

APRIL 1961 brought position-crumblings in Africa and Asia, a major set-back in Cuba, and tragedy in France. Emerging from the latter: reaffirmation of the West's determination to destroy itself.

THE CUBA INVASION. Reaction of a non-Communist, non-Socialist French official in the first encouraging hours: "Thank God America is moving before Peking has the bomb." Over his desk for months had passed reports on deliveries of Russian tanks and MIGS, pilots due home from Czechoslovakia, Russian Z-type submarines berthed in Cuban creeks and inlets, and presence of nuclear-powered submarines, 17 of which are known to have come down the White Seaways of Sereriodvinska since January. Activity was reported among the Chinese military mission in Havana's luxurious Riviera Hotel. Russians pursued parallel ways in the Hotel Capri. Leaks disclosed stand-by orders at America's ex-base in Morocco to refuel an Albania-Morocco-Dakar-Cuba airlift. A group of American negroes in a Paris hotel, linking Algerian terrorists, pro-Castro Reds, and a negro Moslem group in Harlem, emphasized the spread of the Cuban abscess, need to drain it before China has her bomb and Russia's position at center of the teeter-totter in Operation Blackmail is established. The jolt, to Europeans, was that we became involved in such an adventure without being prepared to carry it to a successful conclusion. The charge, by all but Communists and Socialists, was timidity, not imprudence. Blamed was an intelligence agency which has sacrificed effectiveness by recruiting exclusively from the Left. Deduction of the experts when Castro offered to negotiate: Peking and Moscow had passed the word to the boys in the Riviera and Capri, "Tell Castro to stall for time." The crowning indication of American political bankruptcy, to Europe's captive investors, came when Kennedy called Ike and Nixon, for whom no word was vile enough in last November's campaign based on the slump in American prestige, and asked for advice. The revolt of the French generals shifted the scene.

A FRENCH UPRISING, to halt a policy leading to loss of Algeria (and the Sahara), was forecast in our Report of November-December; barring this, a worse one after a permanent loss in Algeria, when the economic and psychological effects hit France, seemed in the cards. The first has been tried and failed. A year ago loss of Algeria was unthinkable; now the public has been conditioned to accept it. The masses of France were apathetic when the test came. What has been pictured as overwhelming support for de Gaulle came from the Communist and Socialist Left. Out of the victory a greater danger may have come. The Moscow dispatch of April 26 stated that the decisive role in the defeat of "fascists" was played by the working class which "wrecked the ultra colonialist adventure by means of their mass meetings, strikes, and demonstrations".

PREMIER DEBRE called on the population of Paris, asking them to rise, to flock to any point where the parachutists might land and dissuade them from foolhardy action. On the surface this strategy looked good: a human shield between the armed camps. The Communist apparatus sprang into action. Its leaders had been at their posts from the minute news of the outbreak reached Paris. Debré's call to action was all they wanted. In a matter of minutes streets of Communist-dominated villages and suburbs surrounding Paris were criss-crossed by municipal cars with loud-speakers, calling the population to assemble in town halls. St. Denis, Alfortville, Pantin, St. Ouen, Ivry, Aubervilliers,--the "Red Belt" was mobilized in less than an hour. The clandestine apparatus of the party called for a mass uprising; workers' militias, with headquarters in town halls, were formed and armed. Communist Youth members were dispatched to non-Communist mairies (municipal centers) and to the Ministry of the Interior, where M. Malraux was haranguing the volunteers. The idea: to enlarge Communist supply of arms. Manifestos began to appear: "Workers, democrats, arise en masse; stay mobilized." "Form solid anti-fascist committees; assemble, demonstrate in localities and factories, organize for the struggle." "Insist that the government give you arms."

THE UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY, not to be outdone, raised its cry of "Fascist menace", called for an uprising of partisans to fight in the streets. On Monday afternoon a trial strike- a testing of the potential levers- brought ten million workmen to their feet and Paris to a standstill. All unions, reaching through Mendes-France's extreme-Left Socialists and including American-supported Force Ouvrière, answered the Communist summons. Thorez and company, exploiting the psychological climate as far as it would go, held the wheels of command. What was happening: Under pretext of protecting France and supporting de Gaulle, the Red apparatus was prepared to out-pace the government and seize power. The foreign press called the response to Debré and de Gaulle overwhelming. Actually, as Moscow boasted, the overwhelming response was from a Communist-led Left, anxious for blood in the streets and a chance to ride de Gaulle as far as he was going. The thousands jamming subway openings on the afternoon of April 23, waiting for the test strike to end, were only an indication of the new "popular front" in the making. Automobiles calling Communist shock troops to arms in Bobigny, with klaxons shrieking, and mobilizing the Red belt at city halls, left the party apparatus' secret weapon undisclosed, awaiting the moment for the one-strike showdown for which it is being held.

WHEN THE REAL TEST COMES HERE IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN. Three radio taxi lines serve Paris, dispatched and directed by radio telephone from a central station. One has an Alesia number, another is Port Royal. The third is called COTAX and displays telephone number "BOL 77-77". Neither Mr. Fielding nor any newspaper has told passing tourists and trusting Parisians that the COTAX fleet is owned by the French Communist Party, and that the HQ from which it is directed is also a political one. Picked drivers know the assembly points in any district when the call comes over the air. Their job: to pick up and transport 5,000 shock troops for seizure of the city.

THE AFTERMATH. The Communist-dominated front that has demonstrated its "loyalty" against men it wanted to liquidate took full advantage of the occasion. Ignored by a duped America as arrests mounted in France and Algeria was the fact that those who would be the West's strength in a clash with the East were being eliminated while the iron was hot. GENERAL CHALLE, the center of the "fascist" storm, was never a man of the right. He was inscribed in the French Section of the International Socialist Party. At the time of Suez he was Socialist Guy Mollet's military advisor. He had no ambitions to govern. He was an excellent soldier, dedicated to an archaic principle that men giving loyalty from the bottom up are entitled to loyalty from the top down. For six years FLN terrorists had threatened Algerians, "Join us now or have your throats cut when the French abandon you as they did El Glaouie's friends in Morocco." The Algerians turned to French commanders. These, on orders from Paris, replied, "I give you my word of honor, we will stand by you." It became harder to close their eyes as every day made it more clear that de Gaulle was about to write off Algeria. Daily Challe and the army had to meet Algerians and Europeans to whom they had pledged protection. The politicians on whose assurances they had made personal commitments were either out of power or had washed their hands of the affair. Of course, Challe could have committed suicide. But it would have accomplished nothing for the Algerians. So, and herein lies the tragedy, the army's finest elements attempted suicide for an abstraction called honor. No attempt was made to bring Algerians and European civilians into the fight. Brought out by Challe's hopeless gesture was lassitude of the Center and Right, as well as militancy of an unobstructed, united Left. Challe took full responsibility and surrendered. As the purge got under way, Britain's Socialist Sunday OBSERVER took up the "fascist" cry, proclaimed, "De Gaulle disbands crack units, 200 officers, hundreds of civilians arrested. Never was democracy in greater danger than last weekend." America was blasted in the same issue for fearing a Communist government in Cuba. Your correspondent fears that democracy's big issue today is the danger ahead. If we lose, this "victory" will have paved the way.

THE SCENE SHIFTS TO LAOS AND SOUTH VIETNAM. Laos now, South Vietnam later, are about to go. May 12, date set for the Geneva conference to guarantee Laos' neutrality, will find Viet Cong (Communist) troops holding vital points of the country. Russia will hold three trump cards: strategic possession of territory, Soupphana Vong and Souvanna Phouma.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE LAOS CONFLICT is the outcome of SEATO failure in Bangkok in March. SEATO failed because CIA and the State Department played against Phouma when he was not under mortgage to Russia, found the price too high when it came to accepting him as lesser of two evils after Moscow and Peking had him in debt. Lord Home carried little weight when he said Britain would stand by her commitments. Authorities estimated Britain could contribute about 4000 men. None believed that America, who would not bomb Yalu bridges in 1950 when China was weak, would confront China now. Out of the Geneva Conference will come a temporary pause, sugar-coated as neutrality. Kruschchev seems little inclined to humiliate the West too far now, wishing to keep East-West relations at a point where liberty of action will remain his. He will accept a compromise that will give him victory when he wants it, probably when he is ready to rake in Vietnam chips, too.

SOUTH VIETNAM IS RIPE FOR A RED FOLLOW-UP PUNCH. At World War II end General Phillip Gallagher was sent to Indo-China with a Shanghai Russian for a political advisor and a slippery Vietnamese named Le Xuan as interpreter. Mission: to implement U. S. policy, i. e., support Moscow's man, Ho chi Minh, against France. Le Xuan ten years later was hawking memoirs of nine years in which he claimed he was duped into spying for America in Vietnam, Thailand, Switzerland, Germany and Spain. (He has since been re-employed in U. S. service.) He told in these memoirs how he had helped form AMERICAN-VIETNAM FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION as a propaganda front for Ho chi Minh.

Ho, whom America supported for a time as a solution for Vietnam, was educated in Moscow's Orient University, and had been expelled from Hong Kong in 1931 as head of the world revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia. OSS men opposed to backing him were ruthlessly dropped by the organization, while those who eased them out went on to find positions in CIA as "specialists in Southeast Asia affairs". As these "specialists" were proved wrong by events, they went to greater and greater lengths to prove themselves right. Entrenched behind official files, smearing the men who had seen the truth and challengeable by no one, they sat out the struggle while Southeast Asia floundered. When Korea came, these men lay doggo for a while. AMERICAN-VIETNAM FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION, whose membership read like a rollcall of subversion, disappeared without a ripple. American labor (see New Leader, June 27, 1955) decided to push Ngo dinh Diem, brother of Vietnam's labor leader. AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM, bearing no relationship to friendship for the country but run by a small group of activists determined to impose Diem as ruler, appeared. In June, 1956, they held a meeting in Washington to sing Diem's praises. Principal speakers were Senator Mansfield, referred to in HARPER'S of January 1956 as Diem's "godfather", and Senator Kennedy.

Discouraging reports soon drifted back to Washington, but so little interested were AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM's leaders, Angier Biddle Duke, Austrian Socialist Joseph Buttinger, and General John W. O'Daniel in knowing what was going on in the country in which they were meddling that, in early 1957, they refused mail delivery of a "Black Book" on Diem, put out by the largest anti-Communist party in South Vietnam. Senator Mansfield has since been conspicuous on committees assigned to investigate his "godson's" country. Angier Biddle Duke is President Kennedy's Chief of Protocol.

LAOS' FALL WILL MAKE MAINTENANCE OF DIEM IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT MILITARY INTERVENTION. Here is the situation where we will be fighting: LIFE correspondent Stan Karnow writes in THE REPORTER, January 19, 1961, that Communists are killing about 800 people a month in Vietnam, that roads are unsafe without escort, and that main arteries leading into Saigon are often closed. Unpopularity of Diem and hatred of his family have aided a return of "night rule" by the Vietminh (now Viet Cong). Both Karnow and REPORTER rejected warnings that such a situation was developing in 1956, when there was yet time to save the country. REPORTER'S authority then was Darrel Berrigen, editor of THE BANGKOK WORLD, who, in 1944, '45, was defaming Chiang Kai-shek in SATURDAY EVENING POST. On August 22, 1957, when Diem's Bangkok visit so enraged the Thai people that Premier Pibul Songgram

dared not visit the old capital with him and journalists were searched for revolvers before being allowed into his press conference, USIS dispatches were waxing fatuous over him in Berrigen's BANGKOK WORLD. An inquiring committee might ask if the Information Agency whose funds are provided for the express purpose of selling America had set up Chiang's arch enemy in the BANGKOK WORLD in order to sell Ngo dinh Diem. Some future committee may pin-point the desk in USIA from which a phone call was made to NEWS OF THE DAY in New York, in 1956, requesting the dismissal of a Vietnamese who had written a letter to WASHINGTON POST and CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR predicting everything that has occurred. Mr. Karnow observed in REPORTER that Diem's brother Nhu runs a clandestine organization, "THE REVOLUTIONARY LABOR PARTY", with 70,000 members "infiltrated into factories, villages, government offices, army units, schools and newspapers, where they spend part of their time collecting information about their compatriots. Madame Nhu commands the ladies' auxiliary". In his next breath Mr. Karnow says that there is not a single shred of evidence that Nhu and his wife are the heart of most corruption in the country. How could there be, with 70,000 informers waiting to add anyone who opens his mouth to the 40,000 prisoners known to be rotting in the country's "re-education camps"?

DIEM'S RE-ELECTION in April, 1961, was hailed as a victory. Valid Nationalist leaders had been driven into exile or had disappeared. Phan quang Dan, whom Diem named as his "legal opposition" in 1957, has not been seen since November, is believed to have died under torture. TIME (April 21, 1961) quotes Col. Pham ngoc Thao: "We told the people that if they did not vote they would have trouble getting jobs and help from the government." "We" means Nhu's force of 70,000 informers, run by Col. Thao, formerly Ho chi Minh's Intelligence Chief. The help dangled before the voter was American aid. In the rice paddies we "bought" Diem's re-election. WASHINGTON POST (Mar. 11, 1961) reported approvingly that a New York public relations man was helping Diem's campaign.

THE MOST SHOCKING PART OF OUR INVOLVEMENT in this dictator-controlled country (to which we have given aid estimated by LIFE (May 13, 1957) at \$400 million yearly) is yet to be exposed. An honest investigation would have to find out who held the lid down on information, and who packed the files with reports discrediting every American who tried to warn America before it was too late; how the Justice Department was drawn into a maneuver to get a man whose reports on events in South Vietnam were correct, and the coincidence that Mr. Lincoln Brownell, brother of the Attorney General, was one of the leading Americans doing profitable business in Saigon at the time. London SUNDAY TIMES correspondent Richard Hughes sums it up: "One thing is certain. Whether or not President Diem decides to yield to popular concessions for more liberty, the projected international conference on the future of Laos will be futile unless it broadens the scope of its agenda to include the co-related but graver problem of South Vietnam."

THE SCENE: QUITEXE, ANGOLA, shortly after 7 A. M. on March 15, 1961. A merchant was pushed toward a rear door by his colored employee, who cried, "Go quickly; they have come to kill you!" The massacre, carefully planned and synchronized, had started. What had seemed a usual morning crowd of customers became fanatical; natives shouted and drew knives to cut throats and rip open stomachs of women, children, and men. In neighboring villages and farms the story was repeated. Terrorism had hit the colony where nothing ever happened and discrimination was non-existent. The merchant saved by his servant was no unusual case. The Bailandu tribe remained loyal, signed its own death warrant by taking countless risks to carry messages and save settlements. Crying babies betrayed the women and children hidden in Madimba. Navola was wiped out by 300 savages, drugged and whipped to frenzy by their sorcerers. Behind the primitive brutality an expert intelligence service manifested itself, directing knife-armed bands on centers where resistance was weak, using trained forces with automatic weapons elsewhere; co-ordinating guerilla raids over a 300-mile corridor down which arms were pouring from Kasavubu's Congo. Out of the atrocities came revolution's first requisite: hatred between blacks and whites.

Actually the public was apathetic as the big state visits got under way. De Gaulle went to Bonn, Kennedy to Paris, Vienna and London. Flag-lined streets, security measures and the ocean of newsprint lent an air of gaiety. People caught it, fleetingly, but they did not respond as they have before. They have ceased to expect much from such encounters and they were not disappointed.

THE MAGHREB. Elsewhere there were ample clues to the next big headache the West, and America in particular, is building up for itself. Tunisia's Bourguiba went to America in mid-May, was given red-carpet treatment--but the significance of his voyage was overlooked. Smothered may be a better word. Bourguiba Junior spelled it out in his radio broadcast from Washington. "My father", he said, "will not refuse the presidency of the united Maghreb if it is offered to him." The reason for Bourguiba's trip, the game afoot, and the trouble ahead for the West were all in that line. America refused to read it.

