from Paris, de Gaulle spoke vaguely of "the most French solution"--refused to make any strong statement of assurance that would restore morale. Such is Soustelle's attachment to the cause of a French Algeria he will defend it against attack from any source. De Gaulle's refusal to be definite--Soustelle's definiteness. Therein lay the first difference.

De Gaulle's reply to the demonstrators was, "Send in troops". Debré supported him. Soustelle was aghast. It was unthinkable that Algiers be turned into a Budapest--French troops firing on Frenchmen. Debré's rush trip to get first-hand information on the spot convinced him that army action against the barricades was out. For the French army in Algiers, the whole drama was human, not political--their dilemma was to remain loyal to de Gaulle, without firing on Frenchmen. Then Soustelle saw the repressive plans being drawn up to follow the restoration of order--the mutations in the army, police, ministries, each of which would slice off another man, group or organization blocking the Communists. He said no.

On leaving the government he issued a declaration, the last half of which we present. "At the moment of my eviction from the government I must obey my conscience and repeat more forcefully than ever the warnings which I have multiplied in vain these recent weeks. First, nothing that can be done will have any value in Algeria as long as republican law does not descend on the Communist and defeatist accomplices of the F. L. N., whose impunity has pushed the unhappy victims of terrorism to despair and demoralized the army. After that, I hold as dangerous any policy of repression or revenge against Frenchmen, however misled they were, as long as terrorists guilty of frightful crimes are spared. And last, I remind that France has but one enemy in Algeria. That enemy is the fellagha, and it is against him that all the forces of the state should be set in motion, if we wish to deliver the Algerian population from terror, that, when the day arrives, they may determine freely for France."

"Algeria: Why?" It is too early to judge the extent of the Communist party's victory in this affair. Soustelle's elimination is indicative. Had he remained silent, he could have stayed. He took the stand dictated by his conscience. With de Gaulle taking advantage of his victory in Algiers, and the mood it created to strengthen his power, the Reds were striking too, while the iron was hot. The Communist party has been "in Coventry" since 5/58. They used the Algiers insurrection to break out and assume leadership of workers' forces and left-wing Socialist groups against "Fascists", which a left-inspired press created for them. The cry of "Fascist" is Communism's trump card against any menace. No matter how authoritarian, de Gaulle's power does not disturb the Communists as long as it is cracking down on their enemies. Throughout the crisis they demanded pitiless sanctions, punishment for the "Fascists"--weeding out of the "reactionary enemies of democracy". These repressive measures followed the pattern that brought Rakosi to power in Hungary. By denouncing, eliminating or isolating every hostile force, while keeping their own strength intact, Rakosi's Communists gradually excluded all effective opposition. The destruction of the opposition, by



slices, Rakosi labeled "Operation Salami". The wave of arrest warrants, recalls and investigations after the Algiers affair was not followed by a corresponding crack-down on the Reds.

In its readiness to resurrect the cry of "Fascism", our American popular press is lending itself to the game of Communism and von Leers' office in Cairo. The beneficiaries are the Reds in France. America's "liberal" theorists should look ahead some months from now. If France loses the self-determination plebiscite, by refusal to heed the advice of every statesman or general in touch with the Moslems, the free world is lost. The arrival in metropolitan France of some three million Europeans and Moslems, who dare not or will not remain in Algeria, will lead to a dictatorship there in three months. All the safeguards against such a dictatorship swinging to the Left are being systematically removed now--be they generals, colonels, ministers or organizations.

European Reactions to Our Steel Strike Settlement: The steel strike jolted America but the "settlement" shocked and worries Europe. Crumbling of the record and slogan "a strike started is a strike won" could have broken the strangle-hold of the unions over our politics and policies. When Washington gave the unions a victory in return for a vote, which is only hopefully hypothetical, Europe regarded it as world betrayal. Looked at as a long overdue showdown with American labor, the steel strike as "settled" furnished an alarming indication of the lengths to which Washington might go with Europe's interests, to woo votes in our election. Europe wonders what concessions will be asked of them to create a success-illusion for Ike and his would be "heir"? Nixon's sell-out to labor poses the question of what our Administration, under terrific election pressure, will demand of America's Allies and concede to Russia.