Maghreb comes from the Arabic word meaning west and refers to Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, conquered by the Emir Ibn el As, when Islam's empire stretched like a great scimitar from Bagdad to Cordova. The conditional, "if it is offered to him", provided the key to the plan: It was to prepare the public for that offer, when it looked as though Algeria (and the Sahara) were about to fall, that Bourguiba went to Washington and the UN, where his grass-roots support was. (It had already been promised him, but his presence was needed to set the stage for public acceptance.)

A UNITED MAGHREB and the likelihood of Bourguiba's heading it have been mentioned in the American press. Questions as to the wisdom of imposing Bourguiba on his neighbors were side-stepped by constant repetition of the idea that a Bourguiba-ruled Maghreb is in the nature of things--and desirable, since it would thwart Nasser and "save North Africa from Communism". The full import of Bourguiba's ambitions, reasons for his role as co-conspirator with the Algerians, and what young King Hassan II of Morocco thinks of No. 2 place in a greater Maghreb for himself, were passed over by a cooperative press. (King Hassan's arch-enemy, pro-Communist labor leader Mehdi Ben Barka, protege of the forces in America who support Bourguiba, who would not object to being No. 2 or even No. 3 in a united Maghreb, is in Evian with the FLN delegation as this is written.)

In reality we have been taken in by a cunning group of Arabs and forces in our own country acting as their accomplices. As Bourguiba campaigned in Washington and before UN for leadership of the proposed Maghreb, a well-oiled Soviet machine for making it a satellite was in place. Soviet technicians were at work, helping to turn the Moroccan fishing port of Alhucemas into a war base aimed at Gibraltar and strategically inserted between Spain's protective outposts, Cueta and Melilla. America, eyeing only Rabat, seeing neither MIG bases nor Alhucema, allotted Morocco another \$27.5 million in American aid in late May.

WHILE BOURGUIBA'S CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICAN SUPPORT WAS BEING PUSHED, a Communist 4-power conference to decide the fate of the Maghreb was being held in Prague. It lasted from April 19 to 25. Raymond Guyot of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party and Roland Leroy of the party's Secretariat-General flew to Vienna, to escape the attention of the French Intelligence, and went on in a Czech plane from there. Representatives of the Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian Communist parties joined them in Prague. Subject of the meeting: A "Democratic (Communist) United Maghreb," after Bourguiba clears the way. Out of the Prague meeting came an improved communication system between the three North African representatives and Moukhidinov's Moscow office for African Affairs. A month later, on May 26, a follow-up meeting was held in Moscow between Larbi Bouhali, Secretary-General of the Algerian Communist Party, and Souslov, head of the Moscow office linking the Russian Communist Party with parties abroad. Talks with Moukhidinov followed. The immediate results: Reorganization of the Algerian Communist Party's secretariat, directives for Algerian and Tunisian Communist parties to exert pressure in Moscow, in Algeria, in Tunisia, and during the Evian Conference, plans for further meetings at regular intervals.

Here we have the two stages visualized for the Maghreb: The first step by us, Souslov-Moukhidinov candidates to take over from there.

A TORTUOUS WEB OF INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUE covers the Maghreb plan. It is so complicated that there is no way of putting it before an uninformed public without going back to the beginning. We are going to assume that the reader of this report is tired of sugar-coated simplifications and willing to make the effort of studying a background if this correspondent puts it before him. How did Bourguiba become Tunisia's leader, in position to use Tunisia as a springboard toward the Maghreb? Actually, the "convention" that nominated him was an AFL-CIO Congress in San Francisco in September, ten years ago. The general public knew nothing of it, nor what he promised in return for American Labor's support for political power in a country thousands of miles away and not yet independent. A trip to UN followed: he shook hands, oozed bazaar courtesy on fatuous ladies, and basked in the sun of a vast public relations machine. (LIFE pictured him as a heroic exile shading his eyes and peering into the desert.) The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels (ICFTU) gave the go-ahead sign to its affiliates. Bourguiba was built up and extolled as colonialism's heir and the West's assurance against Russia's grabbing North Africa. Mendes-France's Socialist government, closely tied in with ICFTU through French unions, granted Tunisia's independence, and Bourguiba was in business.

Thereafter every promise given by Bourguiba to France or to his sovereign, the Bey, was systematically broken. Dispossessed Frenchmen saw photographs of their farms circulated in America as examples of "Tunisian development with American aid". In March, '58, Britain's Harold Beeley and America's Robert Murphy were dispatched on a good offices mission to settle the dispute over French control of Bizerta, presence of French troops on bases previously granted, and supervision of airbases in Tunisia. Bourguiba, eying Algeria for his Maghreb, broadcast an ultimatum that America declare herself for or against France in both Tunisia and Algeria. Thus Algeria, and with it Ferhat Abbas, came into the picture. Abbas had been Murphy's protege in 1942, and French Communism's in '46. American Labor, purporting to speak for America, took a stand for him at the Tunis Labor Congress in June, 1957. Senator Kennedy's speech supporting the Algerian rebels followed. In France itself the Communist Party, the Socialist Left and their respective labor unions formed a negative mass, not powerful enough to force French surrender in Algeria, just powerful enough, with the support of foreign unions, to prevent measures that would bring in a decisive victory. The role of our unions, sometimes direct, sometimes through Labor's great "holding company", the ICFTU, must next be patiently explained if the reader is to understand how what has occurred came about.

DIPLOMACY, LABOR LEVEL. During the Roosevelt administration Labor's power to meddle in the affairs of foreign countries and impose policies took a big jump ahead. Labor Attachés were added to the Military, Naval and Air Attachés in embassies abroad. The Military Attaché and his associates worked for America. The Labor Attaché worked for Labor. It was that simple. He offered money, organizational know-how and advice to foreign unions and leaders often designated by himself or his American Labor delegate friends in countries without industry. And he spoke from an embassy with the weight of America behind it. Each foreign labor leader helped into political power swelled the Socialist vote in UN--for a year or two, before going the way of Guinea, Ghana and Morocco. The IFCTU in Brussels, where Socialist unions tore Belgium apart last December in a violent struggle for political power, came to serve as a sort of central government and Foreign Office for International Labor diplomacy.

FROM MARCH 3 to 17, 1961, ICFTU's Executive Committee, under Belgian Transports leader Omer Becu, sat in session. The outstanding decision: Approval of the action formula proposed by AFL-CIO, labeled "Internal Relations in the International Movement". The vital phrase: "In some cases it is possible and even preferable that affiliated unions pursue their activities independently in the international field, on condition that the

ICFTU be fully consulted." Translated, this means, "At times, in the case of agitating against a NATO ally (such as Portugal, in Angola, or Britain, in Kenya) it is best that AFL-CIO and ICFTU be kept out of it, but we are to tell you what to do."

That agreed upon, AFL-CIO advanced \$3,250,000 to finance ICFTU "international activity" for the second trimester of 1961. Another check for \$220,000 was voted to clear up the preceding trimester's backlog, and a pledge was given to impose an additional 3 cents per month "contribution" on each AFL-CIO member for the next six to nine months, with the understanding that the total contribution is not to exceed 18 cents per person. Formation of a UNION OF ANGOLA WORKERS was announced for mid-May. With almost \$1 million a month from American Labor alone, agitators in Black Africa and union supporters of the Maghreb should have a lot of fun.

An early May conference was set up for Monrovia, to prepare for a Casablanca meeting in late May. Its aim: Formation of a Pan-African Union, in the works since the Accra meeting of Dec. 10-12, 1958. An African super-union, strongest members of which are pro-Communist, determined to cut ties with Brussels, and the Prague-based FEDERATION OF WORLD UNIONS (over 107 million members) expects to swallow this African confederation, neatly packaged for them by the men who are forwarding the Maghreb, before their World Congress meets in Moscow at the end of this year. Pro-Communist Ghana, Guinea, Egypt, Mali and Morocco organized the Casablanca congress with the aid of Abdoulaye Diallo, formerly Secretary of the Communist Federation of World Unions. Many of the delegates no longer live in their countries; instead they have moved behind the Iron Curtain. The Tunisian and Algerian delegates voted with the West, will refrain from rocking the boat until Algerian independence and the Maghreb have been delivered. Bourguiba felt safe enough to drop his carefully guarded mask at the UN Correspondents' Association dinner in New York on May 12. He stated, "There can be no settlement between Arabs and Jews, and war will break out again in Palestine, as in Algeria, unless Israel abandons her position based on right of conquest." (11,000 Algerian Jews had already been transported to Israel at Israeli expense.) The New York statement saved him from Nasser's charge that he has been "bought by America". A Moroccan was elected head of the new Pan-Africa Union and the delegates went home.

Such is the situation. With this background the reader can evaluate for himself many things that will break in the future. Our primary mistake was in failing to cope with and contain the Labor monster. Instead we gave it diplomatic status and exported it abroad, to breed.

NASSER'S REACTION TO BOURGUIBA'S CLAIM TO THE MAGHREB was: More arms and heavy material from Russia and Czechoslovakia. Frantic scurrying for the A-bomb. Two German physicists Dr. Alfred Boetscher and Dr. Walter Schurr, are in Cairo, guarded night and day, on one of the most secret projects Nasser has ever undertaken: Plans for atomic reactors, manufacture and stocking of heavy water at the new plant at Aswan, fabrication of Islam's A-bomb. Bourguiba's statement at the UN dinner was admission that the man who leads the war against Israel will lead Islam. Our public failed to see it.

PEKING'S ESTABLISHMENT IN EUROPE. The Laos Conference in Geneva widened the opening. Things were not going well at home when Marshal Chen Yi (his given name means obstinacy) descended on Geneva with his 25-man mission, accompanied by 135 "assistants". The third successive wheat failure was hanging over China, straining the loyalty of a peasant army, necessitating massive importations of food. Nevertheless, negotiations started at once for purchase of a \$190,000 mansion as a permanent home in Geneva. It will serve as a listening post and a stern reminder to the West of China's presence. Sumptuous American cars have been hired, with right-to-buy clauses inserted in the 6-month contracts. Conspicuous in the team is Chi Peng-fei, Peking's specialist on German affairs. He opened the embassy

in East Germany. His presence is regarded as indication of an early crisis in West Berlin, perhaps a show-down where Peking's weight will be thrown in the balance, neutralizing commitments K is led to make with Kennedy. Contact man for the mission is suave, English-speaking press attache Wu Leng-hsi. Wu buys drinks, talks freely, too freely, on Algeria, Laos, Kennedy, and Berlin. He works closely with the Algerian delegation as well, and with smiling East Germans pushing a new line--"You (the West) won't go to war over a little thing like West Berlin!"

Towering above the anthill of scurrying Chinese is the taciturn 60-year-old Marshall who has never been a lieutenant, whose status may be either civilian or military, who became a member of the Politburo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, diplomat and Head of Mission without making diplomacy his career. Close behind him and accompanying him on all important meetings is a 40-plus-year-old, somberly dressed little woman, Madame Kung Peng, whose presence is explained simply as "counselor of the Representative". The secluded house in Geneva, surrounded by a wide garden, will form the center of a web with lines extending on one side to the arsenal in Albania, on another to the embassy in Rabat, where a committee listing those marked for assassination when Algeria becomes independent is reported to be sitting. Stalling tactics of Russia's delegates to the Geneva negotiations for a ban on nuclear testing are believed due to Chen's warning: China will have her A-bomb shortly. Her first testing will blast any agreement Russia makes with the West.

DE GAULLE'S TRIP TO BONN. In the world climate depicted de Gaulle visited Adenauer on May 20. The question was: How closely will we stick together if Kennedy makes concessions to Krushchev? Not since 1958 has Berlin felt so menaced. Suicides mount, yet some 700 refugees a day flock from the East, anxious to reach the escape hatch before it closes forever. Supplying the 11,000-man Allied garrison with latest American heavy tanks has not allayed German fears that after 16 years the end of the road may be ahead. DeGaulle told Adenauer that after Kennedy's meeting he himself will go to Moscow, but that has its perils: It will take great counter concessions to get K to cut off clamorous French Communists, demanding pay for their orchestrated display of loyalty in April.

KENNEDY CAME TO PARIS. It was a social success, but the deGaulle letter demanding full partnership with England in nuclear strategy which has been gathering dust in a drawer since September '58 is still unanswered. DeGaulle is for firmness vis-à-vis Berlin, and the demands of firmness may bring American bombers back to French bases without satisfying deGaulle's demands for more voice in their use. And France's A-bomb tests and H-bomb research continue, draining resources that a renovation of the MacMahon Law could put to the service of the West.

THE KRUSHCHEV MEETING. Kennedy flew on to Vienna to shake hands with the man who one year ago heaped insults on America. Bonn had proof in February (see March-April H. du B. REPORTS) that Moscow was determined to reopen the German problem, try to seize control before East-West relations get any worse. British Ambassador to Bonn, Sir Christopher Steel, was asked for assurances. London's reaction was not what the Chancellor hoped for: Macmillan, like deGaulle and Kennedy, heads a government behind which Labor-in-politics and powerful unions, Socialist-slanted at best, Communist-infiltrated at worst, exert pressure on every move. That left de Gaulle--and Kennedy's meeting with Krushchev--as Adenauer's hope. Out of the talks--Paris, Vienna, and London--will come the decision, whether Berlin is worth opening a road with tanks. That is the nightmare. Summer's end may see us at the crossroads. Whatever happens, European chancelleries have a hunch that a gradual withdrawal from many American bases around the world is in the offing. Their reasoning: We are placing less importance on bases close to frontiers surrounding the Soviet Union, counting more and more on submarines and Polaris missiles. If K shows himself agreeable on the matter of Laos and Cuba he may get the gift for which he has clamored: Kennedy's promise to gradually dismantle the ring of bases that have given K a psychosis of encirclement. It may also encourage him to risk an adventure.

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BERLIN: March issue of this report predicted the crisis. Here, as simply as possible, is the background information the reader should keep in mind. Throughout June Krushchev's verbal barrage gained intensity, preparing the way for an all-out political offensive. On June 21 K turned toward China and beyond China the world. The place: Alma Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, a constituent republic of the Soviet Union, east and north of the Caspian Sea. The occasion: The 40th anniversary of Kazakhstan's incorporation with Russia, and the 20th anniversary of Hitler's invasion. Here, for the third time in ten days, K repeated: He cannot wait much longer. The Berlin question must be solved in 1961. He threatened a separate peace with East Germany--his way of telling the West he is about to hand the sword of Damocles to Walter Ulbricht, that he (K) will not be responsible if Ulbricht lets it fall, but that he will come to Ulbricht's aid if we do anything about it. K added that the Berlin question will be settled on his terms. This leaves no room for negotiation. It was also a green light for Ulbricht.

Simultaneously, out of Moscow went a stream of summonses that reminded one of Genghis Khan calling sub-chiefs and sons to his golden tent. Signatories of the Warsaw Pact, NATO's counterpart in the Iron Curtain world, were convoked for late July or early August, a Communist Summit, to present a solid front when the West's will to resist is challenged. Already the leaks from Warsaw, Prague and Moscow tell us what K's stand at this Red conference will be: He will say, "At the moment we are stronger than America. Our lead is assured until late 1963. If we force a decision this fall they (America) will back up. When they do their whole position will crumble. Allies will drift away in a sea of neutralism like ice floes breaking apart in April."

WEST BERLIN, THE BONE IN COMMUNISM'S THROAT, will be examined from every angle. To call it our cancer might be more apt. Here is the West's sole propaganda victory in the cold war--essentially a European victory. Each day every three minutes, an East German votes against Communism with his feet: Since 1945 over 4 million have passed through the escape hatch from K's system to ours'. They travel by U-Bahn, bus and tramway, the sole breaches in an 863-mile border belt called the Piek ribbon. There is a labor shortage in East Germany. 66,000 refugees poured through the Berlin hole in the dyke in the first four months of 1961. 80% were young enough to work; 25% were under 25. There were professional men, technicians, professors. The effect on East Germany is disastrous. To retain Professor Manfred von Ardenne, 54-year-old director of the great atomic research center in Dresden (whose assistant is A-spy Klaus Fuchs) Ulbricht issued an order permitting Dr. von Ardenne to draw up to \$3,000 from the bank anytime he wishes. At the same time a Russian order put him under day and night surveillance. In seven years 15,000 technicians, 3000 doctors, 1200 dentists and 700 professors have walked out "on business" and not come back. Most escapees take their children with them. There were 450,000 more 14-year-olds in East Germany ten years ago than there are today. As the average age of the East Zone increases the death rate jumps. To permit such a condition to exist is an admission of weakness. As Burke put it, "The concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear." Communist political realism demands the removal of any doubt about their strength. Western survival demands the same of us. Top European sovietologist teams, every bit as realistic as the Kremlin and not picked for their liberalism, work day and night trying to piece together the political map that will be put before the Warsaw Pact Leaders late this month or in early August. Here is what they see:

KRUSHCHEV AND ULBRICHT will bring a convincing thesis to the table. Peking will exploit any sign of weakness on their part. To retain Red leadership, K must avoid hesitancy. This is a strait-jacket in itself. Marshal Malinovsky will denounce West Germany's militarism; Marshal Tchouikov has prepared a paper proving that the Western allies did not take Berlin, and concluding it is time they get out. Marshal Cyril Moskalenko's report will serve as the clincher; a Ukrainian, he commands the Russian counterpart to our Strategic Air Command, and he is counted upon to assure falterers in the Red camp that they have nothing to fear, that Kennedy will not budge. Backed by such convincing reports from the military, K will present his conviction, based on personal acquaintance with the West's leaders and voluminous intelligence reports: "It would be absurd for Kennedy to go to war over West Berlin. He won't do it." The magnifying glass will then be turned on Adenauer and de Gaulle.

ON WEST BERLIN, THE ADENAUER-DE GAULLE POSITION IS SIMPLICITY ITSELF: There is nothing to negotiate. If K signs a separate peace treaty with Pankow, Ulbricht's government, which holds no mandate from the people, will replace the Russians around Berlin. The East Germans are expected to put up a road block; the West will be told to ask them for permission to supply the city. Negotiation will be tantamount to recognition. Thus there are only two alternatives: Another airlift or opening the road with tanks. De Gaulle and Adenauer are for firmness, even if it means the latter. De Gaulle does not share the blame for Berlin; though he was an ally, he was not invited to the pre-invasion European Advisory Committee session at which America's Ambassador Winant, Russia's Guseff and Britain's Sir William Strang drew up the Berlin plan without a single safeguard in writing. He had nothing to say about Eisenhower's stopping at Torgau, well west of Berlin, nor the irresponsible way in which the Winant-Guseff-Strang plan was put into operation as an agreement, without further discussion and by agents who even today are faceless.

The Warsaw Pact planners are aware of Paris-Bonn firmness, but they are also aware of the weak spots. Behind de Gaulle and Adenauer are France and Germany, twin keyboards of rancor and distrust. Communists quickly perceived, America ignored, the propaganda significance when a disreputable Frankfurt publication and a highly questionable man, not even a native American, were able to remove one of America's finest generals from his German command on grounds that he was an "ultra Rightist", i. e., too anti-Communist--and without a wave of protest in America. There was a time lapse, then the successful sabotage of General Walker was extended to other officers, in America. As Europe reads the storm warnings, American officers are expected to be anti-Communist, but not too anti-Communist. It makes a sell-out seem possible. The Soviet Psychological Warfare Office could not have planned a greater victory, nor timed it better. All Germany knows that General Walker's anti-Communist troop indoctrination course has been halted, four months before war and peace are expected to hang in the balance. These are important factors in the planning of Communists and anti-Communists in western Europe. K's intelligence services are exploiting them to the utmost.

BRITAIN'S POSITION AS THE WARSAW GROUP SEES IT. London, without wishing to appear weak, believes that negotiations should be opened, as quickly as possible and before the crisis. Russia is watching the British mood carefully. Among the detailed reports they will spread out on the Warsaw Pact table: Plans drawn up by Deputy Under-Secretary of State Sir Evelyn Shuckburg, Central Department head Mr. E. Tompkins, and Western Organizations and Planning Section Chief Peter Ramsbottom for an urgent Western Summit Conference this fall. Details on Lord Home's talks with Dean Rusk in Washington in mid-June. Chances of Lord Home being removed from the Foreign Office, to be replaced by a commoner, elected to Commons and able to talk to both Labor and the House of Commons when the showdown comes. Russia is aware that after the Lord Home-Dean Rusk talks in Washington London was given the go-ahead signal to start studying and listing the differences existing between London, Washington, Bonn and Paris, for discussion at a Summit Meeting immediately after the West German elections and the Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow. Russian reaction was to step up attempts to divide the allies. Leaks to Paris and Bonn inferred that Britain was filing their grievances with the idea of playing on allied disagreements to "divide and rule". Further leaks sowed the thought that Dean Acheson and Macmillan would try to buy time at cost of position by recognizing Pankow. Actually, Britain should not be under-rated. Though most of the unilateral disarmament and negotiation talk has come from Britain, Mr. Justice Winn did what no man, even the president, has been strong enough to do in America, when he exposed and cracked down on Communists who, with less than 1% membership in Britain's Electricians' Trade Union, not only controlled the union, but made it serve the Party's political aims. It was in striking contrast to Washington's sacrifice of General Walker. One question mark: Did Russia maneuver Britain onto the end of an Arab limb in Kuwait, to further hamstring the West?

AMERICA'S POSITION. Despite presidential statements and studied "leaks" to the press of military preparations for any eventuality, Krushchev is riding on Europe's conviction that we have not really decided. Fear is general in Bonn that K will risk an adventure, that we have not made it clear that there will be no limitation on the use of the atomic deterrent. Montana's Senator Mansfield came forward as spokesman for what is known in Germany as the Ache-

son Plan. Mansfield would make West Berlin an open city, in other words, leave 2,500,000 West Germans to the mercy of a Communist promise, the value of which has already been proven nil. The Acheson-Mansfield reasoning is said to go something like this: The status quo is both dangerous and costly. By settling for an open city we can reduce the risks, diminish the expense, and come out with the clear gain of a promise which will have the value of all Russian promises--at most five to ten years of time. Krushchev is encouraging the open city talk, but only for West Berlin. The Germans, at whose expense the hypothetical five to ten years would be bought, are apprehensive. They fear the Mansfield statement was a trial balloon with top-echelon approval, suspect a sell-out on the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland as well. Actually, Russia is at no loss for methods to sow distrust among the West's allies. Most of the traps could have been avoided. Their mass effect on our smaller allies is disastrous.

WESTERN EUROPE'S POSITION: West Germany's magnates, heads of the great Krupp-dominated VERBAND DER DEUTSCHEN INDUSTRIE (Union of German Industry) are of little help to us. They fear that Willy Brandt and his Socialists may ride to power on the issue of West Berlin, bringing nationalization and spoliation via taxation with them. They feel that they rebuilt German prosperity without Berlin and in spite of Berlin, which has been nothing but a drain on them. The panorama they see is discouraging: Both the pound sterling and the dollar are under attack. Russia's oil offensive has started. Genoa is the dumping center, Italian oil king Enrico Mattei the agent. He has already contracted for 12 million tons of Russian crude oil over a four-year period at a price barely equal to the taxes and royalties being paid in the Middle East. Even Spain, Russia's mortal enemy, has made a barter deal for Soviet oil through a Belgian company. Russia's aim is (1) to control the oil supply for Central and Western Europe; (2) to amass reservoirs of foreign currency for the use of native Communist parties.

Military men eye Bonn's 7 crack divisions and reflect that America sacrificed Mecklenburg, Saxony and Thuringia for a right of passage to Berlin, a city we could have taken--and that right was never put on paper. Our Ballistic Missiles Early Warning System in Thule, Greenland, protects America and Canada from the east. Another BMEWS base in Clear, Alaska, will close the gap in American defenses. The third post, in Fylingsdale, England, designated to protect Western Europe by diverting or destroying Russian missiles in flight, will not be ready until 1962. And the crisis is facing us NOW.

THE PICTURE IS NOT ALL BLACK, but the West will have to move with decision. Walter Ulbricht's situation is far from secure in Pankow. The "Volkskammer", East Germany's Communist Party, is studying the same picture as this report is written. Unrest is rampant. Reports from Poland show the need of a Red diversionary movement, and some kind of victory before winter. In Poland, Gomulka's collectivization program has started to nibble on the 85% of land still privately owned and subject to the laws of inheritance. Only 10% of this land is being seized at once; it is the first grab since Gomulka's return to power in '56, but the peasants are girding for a fight. It may affect the over-all Communist stand on Berlin. Another danger signal: Ulbricht's own police are dangerously apathetic, failed to lift a finger during the recent demonstration against the government in Brandenburg. Unrest is mounting again in the locomotive works at Henningsdorf, where the June 17, 1953 uprising started. Ulbricht's sole consolation: The West exports only socialist revolution.

WHAT KRUSHCHEV THINKS OF ALL THIS is not altogether unknown. K. sees America's foreign policy in the context of a pattern, a policy inherited from Roosevelt, continued by Truman, passed on to Eisenhower and now gaining momentum. The new team still has its illusions. The free world may pay their tuition. To date, to meet each crisis we have improvised a semi-passive defense and ceded a little bit of ground. K sees no reason that we should not do so again. We have embraced "neutralism". It is inconceivable to K that we should risk war over West Berlin, that we should refuse to retreat an inch. Why this time more than any of the other times? The Mansfield proposal, to him, is tangible proof that nuclear blackmail still works, that by demanding the most and settling for the least he can continue to edge forward around the periphery. In "third force" solutions he has everything to gain and the West has everything to lose. The one-sided concessions will never end. London TIMES of October 21, 1960, expressed the climate of thought on which Krushchev is building his crisis:

"There is no doubt that America will honor her engagements to come to the aid of a country facing aggression, but it will be in a manner which she alone will choose. And she will not use nuclear arms at the risk of suicide."

K knows that nothing short of nuclear weapons can stop the 25 ultra-modern Soviet divisions poised in Central Europe, which he can raise to 40 in a matter of days and 60 in a month. America's powerful 7th Army based in Cassel can save southern Germany, but the British Army in North Germany is exposed. Schleswig's defense hinges on our holding the Danish-German line, and Denmark and Hamburg would be occupied in a few hours. K is sure that the West knows this as well as he does. It is the theme of his psychological barrage. But the card up his sleeve, the attack from the rear to weaken the allied front, may come in the form of the offensive France's Left is preparing against de Gaulle. It is risky business, trying to predict what may happen in volatile France this fall. Trouble seems inevitable. That de Gaulle's next challenge will come from the Left is almost certain.

DE GAULLE, FRANCE AND NATO. As regards the Berlin crisis they are one. De Gaulle has done nothing we are not continuing to do. He has dismantled the French Right and Center, staked everything on his Left. As his isolation increases, the Left's demands grow. First the army was estranged. Then the Brittany peasants revolted. The trouble spread. Communists took a hand. M. Monnerville, the man designated to take the reins if anything should happen to de Gaulle, warned, "If we continue to ignore the elected assemblies, the people will turn to other representatives with neither a mandate nor responsibility." That is what happened. No middle course remains between the President and the mob in the streets.

BEFORE WORLD WAR II four powers existed in France: The executive, the legislative, the big trusts and the press. In 1961 there are two: de Gaulle and the labor unions. The others have been suppressed. "Direct democracy" has replaced parliamentary democracy. To stave off the unions, de Gaulle turns to the radio, addressing the people rather than parliament. Today only the unions are able to force the government to give ground when they really want to. They are conscious of the three great international forces reaching across frontiers and oceans to support them: International unions, Communists and Socialists. Their leaders have become the new intermediaries between Chief-of-State and people. They feel that they saved him (de Gaulle) on April 23, that he is their debtor. They encourage him when he destroys their enemies, the men who would be our hope in a show-down with the East. Thus police cars with wire-meshed windows, paddy wagons reserved for mass arrests of common hoodlums, dumped French officers in Sante and Fresne prisons at fifteen-minute intervals, to be thrown into common cells with criminals who insulted them, left for an indefinite period, eventually to be judged and sentenced in batches. FLN terrorists in the same prisons enjoy special privileges. The effect of all this: A tightening of the ties between officers and men who remained indecisive last April, a feeling of solidarity with the "martyrs" in prison, stripped of decorations they paid for with their blood in the Resistance, Indo-China and Algeria. Over 270,000 Frenchmen have been repatriated from Indo-China, Tunisia and Morocco since 1954. They are still awaiting indemnities. More arrive weekly. The exodus from Algeria has started, sending the already prohibitive prices of Paris apartments to new levels. Daily the number of those in France who would see the regime fall with satisfaction increases.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent
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BOURGUIBA. In June we reported on Bourguiba's mid-May trip to America, described it as a clue "to the next big headache for the West", stated that its importance was overlooked, if not deliberately smothered. That report was no shot in the dark: It was a serious intelligence report for the reader, deemed important enough to fill 3 pages of our June issue.

THE FULL STORY: From the thousand and one sources of information beyond the porous frontiers of the Arab world indications of a crisis build-up leaked far in advance. Palace rumblings and bazaar leaks had it that Habib Bourguiba was planning something big, but dared not take the final plunge without approval from America. "From America" meant either Washington or the big labor unions whose protege he is. But what was he up to, that was the question.

IN PARIS men whose job it has been to study Bourguiba over the years were deeply concerned. They knew his instability, his boundless ambition, the vital necessity of proving himself the strong man of the Arabs, and his superstitious penchant for the month of July. His country of 3 million inhabitants is one of the poorest and smallest in North Africa; his army of 10,000 men is badly trained, outnumbered 2 to 1 by arrogant Algerians who for five years have been training on his soil. Bourguiba had to do something beyond a claim to leadership of the Maghreb (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco) or a UN demand for a slice of the Sahara: he had to prove that he too was an enemy of the imperialists. The team studying him knew his violent speeches by heart, had seen him send a NEWSWEEK columnist home to picture him as "The West's hope, the natural leader of the world's uncommitted one-third." The ruse was the time-tried, infallible one of the bazaar guide, whipping a native mob into a frenzy, then turning a serene visage to the westerner and saying in the westerner's language, "I try to calm them, but their grievances have made them violent. You must give me what I request for them or they will depose me and then you will have to deal with someone worse."

AMERICA WAS NO MATCH FOR THE BAZAARCHIK. Our "authorities" in UN and Washington staked America's prestige and the Mediterranean world's future on their personal acquaintance with Mr. Bourguiba, i. e., a handshake in the big building on East River or at a reception in Washington. American officials in Tunis were taken in by the cultured and affable Driss Guiga, head of Bourguiba's German-type secret police. Guiga's wife, Chacha, leader of the women's group, OTHMANA, has traveled extensively in China and Russia. She and her husband boast of having used the Americans. Principal European listening posts of the Driss Guiga intelligence network are Lausanne and Geneva, but here C. I. A.'s fair-haired boy was an American of Turkish origin who was himself a violent Arab Nationalist and political advisor to the Tunisians and Algerians, with American loyalties running a poor third.

Such considerations weigh heavily on the minds of the Paris Foreign Office team piecing together the jigsaw scraps of information in May and June. Bourguiba's speech at Mahdia, on June 19, 1958, was carefully studied as one of the charts to his thinking. Here, a few days after signing an amicable agreement with France, visualizing progressive evacuation of bases in Tunisia, he screamed to his Tunisians, "Our struggle must not depend on diplomacy. At certain times blood must flow. There must be sacrifices and a man-to-man struggle!" The previous year, at Thala, on August 13, he told a cheering mob, "When affairs are in a state of stagnation one must apply pressure. If blood flows in the process one must understand that it is necessary." Tunisians applied their own interpretation to such incitements to violence. Some saw it as throwing the gauntlet at Nasser, others as defiance of the "imperialists" or as forerunner of the "Holy War" against Israel. The American press still

hawked him as the man of peace and friend of the West.