"Peace" has been made the big political issue by this Administration. To create an impression of obtaining peace, whose interests at the Summit may become expendable? With the approach of the Summit meeting, West Germany becomes more concerned and France and England recall the attitude expressed during America's last presidential election, "Who cares about Suez--we have an election to win."

### LABOR SUPPLEMENT

Organized Labor in International Affairs. (cont'd from Letter 8)

Distant unions with initials for names are wearisome and may seem unimportant to American life--but, they can rise to bite us someday. The purposeful dreariness of the interminable palavers in union meetings before voting sends some bored members home--leaving others to settle their fates. And in 1960, far-off unions financed by unconcerned America and organized by our union leaders (who have not prevented Reds and hoodlums from taking over many domestic unions,) may decide our future and Africa's.

Labor's basic international policy builds from the premise that government is management. Unions help union leaders into political power. The labor governments formed conduct diplomacy through the labor unions. Thus, capitalistic nations are forced to turn to organized labor, as the interlocutor capable of acquiring results. And therein is created the justification for labor's mandate. This mandate demands that new nations be added to the labor bloc and new pressures be applied to those still labeled



capitalist. Completion of the cycle of labor diplomacy automatically refuels it for a fresh beginning.

In 1949 America poured aid and labor organizers into the areas Russia had not grabbed. To entrench themselves, the organizers fastened on the Marshall Plan. Fervent Meyer Bernstein carried unionization to Dusseldorf. In England, the I. C. F. T. U. (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) was born. It was founded to oppose Communist unions--grew into a network of 97 nations with 56 million members, a ponderous, costly labor-level UN. How did its leaders (unable to prevent the seeping of Communism into their own national unions) expect to keep the Red grip from such an enticeable, useable weapon? The I. C. F. T. U., with its H. Q. now in Brussels, used the same Marxist techniques to build itself, as did the F. S. M. (Federation Syndicale Mondiale) based in Red Prague.

The first African cell of the I. C. F. T. U. was in Tunis--cells in Morocco, Algeria and Br. East Africa followed. For ten years "war against colonialism" served outside agitators as an attraction and catalyzer. By 12/3/59, at the sixth congress in Brussels, anti-colonialism (except for Algeria) had lost its punch--beautifully illustrated brochures of the U. S. S. R. replaced it. Native union leaders made pilgrimages to Moscow, Prague, Belgrade and Peking--Red China's embassies and consulates mushroomed over Africa.

Algeria's shadow union U. G. T. A. (Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens), under Marxist Maachou Abdelkader, is based in Tunis. It is the Algerian F. L. N.'s link with East Germany and Prague on one hand and American labor on the other. In '51 Tunisia's Bourguiba addressed the A. F. L. - C. I. O. congress in San Francisco--obtained their support. In '59, armed with messages to Bourguiba's A. F. L. - C. I. O. contacts, Maachou Abdelkader left Tunis. On 9/22/59 he addressed the A. F. L. - C. I. O. in San Francisco--thanked them for their aid to "the fighting workers of Algeria". He asked American labor to stop delivery of Nato arms to France and untruthfully declared that the French had assassinated his secretary-general. Probably American labor paid for his trip. If the A. F. L. - C. I. O. can put it over, his road to power in Africa began in San Francisco.

Americans should study "New Leader", published by The American Labor Conference on International Affairs. Note the leaders being groomed for, or maintained in power abroad. Consider the consistent opposition to any policy deemed harmful to labor's program in Africa, Europe, Middle East or South-East Asia. We can conclude: the militant arm of Socialism is labor. Converting strategy into tactics, American labor meddles in other nations' internal affairs. With ruthless efficiency, the picket-line principle is applied to international politics to suppress or silence opposition. In expectant or newly independent nations, the union becomes the striking force of its leader, who has supplanted his tribal chieftain and witch doctor (without doing away with the latter). American labor's spending of \$35,000 to build Kenya's Tom Mboya a union hall in Nairobi only makes sense as we understand the finish fight he is engaged in with Guinea's Sékou Toré. Touré, backed by Red China, in a showdown is likely to win.