WE HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN PRECAUTIONS AND KNOWN WHEN TO PULL BACK" Bourguiba told the mob at Mahdia. "That is why victory has always been on our side and we have never known defeat. I have always warned you to beware of a military force that might wipe you out. Provoke it, but with impunity. Side-step rather than fight. There is no inconvenience in that. Return, stab - and then side-step. That is the way we will win." At the time he spoke he had received from America, Germany and Czechoslovakia some ten guns for every Tunisian of military age. (Materiel captured in July, '61, included quadruple machine guns on turning turrets, the latest Skoda (Czech) automatic rifles, automatic pistols from Russia's Radom works, British anti-tank guns and a large assortment of American arms equal to anything possessed by the French. Rolling materiel was French, American and Czechoslovakian, with French most widely used for the simple reason that Tunisians were familiar with it.)

DAY BY DAY THE TRIP TO WASHINGTON TOOK ON GREATER IMPORTANCE. The experts warned that Bourguiba was clearing the way for drastic action, taking his usual precautions, getting ready for a blood-letting, to break out of stagnation. Do not forget that it was in June, 1957, that Reuther and Meany went to Tunis for a labor congress that included long talks with Bourguiba, followed by statements that America (whose mandate the two labor bosses claimed to possess) would stand by the Algerian terrorists. A few days later Senator Kennedy made the same affirmation. On July 25 Bourguiba deposed the Bey, proclaimed Tunisia a Republic and himself its President. (Western do-gooders whose hearts bled for Lumumba have never asked where the Bey is being held or why he is not permitted to leave the country.) Each of Bourguiba's moves has been preceded by a reaffirmation of support from American Labor. That is his precaution.

THERE WERE THREE POSSIBILITIES OF ACTION: A drive into the Sahara, entry into the Algerian war to seize leadership of the Maghreb (Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco), or military action against Bizerte. Said the experts, "It is going to be Bizerte. Since June 1960 Bourguiba has been dickering with Mattei." Mattei, head of the powerful Italian oil trust and Krushchev's ace card in the plan to run Britain and America out of the European market by flooding the West with cut-rate soviet oil, hoped, through Bourguiba and the FLN, to monopolize the Sahara. A joint Tunisian-Italian refining company was formed in September, 1960, with an agreement to create a refinery in Bizerte capable of handling 1,250,000 tons of oil per year before 1962. A few months later they formed the S.I.T.E.P. (Societe-Italo-Tunisienne d'Exploitation Petroliere) for exploitation of the Sahara. Mattei promised Italian support for Bourguiba's claim and all-out pressure, with Russian assistance, on the Afro-Asiatics. A similar agreement was signed with the Algerians. The men whose business it is to know Bourguiba said, "Definitely, the drive will come in July, against the naval base. Though planned in minute detail it will come as a sudden burst of anger."

DE GAULLE BRUSHED THEM OFF. Bourguiba had promised at Rambouillet on February 18, 1961, that he would let Bizerte sleep until after the Algerian war was ended. On nothing more tangible than Bourguiba's word, and the American assumption that the man in whom anti-colonialism and pro-Westernism are happily wedded would never dare risk alienating America by giving Castro a precedent for attacking Guantanamo, de Gaulle stubbornly refused to believe his experts. "He'll never betray me," he said. "We must trust him." Your correspondent held up the June REPORT for 48 hours before the decision was made. In the end it was a high official who assured us that a crisis would be provoked by a Bourguiba play to crystallize the organization of the Maghreb and sew up its control.

IT WAS ALL AGAINST REASON. Intelligence reports had warned for months that Mattei was applying pressure for his refinery site. Russia wanted Bizerte to change hands before the Berlin crisis: K was determined not to leave this air and naval base for radar and submarine detection -- the most modern between Mers-el-Kebir and Cyprus -- in French hands. Not a plane or submarine movement takes place in the Mediterranean without touching off an alert in nerve centers far beneath the water at Bizerte. Better that Bourguiba hold it, K feels, and the launching ramps capable of covering Europe from the Danube to the Balkans.

THE MEN AROUND DE GAULLE, now mostly of Socialist formation, carried the day. They argued that Tunisia's claim to the Sahara would be strengthened if Bourguiba could present himself as leader of the Maghreb. Tunisia, counting on Washington for 60% of its budget and for political support in the fight to lead North Africa, was still in our camp. Bourguiba knew that we could deny him nothing. He also knew that AFL-CIO's handout of \$3,250,000 for "international political activity in the second trimester of 1961" was on tap. Furthermore, a Pan-African Union Congress in Casablanca had just given American labor's delvers into international politics something to worry about: The interlocking network of African Unions set up at American expense and by American delegates if not by American approval had, as should have been expected, slid from our grasp, although they had been formed as "bulwarks against Communism". (Labor delegate Irving Brown ruefully admitted in private that they were lost, although he was optimistic in public.) When French Socialists and labor leaders, now all-powerful around de Gaulle, stated emphatically that there would be no resorting to force over Bizerte, they inferred that they had inside information from international parties and unions dictating Bourguiba's course. That is why the reader was told in June that the crisis would be over the Maghreb.

THE EXPERTS DID NOT GIVE UP WITHOUT A FIGHT. Still hoping to convince de Gaulle that the drive would be against the naval base, they reported that Mennen Williams had verbally agreed to Tunisian action against Bizerte, and that Bourguiba already had the support of Reuther and Meany -- but de Gaulle would not be persuaded. On July 6 the Tunisian trench-digging started, accompanied by meetings, slogans, radio broadcasts and proclamations. Tunisia was whipped into a frenzy. Women and children were urged to volunteer. On D-Day minus 1 the Tunisian General Workers' Union, organized by Irving Brown, financed by us and answerable to the big Confederation of Brussels, called a general strike. The following day its unarmed workers spearheaded the offensive, marching against the walls and gates of the Bizerte arsenal. Ahead of Tunisian troops moved a wave of fanatical women and children with their strident "you-you" cries, potential victims for strengthening the propaganda in UN and among the Afro-Asiatics. Casualties were heavy, heavier than Bourguiba anticipated: 670 killed and 1,155 wounded by Tunisian count. Bourguiba admitted that Tunisia fired the first shot.

MR. HAMMARSKJÖLD, without waiting for a mandate, took the first plane for Tunisia, conducted himself like a sympathizer flying to the aid of a victim. It took a few days before western anger against Bourguiba for precipitating a minor Suez died down. Bourguiba supporters, liberals and Afro-Asiatics, battened hatches and weathered the storm. Then the French came under attack for returning fire and refusing to withdraw to original positions, though Bourguiba proclaimed, "It is only the beginning. The fight is not finished." His emissaries flew to Moscow, Dakar, Turkey, Pakistan and Washington to plead for help. In Albania the Moslem Foreign Legion of Communist volunteers was ordered to stand by. Over night Moslem differences disappeared: Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and the Arab League, all former enemies, sang the praises of Bourguiba. For the 90,000 French citizens remaining in Tunisia (there were 250,000 before independence), the spoliation started. The pipeline carrying from 24 to 25,000 tons of oil per day from Edjele and Zarzaitine, across Tunis to the port of Skira in the Gulf of Gabes, was closed on July 22. France lost about 2/3 of her oil consump-

tion, Bourguiba a heavy royalty on every ton.

THE NEXT MOVE: According to the thinking of high officials, Bourguiba is losing his grip on his party, the Neo-Destour. The July blood-letting was an act of desperation. It failed. The dynamic young ultras, led by Bourguiba's own Minister of the Interior, Taieb Mehri, who controls the Garde Nationale, have been gaining power. Their hand is now strengthened, for almost a year they have been on the upsurge. Their stated aim is not to take Tunisia into the Moscow camp, but rather into the Arab League and the struggle against Israel. Bourguiba has been able to hold the reins only because America paid his bills. From now on the deterioration will be rapid. Russia will support the young rebels; the machinery is already in place for the take-over when Bourguiba falls. Talk of "non-alignment" is already in the air. Beyond Bizerte all the West's bases around the world are being sighted over nationalistic gun-barrels--Panama included. Thus the two world camps are lined up as de Gaulle's October show-down approaches, with the Left heavily weighted and the western world facing a deadline in Berlin.

FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE BIG THREE, Dean Rusk, Lord Home and M. Couve de Murville, were conferring in Paris as this was written. The subject: Berlin. Mr. Macmillan was not happy over America's partial mobilization; he was convinced that the West could not win in a game of bluff with K. Furthermore, England was exasperated with prosperous Germany's assumption of a tone of command in western Europe. Deteriorating relations with the Red bloc were having their effect on a gravely ill pound sterling. Lord Home pressed for immediate talks between East and West, to restore Britain's position as chief mediator. The knife at Couve de Murville's back was the report, widely diffused by French Labor, that another military putsch will threaten de Gaulle in October. This is highly possible; if there is such a plot, Communist and Socialist unions with their efficient intelligence lines would be the first to hear of it. On the other hand, they may be using a non-existent plot to justify unprecedented mobilization of goon squads and action centers, preparatory to an autumn attempt to seize power for themselves. When de Gaulle started his crack-down on all opposition last April he foresaw what he called a position of symmetry, a blow at the Right and a blow at the Left. Instead all the blows have been directed to Right and Center. Trouble of some sort is certain, perhaps from an unleashed left. Herr von Brentano sat at the conference table by invitation as Adenauer's foreign minister. He weighed the divergencies; America's firmness, daily evidence that the man in the street is willing to fight, was the bright spot of the meeting. It did more than assure Adenauer's re-election.

THE WESTERN TEAMS WERE EYEING KRUSHCHEV. K had no intention of losing the initiative. Reports came out of Russia describing Soviet military might. Rockets, tanks, atomic submarines and gadgets from the surprise box of Russia's nuclear arsenal were marshalled, described and counted. Then Mr. McCloy, America's disarmament expert, was invited to K's villa at Sochi to receive a personal message for the President. Western embassies in Moscow received urgent requests to report at all costs the contents of that letter. It was not hard to get: the Kremlin leaked it. To divide the West, K said, in effect, "Forget about a Big-4 meeting. A meeting between ourselves is all that is necessary to settle everything--including the German peace treaty and Berlin." It was a diplomatic maneuver intended to coincide with the military and civil psychological offensives of the past four months.

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^ NEW "PLANT" BY THE SOVIETS IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE STRUGGLE:

Allied Defense Ministries around the world, widely separated, confidential reports on American military strength and potential appeared in May. Supposedly drawn up in each case by the military experts among the native ministry, they were so nearly identical that they might have been written by one man. These reports take the line that America has assumed the burden of preventing war, limiting destruction in case of war, and creating a military umbrella under which foreign policy can develop freely. America's allies are depend-

strategic bases. The question is then raised: are the Allies making a mistake in assessing American strength on these factors? America has announced that she will not strike the first blow, and Russia's prime objective in the event of an attack is destruction of these same factors - SAC, launching sites and strategic bases. If they were successful, only the elements of American defense which survive the initial attack would be in position to strike back, so America's real military strength (the thesis continues) is not what she has on NATO maps today, but only what she will still have after that attack.

THE INSIDIOUS LINE OF DEFEATIST TALK CONTINUES that Soviet ICBM missiles have demonstrated their superiority, and that America does not have adequate communications and control systems to receive the original attack and then retaliating effectively in order to destroy Russia's key cities and industrial potential. It is said that only when America can make a Soviet surprise attack impossible will the American deterrent be effective, and that this will not be possible before 1970. In the meantime, they reason, the only defense against Soviet superiority is the dispersion of SAC, the maintaining of planes in the air in a state of permanent alert, and the constant movement of missile-bearing submarines, inferior in number to those of the enemy. Russian superiority on the above basis (says this defeatist line of thought) makes total war possible, but not a Western victory. Therefore there must be no fight over Berlin now; it might lead to disastrous total war.

THIS UNJUSTIFIED THOUGHT OF DESPAIR AND SURRENDER IS THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE WEAPON being used at government levels by America's hidden enemies, part of the campaign to go over the heads of government and reach their armies. A similar campaign is in operation to reach the people themselves and to try to make the nation revolt against any government call to arms. The faceless people who are pushing this line of thought hope to win a total victory against the West without firing a shot.

Among our European friends the thought lingers: 140 years before the A-bomb Napoleon said, "Nations that await attack are already half conquered." Russia now attempts to prove that nations that await attack are already conquered. To nations dependent on us for their defense the post-attack evaluation is worse than disturbing. Ousting valiant generals for being too anti-Communist will do little to reassure them and stiffen their resolve to stand firm.

* * * * *

AS WE GO TO PRESS two items present themselves for careful scrutiny by patriotic Americans: (1) The Fulbright Memorandum, which is aimed at suppressing military troop training programs which speak out in support of basic Americanism and against Communism wherever it may be found; (2) French intelligence reports that Krushchev has massed 20 special divisions for atomic warfare and 2000 planes in East Germany, determined to force us to back down, convinced that this will cause our whole Western Alliance to crumble like dust.

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WESTERN EUROPE'S RETURN TO REALITY. Back from the beaches and resorts came a huge migratory wave at the end of August; insecurity was the dominant note as vacationers regarded the future. In tiny Kuwait, menaced by Iraq's Kasseem, 20 British Viscounts stood ready to fly the country's ruler, his harem and treasure, to safety. The question: Where is safety? From smoldering Berlin to Brazil, where the shadow of another Spanish Civil War hung over the country, Kuwait's Sultan, like Europeans in general, saw only insecurity.

MOSCOW'S THEME CONTINUED to Free World adherents and neutrals, "Vote pro-Soviet leaders into power or be bombed." The spotlight swung to Berlin, but the crisis was not really there. The crisis was global in Krushchev's determination to test the West's firmness. West German elections, due on September 17, may decide the next move. Phase two can be expected to take shape anytime after September 20.

EAST GERMANY'S WALTER ULBRICHT, hatred for whom has driven 20% of his country's population into flight in fifteen years, may be the instrument. Ulbricht is a Saxon, 68 years old, son of a tailor. His record: Obedience to Moscow, a Stalin man. Personal initiative: None. Most of his Popular Police come from his native Saxony. His key statement on sealing East Berlin off from the West was, "The West dares not lift a finger. They have lost the battle of Berlin and they shall lose that of the peace treaty, which will be signed no matter what tension it causes. Germany shall be reunited in Communism and by Communism." Moscow, judging from his past record, wrote the speech.

Previous to his appearance as a Communist agitator at the end of World War I, little is known of Ulbricht's youth. Psychological reports describe him as cynical, hard, dangerous. When he became a Communist deputy, Ernst Thaelmann, his Party chief, stood in his way. Ulbricht wanted power. There is reason to believe that he himself delivered Thaelmann to the Nazis. When Hitler came into power, Ulbricht fled to Moscow. Stalin dispatched him to Spain on the outbreak of the Civil War. There we find him in Albacete, head of a group charged with ferreting out and executing Trotskyites believed to have infiltrated the International Brigade. The preliminary methods were strikingly similar to those used to eliminate Communism's enemies from the American and French Army today. Pro-Soviet "indicators" pointed out the victims. When Stalin signed his pact with Hitler Ulbricht became what Madison Avenue would call a public relations man. His job was to hawk a line: "Any German who attempts to weaken the treaty with Moscow is an enemy of Germany." Stalin delivered hundreds of anti-Nazis who had taken refuge in Russia into Hitler's hands at the time, but Ulbricht remained safely in the Hotel Lux, in Moscow, with his mistress, Lotte Kulm, who became Frau Ulbricht in 1951.

In 1945, when the Stalin plan to take over Germany was set in motion, Ulbricht was flown to the Russian sector along with Wilhelm Pieck who cut East Germany off from the West by the almost impenetrable belt that is known as Pieck's ribbon. Pieck's death raised Ulbricht to No. 1, Secretary-General of the United Socialist Party (Communist), President of the Council of State, and President of the Committee of Defense of the Democratic German Republic. Rumors circulate that he is a sick man, that he has no stomach, that he is kept alive in Niederschoenhausen Castle on baby food. Others have it that he is a bundle of energy, working eighteen hours a day. On one thing all who study him agree: He remains a Stalin man. When the line changed he gave it lip service but that was as far as it went. West German and European intelligence files amply attest to his hatred of Krushchev with all the venom of which the man is capable. For years he begged for

the shutting off of East Berlin. Krushchev stood in his way. Correspondence with Peking gained in volume. Ulbricht, Albania's Hoja and Peking's Mao stand together as Communism's belligerent wing. Signing of the peace treaty with Moscow will not give Ulbricht complete liberty of action. The Soviet tanks and troops are there as much to assure his obedience as to protect him, but the element of danger remains. Once control of the road linking Berlin with the West is in his hands, if Ulbricht can precipitate a crisis he will.

NATO PLANS assume that troops under General Norstad's command can hold up a Russian offensive for four days before having to employ tactical nuclear weapons to avoid being overrun. This would give Krushchev four days in which to change his mind as to western firmness and decide to negotiate. Ulbricht has the full support of Peking behind him, for the show-down and against negotiation, the inevitable progression from tactical nuclear arms to A-bomb to H-bomb notwithstanding. The crisis will grow worse after September 20, if Ulbricht and Peking can arrange it.

DE GAULLE IS MOST FIRM IN DETERMINATION TO MEET FORCE WITH FORCE, but there are hidden danger spots behind him. On August 15 French labor called a strike of customs inspectors. No responsible official dared offend labor by observing that the inspectors holding power to pass without search or hold up indefinitely all luggage entering France by boat, plane or train were controlled by a Communist union, the General Confederation of Workers (CGT). Clamoring that the government was not taking sufficient measures against another revolt by the "fascists", the united unions organized their own shock troops. (Actually they are profiting by de Gaulle's anger against the opposition.) The French Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC), which controls workers employed at American bases and installations, has swung to the Left, is talking of dropping the word Christian from its name. FORCE OUVRIERE, through which Mr. Irving Brown, American Labor's delegate, has meddled in French politics and poured American money into French left wing movements, has joined the lineup. Following Premier Debre's frantic appeal last April, French labor appointed itself the protector of "democracy". But the Communist CGT holds the reins. Members maintained by the three unions to expel hecklers from congress meetings have been formed into riot units. Unemployed members, generally used to run errands and deliver handbills, have been mobilized, given a regular union "home-guard" status. Pentagon-type war centers have been set up by the unions, as between allies. A control-room telephone list, for call in the event of a move by the so-called "fascists" includes police, fire department and union shock troop leaders.

In the event of a crisis telephone stations are ordered to keep the lines clear, to accept only urgent calls. Unions have succeeded in acquiring top priority rating. The tactic they have worked out is simple: Key leaders are called first. They in turn call trusted lieutenants previously charged with the defense of nerve centers, transportation groups and telecommunications, the loss of which would seriously affect the Left. General transportation would be halted by strike order, except certain approved lines such as the Communist-owned "COTAX", radio-controlled taxi line specifically set up for the transportation of shock troops. Radio and television stations would be manned by employees considered "sure" by the unions, which means "sure" by CGT standards. Stand-by groups have already been set up. Renault automobile workers, where the Communist CGT is dominant, have orders to bar the plant with trucks and trailers, to prevent the "fascists" (by that time the government) from acquiring transportation. Any show-down in Paris will degenerate in a matter of hours into a labor play to seize power, directed by political labor committees dominated by the Communists. October will see the beginning of a series of strikes coin-

cluding with the tension in Berlin unless drastic measures are taken beforehand. There is a lesson to be learned by America from the position into which the French government has permitted itself to slide.

THE TRIALS OF OFFICERS IMPLICATED IN THE GENERAL CHALLE REVOLT CONTINUES. Testimony by a French Security officer recently disclosed existence of a Communist "Committee of Elimination", specifically charged with drawing up a list of officers whose elimination from the army is important to the Communist party. Party intelligence lines were charged with gathering evidence and witnesses. Those who refused to testify in support of evidence so gathered were subjected to retaliation. The names of colonels sentenced on such testimony were given. There were those who hinted that the Red-directed elimination campaign was global. They compared the sentences handed down in the Palace of Justice's 17th Correctional Military Tribunal with General Walker's removal from command in Germany. A similar development in America is not impossible. Nevertheless, lights burned all night in the National Defense Ministry on the night of August 19 to 20. And the French army, though stripped of the finest officer cadre in the world in a suicidal weeding out which our press widely applauded, was with us as Colonel Glover S. John's jeep rolled across Germany at 20 miles an hour, from Mannheim to the check point at Helmstadt, at the head of a 1500-man convoy.

IT APPEARED ON AUGUST 19 THAT GENERAL NORSTAD'S 4-DAY COUNTDOWN WAS imminent. European military planners would have preferred to throw the works on Day-5 rather than introduce the small, tactical nuclear warhead designed to stop the tide by destroying troop concentrations and airfields. The tactical weapon, as they saw it, would bring Bomb A and Bomb H from Krushchev. However, the decision was not in their hands. The barbed wire sealing off the city towards which Colonel John's jeep was moving down the autobahn was sold to the Ulbricht government by West German industrialists. Beyond it were 10 Soviet armored divisions, 10 mechanized divisions and some 2000 planes, supported by East Germany's 200,000-man militia.

THE AFRO-ASIATICS, when they met in Belgrade on September 1, summed up our position as "pinned down". There were a number of interesting aspects to the so-called Belgrade meeting of the unaligned, of which their ominous rejection of the term "neutral" as misleading was one of the least important. In the minds of realistic political thinkers there was never doubt as to how the Belgrade group would stand when the cards were down, nor where Bourguiba would move when the time was ripe.

BOURGUIBA'S WELCOME AMONG THE UNALIGNED was purchased by the Tunisian attack on Bizerte. But Bourguiba in turn demanded proof of good faith from his former enemies. For five years Nasser and the Arab League had supported his No. 1 enemy, Salah ben Youssef. Bourguiba's terms were simple: Salah ben Youssef's head. The last time he saw Salah was in Zurich on March 2, 1961. His parting words were, "Death is the best I can wish for you."

On the morning of August 12 Salah and his wife were in their hotel in Weisbaden when a call came from two of his trusted lieutenants in Frankfort, stating that they had an urgent message from Nasser. The Salahs left for Frankfort at once. The lieutenants greeted Salah warmly. He accompanied them to Room 53 in the Royal Hotel, which a Tunisian had rented that morning. Three hours later Madame Salah grew tired of waiting in a cafe and went to the hotel. Her husband was dead. The two lieutenants and the Tunisian who had rented the room were seen leaving the hotel alone a short time after Salah went up to

Room 53. By then they were in Switzerland, on Tunisian passports. Salah was given a military funeral in Cairo twelve days later. On August 21 Bourguiba announced, "I realize now that President Nasser's intentions are good. I shall make a trip to Cairo to thank him personally for his support." Tunisian Information Minister Masmoudi stated "Tunisia must become as anti-Semite as Cairo if we are to reduce the growing influence of the Jewish Community in our country." A few days later a \$28 million trade pact was signed with Russia.

The political philosophy that brought Habib Bourguiba from his AFL-CIO triumph in San Francisco ten years ago this month to his present peak, with his son an intimate of President Kennedy and himself the protege of both Nasser and Hammarskjöld, merits some study. His basic premise, as Bourguiba stated it, is, "In the Orient, when a man is dead there is no point talking about him." The policy of physical disappearance for one's opposition came up again in a conversation Bourguiba had in Paris last winter regarding possible troubles over the Sahara with the so-called Algerian "government" sitting in Tunis. "They could be wiped out in an hour", said Bourguiba, "and in two days no one would talk about them." Discussing the most effective way of silencing a political opposition, he observed, "You take the most representative. He disappears--a day or two later No. 2 disappears. After that you do not have to look for No. 3; he is already gone and the rest have scattered." So much for the man Mr. Hammarskjöld has championed in the Bizerte affair.

UN'S MR. "H", as a possible negotiator of the Berlin crisis, is understandably somewhat less than ideal as the French and Belgians see him. The H story, as told by a responsible official interviewed by your correspondent, starts eight years ago when the Russians decided to oust Trygve Lie for "complicity in the Korean War". France's UN Ambassador Henri Hoppenot proposed Mr. Hammarskjöld, son of a Socialist country and a family ennobled in 1610. H was then 47, he spoke 4 languages, could work 20 hours a day, had a flawless, which is to say colorless, record as a functionary and a diploma in political economy. Being no orator, he seemed unlikely to meddle in the deliberations of the General Assembly. Literature, painting and music were his hobbies. There was little possibility of his marrying. The only person close to him was an Italian-American referred to as his body-guard. Though ambitious, he was able to conceal it. Thus a hitherto unknown Swede became overnight the highest paid public servant in the world: Lodging, chauffeur, secretaries, and \$50,000, tax-free, a year. Two years later he went to Peking on his own initiative to try to liberate American aviators being held by Mao. Then came Suez and the formation of UN's "blue helmets". A short time later UN's vast public relations machine started referring to them as Mr. H's army. The UN of San Francisco, in which the Big 5 made decisions, taking into account the wishes of a General Assembly in which the smaller states were seated, was dead. Mr. H had developed a technique of corridor campaigning by which, once assured of the support of the General Assembly, he could dictate to the five great powers. The Secretary-General of UN began to regard himself as the head of an emerging World Government. Small states able to balance their budgets only by grace of the Big 5, enabled Mr. H to dictate to four of the great. To avoid loss of face he evaded a show-down with Russia, the fifth. De Gaulle was the first to protest. Krushchev, as long as UN did not stand in his way, remained silent. Then came the Congo. Mr. H sent "his army", prepared to govern direct. K was playing the Lumumba card. He banged his shoe on the table and demanded Mr. H's resignation. Mr. H's defender was Tunisia's UN Ambassador Mongi Slim. By this time, around the world, through UN's countless affiliated organizations, the campaign was in full swing to divert all diplomacy through UN.

On May 20, 1960, following the failure of the Paris Summit, Mr. H. declared, "The United Nations furnishes a framework for diplomacy and all diplomatic conferences on whatever level nations wish to negotiate. The organization offers a setting for permanent negotiations without publicity (i. e., Socialist and secret) in which it is possible to play the full gamut of means of agreement developed through experience and traditional diplomacy. I hope that all member nations, the great powers and others, will use to its fullest the opportunities offered by the United Nations and their different organizations."

In July 1960 the official publication of THE WORLD FEDERATION OF WAR VETERANS, UN's war veterans' organization grouping all ex-soldiers, iron-curtain and otherwise, gave the Hammarskjold solution a plug. (A former top-level Japanese agent heads the publication's editorial staff). Mr. H was pictured as an olympian figure leaning down from a peak to offer scaling equipment to de Gaulle, Krushchev, Eisenhower and Macmillan.. The same magazine (Monde Combattant) had pleaded in November, 1959, that Heads of State hold "regular meetings within the framework of the Security Council rather than conferences set up in fear of an immediate conflict or the shadow of threatening conflicts." Ten days after the collapse of the May Summit in 1960, the UN Security Council voted a resolution demanding that France, Britain, US and Russia renew talks "with the assistance of the Security Council and other appropriate organs which UN is in position to provide towards that end." The resolution was passed on May 27. Simultaneously a fight was stepped up to remove the Connally Reservation which prevents American internal problems from being decided by the International Court in the Hague. UN's world wide affiliates threw the weight of moral pressure and mass media behind the parallel drives. From Geneva the International Labor Organization, where the son of UN's American delegate Cabot Lodge sat on the governing body, issued a flood of directives to international labor. American cultural attaches and US Information Service officers, recruited in many cases from UNESCO and other UN bodies, plunked for UN.

SEPTEMBER, 1961, finds Mr. H's army in Katanga, attempting to sweep Moise Tshombe from power. European observers reflect that Mr. H's brother is head of a Swedish-American firm recently incorporated to exploit Katanga mines, that Mr. H. has named a certain Mr. Sture Linerr, of Stockholm, representative of Swedish mining interests with huge holdings in the Congo, as UN's mining expert.

The Hammarskjold mandate in UN expires in April, 1963. An iron-curtain Secretary-General is almost certain to follow. Such is the UN into whose hands America and her allies are being maneuvered through the Berlin crisis.

To sum up the conclusions of the European experts: A corporation entrusted with the sell-out, relieving individual members from responsibility, UN would supplant the White House, relegate our Secretary of State and our allies' foreign ministers to roles of attorneys for the defense, with Belgrade's pro-Eastern but as yet unaligned powers forming the jury, providing the police to bring the defendants to the bar, and assuring Mr. H the power to judge. That is the prospect for October.

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"You ask how we are going to get out of this (crisis). To know how we are going to get out of it you must know how we got into it. We got into it through bad policies. And how were we led into bad policies? By false ideas, by the desire to flatter the public instead of trying to correct false public opinion." (Monsieur Thiers) Here are details a "flattered" public should know as we enter the autumn of 1961.

ON THE SOVIET PERIPHERY

IRAN faces a test: Russia is throwing everything into a build-up against the Shah and America. American counter-propaganda is entirely inadequate. Experts believe it is not the usual Russian blow-hot, blow-cold technique to provide confusion while a main offensive is launched elsewhere. Feverish Russian activity -- troop movements and bomb shelter construction along the Turkish frontier indicate that trouble may be general in that area.

PEKING: In a sudden reversal Peking has stopped discouraging the study and speaking of English and has started drafting English-speaking students from Southeast Asia. The explanation: Whatever its disagreements internally, the Communist world is in complete accord on one point: Autumn of 1961 is the West's period of weakest resistance and every advantage of this should be explored. When we think of the highly successful infiltration of Cuba by the Soviet-Chinese Communists, this fact takes on a grave importance.

IN EAST GERMANY a new anti-Communist underground known as "August 13 Movement" showed strength in early September but now complains of lack of support, moral and material. Kennedy's UN speech was discouraging; so was UN's disarmament plan, apparently American-approved, whereby individual nations would retain sufficient forces to maintain internal order, entrusting national defense to a red-dominated UN. Germans cannot see UN coming to the support of America in the Canal Zone or West Germany in Berlin when they study the prospects for Secretary-General: Tunisia's Mongi Slim, whose grandfather came to that country as a slave, U Thant, the Burmese Socialist, or Paul Prebich of the unreliable Argentine. Even more discouraging is the prospect of a UN under Krishna Menon of India.

IN BELGIUM the rest period is almost over. Last December Andre Renard, leader of Belgium's Metal Workers' Union, tore the country apart and destroyed some \$100 million worth of property in senseless rioting, in a play to upset the Eysken government and bring the Socialists into power. It failed, despite the support of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), whose home is in Brussels but the major lump of whose funds comes from AFL-CIO. (See H. du B. REPORTS, June 1961.)

This was an out and out labor revolt to take over the government by civil war. The main reason it failed was that the left wing of the Flemish unions refused to march. No prison sentences were handed out in punishment of this violence because the operation was conducted in the name of a strike, a way out which no conservative movement enjoys. Aside from the financial loss the main casualty was Renard's personal reputation. Paul Spaak, who ten years earlier had dethroned King Leopold but who was identified with freedom and resistance to Communism because of his immediate past as head of NATO, resigned and returned home. Patiently, meticulously, he and Socialist Party President Leo Collard picked up the pieces and reorganized a Socialist Party separated from Communism by a thin line that in Belgium is often invisible. At the party congress in Charleroi, on September 24, 1961, Belgian Socialists decided to risk another crossing of the Rubicon, but by another route. This time it will be an intermediate measure: Faced with Flemish resistance (some

800,000 Catholic Flemish union members as against 700,000 extreme Left Walloons), any attempt to take over all Belgium under the labor label is out. The alternative: To take half of it, create a Walloon state with federation status, through a Socialist revolution in Parliament. Leaders promised that there would be no violence, but those who remembered the events of last winter were unconvinced. There is likely to be Flemish resistance, hence a fight. Reason for the resistance: The Walloon movement, if victorious, would package the Flemish Catholics in a tight box alongside energetic, no-holds-barred Walloons directed by a 60% Socialist-Communist majority. The Flammands would be devoured at leisure.