Typical in Africa, Mboya uses unionism as a political weapon. With the puncturing of "anti-colonialism" as a crusade, the new preaching is co-existence (Bandoeng type), foreign aid in large amounts and for long periods (as something earned by being under-developed). When a power disappears in Africa another replaces it. With foreign restraint removed, and using union members instead of spear-waving warriors, the power-struggle among native leaders started. Once their power is



established at home, it is a dog-eat-dog fight among them for control of bigger areas. The big specter is Pan-Africanism.

Superimposed on these native struggles is an East-West cleavage. For the nonce, Bourguiba's Tunisian U. G. T. T. (Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens) may be considered pro-West. It is Socialist, as opposed to Communist. Bourguiba's supremacy fight with Ibrahim's left-wing U. M. T. in Morocco is a Right versus Left conflict. When Red China supplanted Italian Communist direction in Algerian affairs the East's hand was strengthened in Maachou's Algerian U. G. T. A.

Among the Black Unions of the South the slide to the left is definite. An example: touted as pro-West, the I. C. F. T. U. held a congress in Lagos, Nigeria from 11/9 to 11/15/59. N'krumah and Sékou Touré jumped the gun with a pro-Communist union congress in Accra from 11/4 to 11/9/59. Although Algerian Maachou's union is a member of the I. C. F. T. U. he went to Accra to strengthen his ties with East Berlin and Prague. His dissidence was the writing on the wall for the I. C. F. T. U. Ghana's T. U. C. (Trade Union Congress) announced its break. Its aim? An all-Africa labor movement under the T. U. C. Future collaboration with I. C. F. T. U. will be through UN, ILO and UNESCO. Morocco's left-wing U. M. T. also boycotted the Lagos congress for Accra. Abdoula Diallo, Secretary-General of the Committee of African Peoples and Touré's Resident Minister in Ghana, addressed the Accra congress along with Ghana's N'krumah. Until the forming of Touré's U. G. T. A. N. in '57, Diallo was Vice-President of the Communist F. S. M. of Prague. Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Algeria and Egypt dominated the Accra congress.

The all-Africa labor congress, planned for Casablanca in May, will challenge the West. Observe the pattern: supra-national Western unions spearhead the anti-colonialist fight, advancing labor's man to national power in an under-developed country. With independence, his next horizon is regional domination, competing with other proteges of the same union confederation. His solution? The Eastern camp.

America's organized labor is carrying its worst abuses of its own principles into these under-developed countries. Because of domestic labor costs and poor workmanship, American business is fleeing abroad. Can not the strongest stand to free business, politics and national policy from labor dictation be made by management in its own homeland--even against persuasive or threatening politicians? What management seeks to escape at home, our organized labor is "building-up" bigger and better abroad. Why jump from the frying pan into the fire?

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
Doris A. Parks, Editor



Africa, The Turbulent: Here America and Russia made common cause. Each claimed to be the torch-bearer of "liberty" to the colonized, the oppressed and the underdeveloped. Today's exploding situation is due largely to those claims and the resultant actions.

In '56, Assistant Secretary of State George Allen visited Africa to "sound the will to independence of the native population; a strong, free and friendly Africa being important to the security of the United States". In early '57, George Meany went to Ghana. Speaking for America's 15 million "free" workers (and presumably for America) he compared the territories of our oldest ally, France, with Hungary. He assured Black Africa's volatile leaders, "I speak with equal consternation of Algeria, where patriots deprived of liberty are now locked in final, and I am sure, victorious struggle for independence from the clutches of French colonialism, the most degrading expression of an outworn and declining imperialism." The violence of his language exported the old-time Chicago race riot to Africa. In '58 Lawrence C. McQuade accompanied labor delegate Irving Brown to the Accra Conference where the latter, without a protest of dissent, professed to speak for America. In a signed article in the New York Herald's Paris edition of 1/13/59, Mr. McQuade featured this riot-inciting slogan, "Africans, you have a continent to regain! Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!" It was also Mr. McQuade, writing in Yale Review, Winter '60, who lauded N'Krumah's Ghana as "The Showplace of Black Africa". In thought-provoking contrast to the above irresponsible ebullience is a statement made by M. Pierre Messmer (now French Minister of the Armed Forces). He spoke from his years of government service in the Camerouns, the Ivory Coast, and Equatorial and Western Africa. During the Camerouns independence massacres in early 1/60 he said, "All of the political structures of old Africa, the notables and traditional chiefs, will disappear before 1965. And the democratic institutions of the West will remain only as a sort of theater setting. Africa is not a place for democracy. It is a country of authority. Respect for an organized opposition is a total stranger to this continent. Each newly-independent state will be constructed on a one-party system. There will never again be free elections in Africa."