FRANCE: An unpopular government at home and an underground movement in Algeria, the OAS (Secret Army Organization) are locked in a death struggle like two wrestlers, each unable to floor the other. Either could in a matter of weeks, if it took a strong stand against outside meddling, deliver the death blow to the FLN. The OAS, opposed to the abandonment of Algeria and in favor of an "are-you-with-us-or-against-us" ultimatum to France's allies, is powerless to impose its will on deGaulle and the metropole. DeGaulle is powerless to stamp out the OAS in Algeria. The reason that OAS is underground: No above-ground campaign for a French Algeria is tolerated in deGaulle's so-called "Self-Determination" plan. Labor unions, Communists, and extreme Left Socialists use the threat of a pro-OAS army putsch as an excuse to mobilize for a putsch of their own under a "defense of democracy" label. They have ordered pro-Left elements in the army to prepare a list of their officers likely to support a Rightist drive or a countermove against a Leftist one. The French army is being decapitated, literally, not from the Left but from the East.

American "good-offices" intervention in 1958 led to the fall of the Gaillard government and later the Fourth Republic. American Ambassador Walmsley (expecting to be joined by Menen Williams as this is written) is conferring daily with members of the Provisional Algerian Government (FLN) in Tunis, advising, promising support, urging acceptance of any terms from deGaulle as a means of outpacing the OAS, while the army is headless. (We have been less anxious to assist and recognize Syrian independence.) The solution advocated by deGaulle will bring a reaction, when the after-effects hit France, that will topple the Fifth Republic. Moderate Socialist Guy Mollet and extreme Left Socialist Pierre Mendes-France are preparing the Sixth Republic; their only point of disagreement is whether or not to use the French Communist Party. (PMF is for using it.) Whichever wins, the French Communist Party will be in the fray, taking the fight into the streets. Communism's time-tried tactic is to help a weak government, leaning to Communism, into power, and from its failing hands seize complete control. (Reader: please re-read the observation of Monsieur Thiers.)

SYRIA: Nasser stood friendless when the blow came. Israel, France, Britain, Jordan, Russia and Iraq had scores to settle and had worked against him. Only Dag Hammarskjold was his friend, and Mr. H. was dead. So Nasser rejected military counter-action, wrote off, temporarily, the 400 armored cars, heavy equipment and MIG 14s, and turned to his strongest weapon, inflammatory speeches beamed at a volatile Islam over the airwaves from Cairo. Some 5000 secret agents, trained and organized by Colonel Serraj, remained in place in Syria; the network is intact. The warlike Druses (stirred up by Britain against France in 1919) resent having no post in the new government which is composed of one Orthodox Greek, one Catholic Greek and nine Moslems. Palestine refugees regard Nasser as their champion against Israel. As a last resort, a Nasser call to arms against Israel will draw Syria back into its vortex. It would also bring Russia in to rake up the pawns in this struggle, all the way to the Mediterranean.

THE FUTURE IN THE CONGO

THE FIRE UN STARTED IN KATANGA IS NOT FINISHED. The brutality of Nehru's Gurkhas, indiscriminately shooting at anything that moved, in a UN action designed not to preserve peace but rather to force an internal solution, may go down in history as UN's "Budapest". Here are background facts the reader should keep in mind these next few months; without them nothing that is going to happen will make sense.

LUMUMBA, IN JULY, 1960, called on UN to drive out the Belgians remaining under independence agreements as advisors and technicians. Their replacement by Russians and Czechs followed, amid indescribable horror, until Colonel Mobutu intervened on September 14 to run out the Reds. UN, at the request of the Leopoldville government, ordered foreign advisors and instructors (reportedly around 500) to leave Moise Tshombe's Katanga army. Paul Spaak, as soon as he returned home to head the Belgian Socialist Party, made a double intervention in support of UN: On one hand he urged UN ahead, on the other he dispatched a personal messenger, M. Muller, to order Belgians to quit Tshombe and to try to persuade him to bow to the Leopoldville government. Tshombe was adamant, and Katanga was strongly behind him. Hammarskjöld persuaded the General Assembly to vote a motion for "vigorous UN action", viz., his own, on September 20; thus UN broke the bounds of its original mission and started taking over local authority.

THE SITUATION: The Congo had split into three countries. Leopoldville, under Kasabuvu, was nominally the capital. Stanleyville, capital of Lumumba's province, was in semi-secession, loyal to Lumumba but not to Leopoldville and run by Lumumba's Communist lieutenant, Gizenga. Elisabethville, capital of the rich mining province of Katanga, had seceded and formed, under Moise Tshombe, the only stable government and center of law and order in the former Belgian Congo. Foreigners were in Tshombe's forces at his request, but Lumumba, in order to create chaos, had deliberately turned his 25,000-man FORCE PUBLIQUE against its foreign officers.

Disorder and chaos were necessary in Katanga if Tshombe were to be hammered into submission. UN, at the Leopoldville government's request, set out to isolate him. That was the crux of the situation. Gizenga's government had been given immediate recognition by numerous Iron Curtain countries; Tshombe's had not. No move was made to break Gizenga in Stanleyville. The uncompromising stand of the American Committee on Africa (Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Humphrey, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., etc.) for African independence did not extend to anti-Communist Tshombe, and Mr. H. dared not affront the nations that had recognized Gizenga. Lassitude and lack of native initiative rather than UN restraining influence prevented civil war at that time.

ON FEBRUARY 14, 1961, Mr. H. persuaded the Afro-Asiatics to vote a resolution requesting further UN interference in Congo internal affairs. Moderate Congo leaders got together in Tananarivo and rejected the UN solution. Mr. H. ignored them; UN, at the top, refused to help the Congolese to settle their differences peaceably, and UN forces in the field were influenced by the ideologies of their respective governments. Congo national sentiments were smothered by a flood of UN newsprint and the result was that the country no longer belonged to its people but to Nehru's Indians and UN, as a seed plant for world government.

IN EARLY JULY, 1961, Mr. H. sent UN's intelligence chief, Pior Djorn Egge, to Elisabethville to build up a case against Tshombe. Gizenga was negotiating an alliance with Bolikango, Vice Prime Minister of the central government and principal deputy of Bengala

Province; the plan was to take the Congo the way of Czechoslovakia. Bolikango's ten votes, with Gizenga's 65, would give him ten more than enough to rule the assembly. Gizenga did not want in the front row; instead he would pull the strings. Leopoldville police are controlled by his fellow Lumumbist, Kamitatu, governor of the province and regional president of the pro-Communist African Solidarity Party, of which Gizenga is head. Mobutu, the anti-Communist army leader who ran the Red diplomats out of Leopoldville, stands alone between Kasabuvu and domination by Kamitatu's Red police. A civil war (disguised as a preventive war against civil war) would tie up Mobutu's army, end with him and Tshombe destroying each other. Gizenga and the Reds would profit by it.

Congo Premier Cyrille Adoula (pictured in NEWSWEEK of September 22, 1961, locked in an embrace with Hammarskjöld representative Sture Linner) ordered Tshombe, "Get the foreigners out before September 6." When the deadline passed, an estimated 116 officers, 25 of whom were French, remained, and Linner decided to move. He and UN ultra-liberal Conor Cruise O'Brien ordered a military offensive without a legal leg to stand on other than that they had been assured they could win. It could only pave the way for an ultimate Communist take-over.

UN's General MacKeown informed his chiefs that Katanga troops could be incited against their white officers and would be lost without them. Psychological action followed, along the same line as Lumumba's pre-independence drive to turn the FORCE PUBLIQUE against its Belgian members. UN's propaganda machine was set to work to obtain from public opinion the mandate that it did not obtain elsewhere. The public was told that Katangan recalcitrance derived from no fervent desire for independence, but rather from the machinations of white adventurers in Tshombe's service. It was blatantly false; Katangans saw their forced subjugation to Leopoldville's deadweight government, for the purpose of relieving UN of the financial responsibility for this government, as nothing less than slavery.

BY SEPTEMBER 9 most of the Belgians had been edged out. O'Brien estimated that Tshombe was at his mercy. On Monday, September 11, he flew a plane-load of Congo flags into Elisabethville. On the 13th Indian troops took up their position and UN military interference in Congo-Katanga affairs was launched. At noon O'Brien, anxious to present Mr. H. with a fait accompli, announced to the world that independent Katanga had ceased to exist. That afternoon the counterattack started. Katangan commando units with only two months' training charged from the bush and O'Brien's hopes of unfurling the plane-load of flags disappeared. His fury against the French officers who had trained the commandos knew no bounds, and it was then that O'Brien hit on a senseless propaganda gimmick without a grain of truth to support it: Having failed to arrest Munungo, the Minister of the Interior, he announced that Munungo had ordered the massacre of several Kasai Balubas. The Balubas, generally hated but such good workmen that they were necessary to Katangan economy, had not been massacred, and the result of the propaganda lie was an insoluble and tragic human problem.

35,000 terrified Balubas demanded UN protection. For a few hours UN looked good. Then came reality. Housing and feeding facilities were non-existent. O'Brien suddenly found himself responsible for a camp of hunger and thirst-crazed Balubas surging forth on night forays to drag back victims to eat. Tshombe had to divert a third of his Elisabethville forces to protect civilians, which may have been what O'Brien wanted. The Balubas paid for it. A man-hunt started against the Balubas.

Meanwhile, the endless round of cocktail parties in Leopoldville continued. Ignored was the point that UN troops with a mandate to use force only in the preservation of peace had invaded

a country, attacked an army, attempted to arrest a minister and liquidate a government, and in so doing had started a war where no threat of one existed, a war the end of which no one can see at this moment. Mr. H. was still smarting under the French rebuff at Bizerta and deGaulle's remarks in Paris. To him the setback was due solely to the despised "adventurers". Without them everything would have been all right, meaning that Katangan claims to UN's elsewhere supported right of self-determination would have been smothered. O'Brien requested air support and bombers. Since Tshombe had no military establishments this brought the prospect of civilians being bombed by UN: One of Nehru's Gurkhas told a British correspondent, "We killed all the Katangans we could."

While Mr. H. was serving cold chicken and whiskey and soda in the cool garden in Leopoldville, the unpaid employees in Congo's Albert National Park were eating the giraffes, Balubas in Elisabethville were eating Katangans, and the UN soldiers, the Gurkhas from India, were shooting everyone in sight. Otherwise an uneasy truce reigned as Congo troops moved up for invasion.

THE FRENCH OFFICERS IN KATANGA. Mr. H. described them as "Dregs of the Algerian war", and our American press took up this description--but let us take a look at them. There is Captain Ives de la Bourdonnais, as impeccable a gentleman as Mr. H. He drew up and signed the over-all plan for Katanga resistance as advisor to Munungo, the Minister of the Interior whom Linner and O'Brien were out to seize. UN Intelligence Chief Egge learned the plan, embellished it, and passed it on to the Secretary-General; hence Mr. H's hatred of la Bourdannais. Another is Commandant Roger Faulques, 36 years old and the recipient of 13 citations for valor. Son of a professor and a brilliant strategist he set up a school to train paratroopers and commandos, aided by Captain Heltzen, an officer of the Legion of Honor. They formed a general staff, took over the job of reorganizing an army in the grip of complete anarchy. Most of this army had already made trips to Rhodesia to sell their guns to rebels encouraged by UN agents.

In October, 1950 Faulques led a Foreign Legion Battalion against the full Vietminh army to save French units cut off at Langson and Cao-Bang, was brought back seriously wounded, with only 19 survivors of his command. Operations and bone-grafts followed. Though pronounced physically unfit, by sheer determination he got back into service to survive the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. His specialty: Communist psychological warfare, from Lenin to Mao. He found it being applied in Algeria. He was highly respected; his men were devoted to him, and he was consulted by deGaulle in September, 1959. In 1960 he resigned to become Tshombe's advisor.

"Sooner or later UN is going to attack you," he told Tshombe. "You must prepare for it. Disperse your forces, supplies, munitions in small villages. Get ready to fight in the bush with sudden commando raids and ambushes. You are not strong enough to risk open battle against their materiel." He taught his men, "Never operate without a cover of 30 or 40 commandos." While the covering forces immobilized UN trucks and armed cars, Faulques' freshly-trained specialists struck with terrific rapidity in a highly successful operation, while order was maintained in the interior by Faulques' friend Captain Egey, a paratroop hero of the French Resistance. Your correspondent is not irresponsible enough to write off as "dregs" such officers, the pride of an army that may be asked to hold up the Russian advance for us in a few months and who might be leading that army in an action on which the lives of thousands of Americans will depend.

O'BRIEN'S DEFEAT IN ELISABETHVILLE MARKED THE END OF ACT I. As the curtain

rises for Act II Communist diplomats who recognized Gizenga's Stanleyville government and were driven from Leopoldville in September, 1960 are flocking back. Soviet Charge d'Affaires Leonide Podgorsky arrived on September 20; the Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs, Malians, Ghanians, Guineans and Chinese followed. Lumumba University in Moscow is training the Congo's future government. An efficient propaganda job is being done in America toward this end by Mr. Maraf, No. 2 man in the Guinea Consulate in New York who is handling the financial backing and political direction of the Elijah Mohammed Black Muslim Movement. (Guinea has received \$105 million from the Soviet block, \$15 million from the West since independence.)

THE FUTURE IS GRIM. Europeans who have stuck it out in Leopoldville are packing their bags. Tshombe has received orders to get rid of Belgian technicians in the UNION MINIERE's big plant and replace them with Czechs. Victor Lundula, the cousin Lumumba promoted from sergeant to general, is moving forces from Kivu and the eastern provinces. The objectives of Communism and the UN are for the moment identical: To destroy Tshombe and take over Katanga. Their trump card is UN's Indian troops, already in Elisabethville, sent there for political reasons, not security. With the support for Leopoldville of 22 Afro-Asiatic UN members, UN will not officially regard an attack against Katanga by the central government forces as a civil war. This will let them out of acting on the clause in the Security Council resolution obliging UN forces to prevent civil war by force if necessary. Crack Indian troops already in Elisabethville can, however, sabotage Tshombe's defense. Against these political facts and Congo troop movements Tshombe is amassing arms being moved up to him through the Brazzaville Congo Republic of the Abbe Fulbert Youlou. The holocaust ahead will be terrible. Let us regard it now as inevitable. So much for the legal position of Tshombe.

UN's DEEPER RESPONSIBILITY in starting a war between Africans is yet to be faced. If European officers, there against the express orders of UN (which had no right to issue such orders) were responsible for UN's defeat, they were also responsible for the fact that every prisoner taken was not massacred. UN casualties were 3 or 4 times higher than admitted. O'Brien and Linner dared not publish the extent of their losses. How many Irishmen were eaten, or cut up and thrown in the Lumumbashi River, we shall never know. Veterans of Indo-China and Algeria were appalled at the cruelty of the men they were trying to discipline.

When Act II starts the restraining influence of Tshombe's European officers will not be there. UN cries that they brought Tshombe his victory bore fruit where every other incitement failed; Katangans resented the inference that they could not defeat Mr. H's army alone. Look for renewed hostilities which will move ignited Africa back a hundred years. Worse than UN's legal culpability is its responsibility for future brutality. The Black Continent: Western policy's gift to the East.

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ALGERIA. The American public is soon to receive a shock from North Africa. The degree of that jolt will depend on the extent to which America is told the truth about the increasing stature of the Army Secret Organization (OAS) as a power to be considered. Monsieur Lauriol, a deputy from a district outside Algiers, gave the French National Assembly an inkling of the situation when he stated on November 9, "Gentlemen, what interest do we have in an agreement concluded between the Chief of State (General de Gaulle) and the head of the FLN when neither the one nor the other dares put a foot in Algeria?"

OTHER HIGHLIGHTS MERIT ATTENTION: The big Socialist conclave in Brussels on the weekend of November 11, Russia's big bomb, the XXII Communist Congress in Moscow, UN's attempt to wipe out its humiliation in Katanga by deliberately enflaming the Congolese over the death of Lumumba. For America and the bedrock of American prestige the crisis overshadowing all else is the approaching moment of truth in South Vietnam, for this was our big experiment, America's first attempt to step in and replace the discredited "colonials".

SOUTH VIETNAM IS SINKING. It could be saved, but it is not likely to be. America is going to ask some questions when it flounders. We poured in billions of dollars in outright aid, until public and congressional pressure forced a change-over to aid in another form: government guaranteed loans and private investments for which the taxpayer is going to pick up the tab. Whether over-zealous liberals or efficient subversives held the lid on reports out of South Vietnam while the country was pushed into the arms of the Reds an honest investigating committee alone can decide. Such a committee will likely never sit; here are some of the reasons why:

SHOULD AMERICA SEND TROOPS? A press, aware of the situation but still not ready to admit seven years of dishonest reporting, says no. If troops are not sent, there is no point in telling the public that the sight of American forces disembarking would start a landslide toward the Reds. Why should the Vietnamese resent our sending an army to save them? To answer that question the well-meaning, duped American in the street would have to be told the whole story. A New York Times editorial announced on November 7, 1961, "Their (American troops') presence, in the end, would very likely be harmful to the prestige of the South Vietnam government, which does not lack manpower." The truth is, the South Vietnam government has no prestige. To the swindled provider of American aid, the Vietnamese should be grateful that America paid an admitted 80% of his government's expenses all these years and is now willing to give Vietnam the military support that we refused the beleaguered garrison of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, when Ho chi Minh's army had spent itself in attacks on a fortified position, to gain a psychological victory to exploit in the negotiations in Geneva. Why then should they resent our coming in to save them, the American reader asks. And that question is embarrassing to editors and correspondents who systematically, for one reason or another, suppressed news, distorted news, or deliberately fabricated reports that would be popular.

From what slipped through, a thinking public could have gleaned the facts. But the facts were hidden in reams of propaganda, and the public did not think. Now, to begin to understand the morass in which we find ourselves, we are going to have to go back to the beginning.

GIBBON WOULD SAY OF US, "FOR THEY THEMSELVES ORDAINED THEIR FALL." After V-J Day America backed Moscow-trained Ho chi Minh, who had been expelled from Hong Kong in 1932 as head of the Fourth International Revolutionary Movement for Southeast Asia. OSS officers and AGAS (Air-Ground Aid Section) teams working behind Japanese lines gave him arms, money and support. American General Gallagher made broadcasts over his radio. Ho's protege became General Gallagher's interpreter and THE AMERICAN-VIETNAM FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION was formed. It had nothing to do with friendship for the Vietnamese; it was an out-and-out organization to sell Communist Ho chi Minh to the American

people and install him in Vietnam. Ho chi Minh told non-Communist Vietnamese leaders, "You must get behind me and make the Americans think we are solidly together. I have the Americans with me and can get them to drive out the French. Then we will hold elections and you will have your place in the government." This enabled Ho's American supporters to say, "there is no one but Ho chi Minh."

Korea led the activators of the phoney friendship association to decide it was time to take cover. Without a ripple they quietly disappeared, Workers' Defense League lawyer Richard Walsh and editor of The Socialist Call, Robert Delson, among them. Their membership list should interest any congressional investigating committee not dominated by their friends. OSS's HQ in Shanghai received orders to dismiss the one American who opposed what was going on in Indo-China. Two years later Ho's OSS backers were Southeast Asia specialists in C. I. A. They are still there.

AFTER THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF 1954, which divided Vietnam, a man named Ngo dinh Diem was, by American request, made Premier. The Emperor Bao Dai gave him a check for a million piatres, to pay demonstrators to organize "spontaneous" manifestations that would impress the Americans. Ngo dinh Nhu, the premier's brother, was head of a labor union in Saigon and had eased his men into all the international labor organizations to insure this "nomination". Thus Diem, the son of a court official under Bao Dai's father, a man who had remained abroad while the fighting was going on, "going to Washington on weekends", from his seminary in New Jersey, "to button-hole State Department men and congressmen," as TIME Magazine put it (April 4, 1955), returned to Saigon in June, 1954.

He told the Vietnamese, "You must get behind me and make the Americans think we are solidly together. I have them with me. I will get them to drive out the French, and then we hold elections and you can have your place in the government." The Nationalist leaders bit again! AMERICAN FRIENDS OF VIETNAM was formed, with no relation to friendship for the Vietnamese. It was the old story over again, a "front" organization with Socialists at the wheel, set up to sell Ngo dinh Diem to the American people (and suppress reports attempting to alert them) at American expense. America was told, "there is no one but Ngo dinh Diem."

The first crisis came in September, Diem had never been popular; he was accepted only as a temporary leader, able as America's fair-haired boy to evict the French. Once in, he used American support to entrench himself and the Vietnamese soon saw that the promised voice in their government was a come-on. So General Nguyen van Hinh, Chief of Staff of the army, was encouraged to oust Diem, the northern outsider, and save the southerners from what they had come to regard as an invasion. TIME (April 4, 1955) told America, "He (Diem) could not cope with Hinh. But through U.S. influence he finally won. 'I had only to lift my telephone,' the general explained, 'and the coup d'etat was on. But I was told that if it happened the Americans would cut off all dollar aid.'" It is surprising that America was so unwise, psychologically, as to boast of this "victory".

Alarm spread through South Vietnam. Pope Pham cong Tac, of the Cao Dai Sect, had kept Communism out of the area he ruled from Tay Ninh. His almost two million followers had an army of 25,000 men. The Hoa Hao sect (around a million and a half followers) had seen their leader beheaded by the Vietminh in 1947 and had no love for the Communists. And there was the Binh Xuyen army of General Le van Vien, who drove the Vietminh from his swamps in 1948 after they set up an ambush for him and executed hundreds of his men whose esprit de corps was demonstrated by the fact that they were given a choice of execution or defection and chose the former.

These three were the only forces standing between the people and the creeping strangle-hold

of a man whose following was across the ocean. TIME (April 4, 1955) told us, "His advisors (Diem's), -- including those from the U.S. -- cautioned him to go slowly. You are too weak to fight now. Invite negotiations; play for time. Diem "dickered and maneuvered to avert civil war and whittle down the warlords of the sects." Unmentioned was the fact that those warlords represented the majority of the country. Armed resistance was the only resistance possible against an outside-imposed man who locked up or drove out any leader raising his voice.

The Hoa Hao general, Trinh minh The' "rallied" in February, 1955, for a consideration of \$2 million (in American aid money!) reported Raymond Cartier in Paris-MATCH of May 14, 1955. A native pastor named Pham xuan Thai, formerly with an American Seventh Day Adventist Mission, acted as intermediary to buy off generals to whom the leaders of the sects had confided their troops.

TIME (again, April 4, 1955) was indignant when Cao Dai and Hoa Hao leaders and General Le van Vien issued an ultimatum that Diem reorganize his government in March, 1955. America was given a crash campaign to blacken the three leaders. No details were given on the government to which they objected. It was dishonest reporting. Actually, the government was a shabby lot: a year later four of its members had been thrown in prison or placed under house arrest by Diem, two had fled to Paris and another was in disgrace over a rice scandal.

The coalition on which the Vietnamese people pinned their hopes was defeated in late April, 1955. The American people were told how, but since emphasis was on "our man's" victory it did not register. John Osborne admitted (LIFE, May 13, 1957) that the Cao Dai General, Nguyen thanh Phuong, was paid \$3.6 million plus monthly payments for his troops and a sinecure command for himself to "rally" to Diem. The total sum of American aid involved was unstated. The Hoa Hao general, Tran van Sioai, according to reliable Raymond Cartier, was paid \$3 million also to defect. This left Le van Vien's flanks unprotected. But he had been firmly planted in the American mind as an ex-river pirate and the vice lord of Cholon, so America, apparently more interested in cleaning up vice than fighting Communists, made no complaint against buying Diem a victory. The Cao Dai Pope died in exile in Phnom-penh, still harassed by Diem's agents.

Le van Vien, whom the Communists had never been able to defeat, was, by America and Diem, driven into exile also. Cao Dai, Hoa Hao and Binh Xuyen stragglers roamed the country. Eventually the feudal army of Diem which replaced them drove them into the arms of the Reds for protection. A former follower wrote Le van Vien from the north in 1957, "Discontent is rife here. If you will return and lead us we will come and every man will bring ten deserters (Communist) with him."

Vietnamese able to obtain visas and reach Washington were received by State Department official Kenneth Young, who sealed them off if their reports were alarming. Mr. Young later became public relations man for AFL-CIO.

NEW LEADER Magazine (put out by American Labor Conference on International Affairs) published a special issue on June 27, 1955, written by Austrian Socialist leader Joseph Buttinger (naturalized American), blaming everything on the French and urging blind support of Diem. Wrote Socialist Buttinger, of Ho chi Minh's post-war government, "Although the government of Ho chi Minh was dominated by Communists, this regime had a good chance of developing along democratic lines if French colonial policies had not driven the people of Vietnam into the Communists' arms." (What stupidity, or subversion! -- to be told by a European socialist who had seen one government after another isolated and taken over by a Communist minority, that Communist-trained Ho chi Minh, the Fourth International's rev-

olutionary leader in Southeast Asia, would have led a Communist-dominated government to develop along democratic lines, had it not been for the French!

Honest, loyal Congressman Judd was drawn into the Diem game through misleading information diffused by an out-and-out public relations set-up and his own devotion to freedom for the Orient. He wrote approvingly in "America's Stake in Vietnam", published by American Friends of Vietnam, that our leading general (Collins) and General Ely, the leading French general, went home to wring their hands about the impending demise of the country, and while they were gone General O'Daniel "egged Diem on" to go in and clean up the Binh Xuyen and the sects. No one was able to tell Congressman Judd or the American people that in that act a highway was bulldozed for the Reds. (General O'Daniel, formerly head of America's Military Advisory Group in South Vietnam, on retirement became associated with Diem's public relations office in New York.)

HARPERS', of January, 1956, carried a Diem propaganda piece by Senator Mike Mansfield, described in the biographical note as "Diem's godfather". And he is our Senate Foreign Relations Committee's "authority on South Vietnam"! NATIONAL REVIEW (November 24, 1956) featured a Freda Utley piece on Diem in which the reader could have learned, if the pro-Diem slant had not been so heavy as to distract his attention, that U. S. Information Agency (theoretically out there to sell America) was spending most of its \$750,000 a year in South Vietnam "to build up confidence in President Diem's government. -- By means of motion pictures carried and displayed by trucks; or of posters and placards which are read out to their neighbors, -- information halls in towns and villages and boats operating along the canals."

Americans would love to have a pack of foreigners, knowing as much about America as they do about Mars, invade our country with movie trucks, placards, posters, information halls and river boats, to cram down our throats a president they had selected; a man whom, two years after he was foisted on us, and after twice preventing us from unloading him, we still had not bought!

THE NEWS BLACKOUT: There were attempts to break through and alert America, but the circumstances were tailor-made for Diem's public relations boys to enclose America in a leak-proof vacuum. Anyone who warned America that a Communist resurgence was inevitable unless we woke up drew the wrath of USIS, ICA, State Department and the press they and Labor had mustered down on his head under charges of "working against America". Those who knew were gagged, strait-jacketed and actually threatened while every Vietnamese leader who might have opposed the Reds was destroyed.

The case of the Vietnamese boy, Hynh sanh Thong, is an example. Hynh was working in Washington and watching his country go down the drain. He knew what Americans had no way of knowing: namely, that all over Southeast Asia people who knew the truth were comparing it with what America was being told, and coming to despise us. Hynh knew that his people had no Formosa to flee to, and he decided to write some letters. On Jan. 11, 1956, he wrote to The Washington Post and The Christian Science Monitor. The same letter was published in both papers. (Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 30, 1956). Reaction was swift: State Department dismissed him; he made a connection with NEWS OF THE DAY, and on Dec. 28, 1956, just after Christmas and the arrival of a baby in his home, Miss Frances Dinsmoor, of NEWS OF THE DAY, wrote him, "I feel very apologetic about not having written you before. I had a telephone call from the U. S. Information Agency a couple of months ago informing me that I was not to continue using you in the "OUR TIMES" series. My sincere best wishes for the new year." Hynh was silenced. Events of the next few weeks should draw some attention to the maker of that phone call. Never was a blindfold

drawn over the eyes of a nation with so much assistance from its leaders and from the editors who, by a casual glance at who was leading the movement, should have opened their eyes and started asking questions.

SYMPOSIUM ON SOUTH VIETNAM (September, 1956, published by American Friends of South Vietnam) stated on P. 33, "More than two-thirds of ICA (International Co-operation Administration) funds have been expended to establish and maintain internal security. Result: the internal security problem is well on the way to solution." Translated into plain English: sufficient concentration camps have been set up to hold from 30,000 to 50,000 political prisoners, rounded up by Diem's American-trained police and his brother Nhu's private secret police, run by former Communist Intelligence Chief Albert Pham ngoc Thao (also head of the Credit Office of the American Aid section of the National Bank of South Vietnam.)

Not until April 14, 1961, did TIME Magazine readers learn that "One colonel, taking over a new post (in South Vietnam), found 1,500 in jail and discovered that there was not a shred of evidence against 1,200 of them." By that time Diem apologists who had suppressed the facts when something could have been done were crying, "It is too late to make a change; if you remove Diem now the Communists will come in."

These are only a few examples. They run into thousands, and in Southeast Asia, where no protective blackout existed but where USIA-subsidized international editions and American papers arrived on every plane, the result was disastrous. A sort of cynical contempt for our stupidity, of which we provided fifteen years of irrefutable proof, became the rule. Back in New York Mr. Angier Biddle Duke headed the American Friends of Vietnam which fronted for the public relations firm Americans were supporting to brainwash themselves. Mr. Duke also headed International Rescue Committee, seconded by Austrian-born Socialist Joseph Buttinger, whose New Leader portrayal of Ho chi Minh as a potentially spotless democrat we have mentioned. Thus the letterheads of both organizations were alternated in the repetition of Diem's virtues, and apparently only the natives of all Southeast Asia were bright enough to observe that when Diem visited Washington in early 1957 it was as International Rescue Committee directors that his propagandists awarded him (and exploited publicity-wise).

"The Admiral Byrd Award to Free-World Leaders". No one else had as yet received it, so it was probably created as a publicity gimmick for just that occasion. Diem, with a straight face, wrote out a \$100,000 check (of American aid money) payable to International Rescue Committee, i. e., his own propagandists.

Michigan State University provided Diem's "advisors" (he has never been known to take advice) and published books on him in which professors, paid by his New York public relations chief, formed a pool to quote each other as "authorities on South Vietnam". These "scholarly" works became Political Science textbooks. Michigan State also trained Diem's secret police, which hounded down as a threat to internal security any South Vietnamese who referred to Diem as "the parachuted" -- dropped on the country from above, by a foreign power (America) and without roots in the soil. To top it off and prevent anyone from reading anything except matter turned out by the professors using material furnished by the hucksters, Michigan State brought out another booklet, "What to Read on South Vietnam".

New York Times' readers could have learned on March 15, 1958, that the head of the Saigon office of International Rescue Committee was the wife of a man training Diem's police. They were not told that for every anti-Communist languishing in prison in Budapest (for whom the Rescue Committee was begging dollars) another was rotting in one of their award recipient's

concentration camps, thanks to men like the husband of the lady being lauded for her aid to refugees.

THE QUESTION THAT IS GOING TO PUZZLE AMERICA: Where was our conservative press? It should surprise no one that the Bangkok World ran a USIS dispatch gushing over the significance of Diem's visit to Bangkok on August 22, 1957, though the subject of all this flowery prose was so hated that Thai newsmen were frisked for revolvers before being allowed in to his press conference, and Pibul Songgram dared not accompany him on a visit to Thailand's old capital. The editor of Bangkok World was REPORTER Magazine correspondent, Darrel Berrigen, who in 1944 was torpedoing Chiang Kai-shek in the SATURDAY EVENING POST, and who in REPORTER of Sept. 20, 1956, extolled Diem.