The Africa he foresaw is an oppressed Africa, in which the traditional chief will be replaced by the modern war-lord, the union-boss, whose following is both a party and an army -- and the preparation for this has been called "introducing democracy". African peoples not only do not have the base of principles necessary for independence now but representatives, purportedly speaking for America, have subverted the regenerative powers of the Western ideas they supposedly went to Africa to convey.

We know of Peking's growing influence in Cairo, Morocco, and Algeria (FLN camp). In Black Africa, Red China's inroads carry on from where Russia's and America's stopped. There is no split here between Peking and Moscow -- but rather a decision between them concerning spheres of influence. Peking's ambassador to Morocco, Mr. Pei-Jen, negotiated Peking recognition with Sékou Touré. His trip to Conakry was followed by a delegation from Peking's Labor Unions (1/15/59). Touré's General Union of Workers of Black Africa received them with delirious demonstrations -- "a symbol of Guinea's relations with Communist China", declared Touré. No foreign emissary has been received by Touré with the ceremony and wild acclaim he gave Ambassador Pei-Jen. Yet, 8 days before Pei-Jen's arrival, Touré received 5,000 tons of rice, each sack marked, "Gift of the U. S. A." Pei-Jen brought 5000 tons of rice marked, "Gift from the Popular Republic of China". Both lots were meant for free distribution. Instead, Touré threw them on the local market, lowering the price from 80 to 35 Fr-Community-Francs. The people went crazy over the big drop in prices following the establishment of "China-Guinea friendship". With continuing visits, between Guinea and Peking of specialists, professors, propagandists and delegations, the danger potential of Chinese meddling is added to the explosive native elements.



THE TROUBLE MAP: Its study discloses the existence of the direct opposite to the conditions Mr. Allen, in '56, outlined as "important to the security of our country". Has our policy, then, been wrong? Or has it been successful and the existing state is what our Africa specialists wanted?

The French Camerouns: Cabot Lodge and UN's Mr. "H" dropped work to participate in the birth of the new Cameroun Republic on 1/1/60. Bamileke tribesmen, drunk with palm wine or doped with the Indian drug, chanvre, and made "invulnerable" through witch doctor rites, were then dispatched to celebrate the occasion with a massacre. President Ahmadou Ahidjo has other problems, too -- 84 legal Cameroun parties had been founded already by politics-mad Africans. But the Bamilekes are of first importance; a communal society, without private ownership, and with a mosaic of secret organizations at its base. Once a year the savage and superstitious Bamileke have a big celebration at which they pour native wine over their ancestors' skulls piled in the center of the gathering. In their recent riots they were stirred up by a movement called Union of the Cameroun Populations (UPC), led by one Felix Moumie. With Communist encouragement, Moumie founded UPC in '55. His terrorist tactics soon got him expelled from the country. Thereafter his hq. were Cairo, Accra and Conakry. He wrote to Molotov, then Russia's Foreign Affairs Minister, "Our position vis-a-vis the Communist parties remains unchanged. It is by strategy that we subscribe for the moment to neutralist nationalism. We remain determined to give the young Cameroun Republic the role of a true Socialist State." He intended to found and lead such a state -- France thwarted his and Moscow's plans by granting independence to Ahidjo.

Supported by Ghana's N'Krumah and Guinea's Sékou Touré, Moumie cried out that Cameroun independence was premature, that the country was not ready for it. In this sole instance African leaders tried to set the clock back because Moumie, the Red-backed Union man, was not able to take over -- a Cameroun under him would raise the Ghana-Guinea union to three. Thus, Black leaders opposed independence for the first time, tacitly admitting that independence was only desirable if it meant personal power for them.

Against the rise of Moumie, the Bamileke king and tribal chiefs have ceded ground. Modern Czechoslovakian and Yugoslav arms reached him through N'Krumah and Touré. The frontier of Britain's Cameroun became more porous, when the South British Cameroun broke with Nigeria to join Ahidjo's Republic. Guns then slipped through for the Bamileke raids that have been going on since 1/1/60. First raid was on the banana plantations (chief competitors of Touré). After that they killed Ahidjo's supporters. The powerful Bamileke outnumber the weaker Bamoun people four to one. Facing 40,000 Bamileke, 4,000 Haoussa (Moslems) live in terror outside the Cameroun's principal city, Douala. Latest massacres were at Dschang, West Camerouns, 40 miles from Bafoussam. That 40-mile road is a specimen of an inevitable condition in Africa. This travel artery through a no-man's land is the hunting ground of Moumie's Bamileke captains, Singap Martin and Momo Paul. Their action follows a set pattern: enter an area, depose the chief, install a rapacious party man (lauded as a representative of democracy). In Bafoussam itself, living in a state of siege in non-Bamileke islands, are Chief Bandjoun with some 20,000 followers and Chief Balingue with 8,000. Any night may bring a raid of howling, doped or wine-crazed Bamilekes through their village -- killing with axes and knives and setting fire to the huts. The Bamileke have indeed cast off Mr. McQuade's "chains".

Guinea: Our correspondent first reported this month that Sékou Toure had established a tie with East Germany. He now reports Touré has become alarmed over the stir his recognition of East Germany caused in Bonn -- and has back-tracked. Paris believes it did take place, but that Touré (on orders from Moscow not to rock the "Summit-eve boat")



is rescinding it. For a realistic forecast of what to expect from Sékou Touré see H. du B. Reports Vol. II Letter 7. His policy, at first covered by dissimulation, was always evident as "Pan-Africanism turned towards the East".

Kenya: Tom M'Boya, Kenya's labor leader become national leader, hopes to make a 3-week visit to America soon -- to lecture on the aims of The All African Peoples' Conference, of which he is chairman, and receive the sort of welcome we gave Touré and Sokarnoe. He stated in Nairobi on 3/1/60 that he plans "to put over the African case". Blacks applauded, but Europeans again protested "American interference in colony affairs". An objective appraisal of what Kenya may expect in the future, if the British whose efforts and investments made Kenya "do go home", demands another look at M'Boya's lectures before American "buys".

The Belgian Congo: Here matters are worse. 115,000 Europeans have preserved order in an area nearly as large as the Indian sub-continent and populated by 13 million Blacks. With this vast field at stake, a number of dangerous games are being played. Led by demagogic leaders, who dare not be out done by the next one, 52 Congolese parties demand independence, before any self-government preparations have been made. Patrice Lumumbu maneuvers his National Liberation Movement against the politico-religious Abako of Mr. Kasavubu. The Abako is strong in western Leopoldville and in the south where the Bakongo tribes straddle the Congo -- and may plunge the country into civil war to establish an independent republic, comprised of most of Leopoldville province and the Congo's Atlantic ports.

In northern Stanleyville, Lumumbu's stronghold, the riots and killings of last October were organized against the whites, which led to Lumumbu's arrest. Judging from Lumumbu's campaign the credulity of the electors is limitless. According to his supporters during the Stanleyville riots, bullets passed through him without wounds or blood shed. He walked through prison walls, his eyes like head lights -- he is everywhere! The imminence of independence has brought a resurgence of witch-doctor practices, suppressed for 50 years by the Belgian authorities. In Kasai province the mishake (sorcerers) suddenly revived the ordeal of tchipapa -- a poison test for the men of a whole village, to see whether they were true Bashongo warriors. Hundreds died but they took to it with fanatic enthusiasm -- convinced they would have new skins if they survived!

Each community in each country has its bogey-men, its ritualist killers. The future bodes ill for Africans whose only protection against this sort of thing has been the "chains" meddling Western "progressives" urge them to cast off.

N'Krumah's Ghana: "The Showplace of Black Africa" is not the shining example it is pictured as being. It provides another refutation of the "liberal's" favorite stand that Europeans divided Africa to rule it. Instead of producing union, Europe's departure is exasperating Africa's ancient and new rivalries.

N'Krumah's unconcealed plans to absorb the Togoland are running into opposition from Sylvanus Olympio's Togo government. On 1/24/60 N'Krumah laid claim to the Sanwi region of the Ivory Coast on the grounds that the same race lives on the Ghana side, too. The Ivory Coast's inflamed nationalists, wanting no part of N'Krumah's campaign of "colonization", declared that the era of conquest is over in Africa. "Showboy", a name common to N'Krumah in Ghana, was reminded that the Fanti, Ashanti and Zimba tribes of his own country were never assembled into a whole before the British came. African nationalism's clash with the expansionist ambitions of the half-dozen young, pushy leaders brings us face-to-face with the powder-packed paradox of Pan-Africanism. Each leader is bent on uniting the continent, dismembered by the hated European -- but, under himself.



The young states, menaced by this threat, may find only one recourse -- aid from those same Europeans against the ambitions of their own race. How far will Europe go against a Communist world-supported Ghana and Guinea? It is a certainty that the UN World Court would "take up arms" for the Communists.

After The Political Struggles come the Tribal Wars: See H. du B. Reports Letter 7 Volume II - pg. 3. All indications are that the Watusis, their once obedient servants the Bahutus, and the wild-eyed Batwa pigmies (with their dilated nostrils and mental processes incapable of pity or dissimulation) will become embroiled in a genocidal struggle, once the Belgians leave rich Ruanda-Urungi. An attempt to restore order by anyone but the Communists will be called "re-establishing colonialism". If Kabaka, king of neighboring Uganda moves in, it will become a 4-way elimination with Communist "order" taking over.

The Religious War: Black Africa's Moslem population has doubled since '31. Former French West Africa has  $9\frac{1}{2}$  million Moslems in a 20 million population. There are 600,000 Moslems in the Camerouns (out of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million). Nigeria and Ghana together have  $12\frac{1}{2}$  million Moslems among their 30 million inhabitants. In what was once French Equatorial Africa, one-third of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million people are Moslem, while roughly half of the Chad Republic's 2,200,000 are Moslem. The ratio changes in the Sudan -- approximately 70% (6,200,000) Moslems in an 8,600,000 population.

Between Arab Africa and Black, and dangling as a glittering prize before each, is the oil rich Sahara. Outnumbered in the Black south, the more highly developed northern Arab is making inroads through infiltration and conversion. Moslem claims to all-Africa leadership will eventually clash with Black aspirations. An Arab Nasser or Bourguiba will dispute the field with a Sékou Touré or a M'Boya -- after having used the latter to destroy non-Moslem black contenders.

Out of the chaos created by barbarous, internecine warfare on political, racial and religious levels can emerge the Communist continent, on which Russia's eyes have been fixed. And America must bear some responsibility for the men and organizations who, acting as bulldozers, cleared the field in the name of anti-colonialism, of European-imposed order. They have opened the way for Communism in Africa via anarchy. That it was done "to save the area from Communism" was an insult to our intelligence then, and continues so.

To turn Europe from the South, and to seal off North Africa from European intervention there is Communism's admitted strategy. It has been almost completely successful -- only the narrow gateway through Algeria remains. A Life Magazine editorial on world affairs and American policies, on 12/5/55, exhorted America, "Let's not quit while winning". The truth is we were not winning then -- nor are we now. Pleasant or not, only honest, world-wide "intelligence" reports to the American people will provide the knowledge base on which they can form policy-directing opinion - opinion sound enough to demand policies permitting us to win.

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