NEWSWEEK, on Feb. 17, 1958, thrilled anti-communists with a stability-in-Vietnam story, telling how valiant Vietnamese had dissembled a spinning mill in North Vietnam and smuggled it into the free south. Naturally it caused a stir when the issue hit Saigon. Both NEWSWEEK and the conservative monthly that reprinted the story refused to print its follow-up -- that in May, 1958, the Saigon editor who tried to track down details on the spinning mill smuggling and found the whole story a propaganda hoax was sent to prison. The American who has paid money for news and been given public relations hand-outs is going to demand: Why was everyone, from Left to Right, party to this conspiracy?

THE ANSWER IS SHOCKING: For one thing, our honest editors had no personal knowledge of South Vietnam. Many of them turned to the men whom they accepted as authorities on China, and Formosa's public relations man was Diem's public relations man's pal! That, bluntly, was what many of them came up against. In 1956 Diem decided to force Vietnamese nationality, language and names on the Chinese and Cambodians in his country. America told Formosa not to make an issue of it. Result: Peking stepped in as sole sympathizer and protector. The British press observed that South Vietnam's whole economic structure was in the hands of industrious Chinese whose fellow countrymen comprised half of the population of Thailand and were powerful in Cambodia and Laos. Their alienation could, overnight, give Peking a fifth column.

Diem's public relations set-up in New York quickly hired a Chinese to tell America that everything was fine and that anyone saying otherwise was a liar. An interesting point: The Chinese fronting for the hucksters was supposedly a devout Nationalist. The Diem he was hired to praise hated the Chinese with a pathological hatred, according to Mr. Liebman, Secretary of Formosa's Committee of One Million. And those maligned by the Chinese "nationalist" were to a man devoted supporters of Formosa.

Americans were told that any criticism of Diem was the embittered rear-guard action of French colonials. It was a lie but it was effective. True, Georges Chaffard, Far East specialist for the Paris diplomatic paper, LE MONDE, wrote on January 5, 1957, "The political dependence forced on the Vietnamese government by America's economic leadership is severely commented on by the people. But what means does one have for avoiding political meddling by the man that holds the money? When General O'Daniel presides over a meeting dealing with the training of the Vietnamese Army, it often happens that, to impose his views, he bangs his fist on the table and cries, 'Who is paying for this?' The Vietnamese officers request a recess for deliberation, then they return to announce their acceptance."

OUR BRAIN-WASHING WAS TOO COMPLETE. Bluntly, we paid for the campaign to delude ourselves that everything was going swimmingly and that any American who wrote otherwise should have his passport lifted. Ultimately our refusal to buy alarming news made false

reports profitable. The same TIME article of April 4, 1955, that endeared Diem to millions by telling how as a Catholic he took to "austerity, prayed a couple of hours every day and got up at five to study", also presented another side, if psychiatry-conscious America had been willing to see it: The Diem who "exploded into tantrums if interrupted," -- the Diem that "may erupt into sudden violence... Considering someone he dislikes, he will sometimes spit across the room and snarl, 'Dirty type!'" This was the president who scattered handbills from planes, promising amnesty, then sentenced his anti-Communist political opponents to death when they came in, on grounds that the allotted time period had expired. The American public won over by Diem's piety as a Catholic was never told that Dr. Nguyen ton Hoan, leader of the largest anti-Communist party in the country, the Dai Viet Party, was a Catholic also. Hoan had no labor leader for a brother.

John Osborne, in LIFE (May 13, 1957) told anyone willing to conjecture on the reaction of oppressed citizens watching the brother of an unwanted president enrich himself how things were going. Wrote Mr. Osborne, "They (the Vietnamese) remember that brother Nhu, riding around in his palace Citroen today, was working and living in his union's dirty, fly-specked quarters not so long ago."

After American money bought victories over General Hinh and the armed forces of the sects and Binh Xuyen, all hopes of getting rid of Diem and his family, without Communist assistance, received their death blow on Nov. 11, 1960. American tanks, commanded by a nephew of Diem, defeated a group of officers demanding only a broadening of the government, not even Diem's ousting. The officers had been defeated the previous month when Vietnamese in the High Plateau country had helped the Vietcong invaders, out of hatred for Diem's family. If the army was to meet a Red offensive, the people had to be won over. That was the reason for the revolt.

One last bitter pill was yet to come, at the polls. Again America was told about it; again it did not register. TIME exulted over Diem's victory in April, 1961. ("Most of his major opponents," admitted TIME, "were in jail.") Albert Pham ngoc Thao, the former Ho chi Minh Intelligence Chief who now runs brother Nhu's secret police, was quoted as saying, "We tried a bit of propaganda ourselves. We told the people that if they did not vote for Diem American aid would be halted." Not a voice in America was raised against aid being used as a club to frighten voters, any more than when the same blackmail, implying that our interest was not in a country but in a man, was used to bludgeon General Hinh.

THAT IS THE PICTURE. This report has only skimmed the surface. Briefly, the ship is going down because Communism is the only alternative to "our man". It is not often that we devote a whole issue to a single subject. This time we believe the seriousness of the situation merits it. Keep this Report as a key to events of the next few months. Bear in mind that no blackout existed in Asia. All these things have been common knowledge there. The psychological reaction to our bungling of our big experiment will be universal, because it was anticipated.

WHAT ARE THE CHANCES OF SAVING THE AREA? Slim! A firm statement that Diem and his family will leave, that the Vietnamese can call home their exiled leaders, mud-spattered by both Diem and us, and elect an anti-Communist president of their own choosing, might yet rally the country for a last-minute stand. But chances of such a statement are slight. Langier Biddle Duke is now President Kennedy's chief of protocol. George Crews McGee, who was Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs from 1958 to February, 1961, is chief of the Secretary of State's policy planning board. Walt Rostow, according to reports reaching alarmed European experts, is urging that U. S. troops be sent in. It would be regarded as one more U. S. intervention, manipulated by the same group, to save "our man",

not their country. Whoever follows Diem, every American presently in Saigon will survive him, politically if not physically, by about ten minutes. This is the point to which we allowed the boys who told us Ho chi Minh and his Communists would become good democrats to take us. Yet, free Asia's bitterness will be justified; it is the Vietnamese who are going under.

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PARIS

Volume 4, Letter 9 - January 1962

GREAT CRACKS APPEARED IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE as 1961 drew to a close. In some cases the divergences were of degree rather than principle: America's leading news weekly hailed President Kennedy as the "Man of the Year;" MONDE UNI, official organ of Europe's one-worlders, published in Paris, saw him as "Man of the Hour." In truth it is later in Western Europe than in America. Germans eyed Katanga and Goa and openly conjectured as to the chances of Berlin being taken out of the hands of America's Secretary of State and its fate decided by UN. There was no optimism as to the value of UN bonds. The consensus: If I were an American bond holder watching \$100,000,000 of worthless UN paper about to go in the vault as collateral, I would start cashing in. A leak of \$100 million in itself may not be grave, in a rich nation like America, but this particular leak is fatal to confidence in "management's judgment."

RUSSIA vs. CHINA: Wishful thinkers pinned hopes on their quarrels. It was unjustified; any differences of opinion in the Eastern camp are divergences regarding means. The objectives remain the same.

FRANCE: De Gaulle had decapitated his "Right" to the applause of American papers whose European editions refer to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as a "conservative." Communists and Socialists let it be known how strong

they were with a street riot that precluded an attack on the police for being brutal (they restored order) and a blanket strike that paralyzed the country.

AMERICAN EMPHASIS ON THE BUILD-UP OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES WAS ALSO DISQUIETING. It indicated a repugnance to use nuclear weapons which alone could stop an enemy whose massed conventional forces would overrun Europe but whose nuclear missiles would threaten America.

ITALY'S OPENING TO THE LEFT brought increased communist power into a government gradually being encircled by Russian and African oil deals, with the slip-knot in the hands of Russia.

IN EARLY 1962 MEETING BETWEEN KENNEDY AND KRUSHCHEV was in the trial balloon stage, with Stockholm preferred as a site by the Russians. (It would offer a chance to intimidate the Swedes.) European statesmen let it be known that in a Germany under anyone but Adenauer, who alone is deemed capable of staving off Willi Brandt, all deals would be off. Thus the political seismographs were jumping.

UN'S WAR IN KATANGA was no cementing agent among the NATO nations. Of the 15 NATO powers, three or at the most four approved of America's unqualified support of UN forces acting as armed bands in enemy territory. The motion

empowering UN to carry violence to Katanga was introduced by Ghana and Guinea. Any hypothetical fruits of Afro-Asiatic "friendship" were not worth what would be lost by supporting it. Nine nations out of eleven (including America) voted yes. Britain and France abstained. Soon American planes were barred from French soil from Dunkerque to Tamanrasset, unless able to prove that they were not on a UN mission.

After the Swedes dive-bombed Elisabethville's Lido Hotel on December 13, forty-six doctors petitioned that war crimes charges be filed against U Thant. The American gamble, if staking a continent and American honor on the kind of soldiers who butchered thirteen innocent Italian aviators can be called a gamble, was irresponsible from the start. Complete chaos is in the cards. To imagine that foreign conquest under a UN label was all that was necessary to extend Adoula's writ, unify the Congo and insure peace, was folly from the start.

RESPONSIBILITY: An increasingly indignant public is demanding an accounting. For the record, the power make-up for the blunder was in the hands of what European officials call "The Congo Club." Actually it amounts to the troika Russia demanded. Figurehead for the troika is Burma's weak Socialist U Thant. Behind him are the operations directors: America's Ralph Bunche, loaded with honorary degrees from diploma-inflationary American universities, Russia's Georgi Arkadev, and India's Narashiman. U Thant is regarded as the prisoner of the club. Narashiman does the talking. Behind him, and clamoring to revenge the Churka defeat of last September, were U Thant's military advisor, General Ryciek, and the Chief of Congo

Operations, General Raja. To the three smarting Indians, the term "mercenary," applied to a handful of brilliant officers, was a hastily popularized smear added to the Left's armory of racism and prejudice, permissible since it is anti-white. (Americans in command posts in Southeast Asia are, according to N. Y. Times, on the Vietnam payroll as "advisors.")

A KATANGA DEFENSE PLAN was termed aggressive and used as justification for hostilities that no UN official in the Congo attempted to deny were coming. Once the fourteen bombers were obtained there was no point in maintaining the cease-fire, as the Indians saw it. UN's deputy chief told a British correspondent shortly after the bombers arrived, "If we had had these we could have finished Tshombe off; now we will have no difficulty." Two days after the cease-fire an Indian officer told the same correspondent, "Next time we'll destroy them (the Katangans) completely." General McKeown stated at a press conference, "For the future we have had a ready response for fighter aircraft." No one doubted that a pretext would be found for that future.

NEHRU THE MILITARIST. The Goa attack should have surprised no one. An honest press and informed public would have denounced Nehru when he marched into Hyderabad. LIFE hailed the event with "Democracy comes to Hyderabad," as though Hyderabad had previously groaned under an oppressive Nizam but henceforth all would be milk and honey. "Democracy" justified aggression.

Actually, the Goa aggression had been in the works since Nehru sent his

first note to Portugal on February 27, 1950. In October, 1961, Krishna Menon sat down with representatives of the Angola terrorists to pool their common interests. Angola rebel agents and labor delegates and liberal supporters were fanning out, playing equally on Communist designs against the West and America's desire to be more anti-colonialist than the Russians. Arms, boats, money and a UN gang-up against Portugal were what they had been demanding. (For American involvement, see H. du B. REPORTS, May 1961.)

The delegation facing Krishna Menon had a different proposition. It went like this: Wipe out Portugal's foothold in India. In defeating Portugal there you will start a chain reaction. We and our friends will attack Portugal everywhere, militarily and propagandawise, on all fronts. Salazar's fall will neutralize France. Angolan liberty starts in Goa.

The idea was attractive. Nehru and Krishna Menon were eyeing the February, 1962, elections. Menon the Defense Minister had to do something to bolster Menon the politician in Bombay Province. "Negotiation if possible, force if necessary," became the cry. "Democracy" was about to go to Goa, Damao and Diu: About 180 miles of coastline, tiny morsels of Christian Portugal, bringing no profit to the mother country, the same living standards open to all, nestling peacefully on the coast of India for 451 years. A population of 600,000 was involved, a thriving port, and mineral resources capable of boosting the Bombay market, if not supporting it. Agitators had stirred up "liberation" riots in 1954 that caused Portugal's withdrawal from the small enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Aveli.

Britain knew of the preparations to take a bigger swallow, weighed the alliance with Salazar against blackmail by the Commonwealth. Prime Minister Macmillan figured he had four months in which to plead withdrawal with Salazar. He underestimated Krishna Menon, who had been laying diplomatic ground work for a military adventure ever since the October meeting. He had assurances of Russia's veto, should India be called for an accounting before UN. Cairo was with him, the mass "anti-colonial" vote was in his pocket.

ANOTHER ANGLE WAS BOTHERING NEHRU. Jayaprakesh Narain's Nationalist-Conservative Party, SWATANDRA, was gaining strength. Its platform was simple: The country's elite needs all the friends it can muster to develop famine-ridden India's economy, block China's incursions and resist Communism. Reconciliation with Pakistan is a must for India's economic growth. Menon argues that a military operation would galvanize the country and win the stragglers back from SWATANDRA. Military operations against whom was the question.

CHINESE UNITS WERE COMING OUT OF TIBET, descending the Middle Ganges, setting up posts in the high valleys and impoverished villages, out of touch with the central government. British intelligence warned of possible Peking offensives any time after May 1, one against North India and Bengal Province, another against Formosa and Chiang's islands. But an attack against the Chinese or Pakistan was not feasible for the moment, whereas Goa, Damao and Diu, far from Portugal, and Portugal forsaken by her allies, would be a pushover. It might also draw free-world attention to the threat from Peking.

As he had played East against West, Nehru prepared to play Moscow against Peking. His score to date: Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junadagh invaded and occupied. Attempts made to control the water supply flowing into Kashmir, to be able to cut off irrigation if need arises to subdue the country. In the planning stage: a complex of dams at Farkabad, to divert the Ganges before it enters East Pakistan. Pakistan would then be at Menon's mercy. In countless statements, articles and speeches, Nehru's own "Mein Kampf" exists, if the West would piece it together.

A VAST INDIAN UNION, covering the great peninsula of Central Asia and reconstructing, under Nehru, Britain's empire at its height, is the objective. It would reconquer Paskistan, take in Ceylon, Butan and Nepal. Colonialism a la Sukarno!

Meanwhile plans call for the sending of Indian wives and children to join troops fighting in the Congo. Demobilized soldiers will settle there, be replaced by relief troops sent out from home to repeat the process. A European wrote from Goa, invested by 30,000 troops of General J. N. Chaudhury's 17th Division (equipped with Sherman tanks), "I have passed in Goa, become Indian, a Christmas Eve of infinite sadness. To Goan Christians it was a day of mourning."

In UN Holden Roberto, spokesman for the Angola terrorists, pushed his advantage, in accord with the October Angolan-Indian agreement. Mr. Roberto travels on a Tunisian diplomatic passport. Relays of Angola rebels, in teams of 40, were being rushed through courses in guerrilla warfare under Algerian FLN instructors, in a Tunisian

"War School" supplied with the most modern weapons.

WESTERN DEFEAT IN NORTH AFRICA IN 1962 may tip the scales in Berlin. Here is the over-all picture. French policy in Morocco at this moment is to sacrifice French interests to the mob, one by one, to buy time, to keep the monarchy afloat long enough for de Gaulle to pull out of Algeria. Once this is done, Hassan II can fall when he will. 1962 will see a popular (communist) republic in Morocco. Its likely head will be Abderhamane Bouabib, the friend and adviser in whom King Hassan had complete confidence. Like Castro, Bouabib only recently felt the time was ripe to drop his mask and emerge as a dedicated and long time communist. More African leaders will follow. Until he stated his position, Bouabib posed as a liberal, in the left wing of the Union of Popular Forces.

Ali Yata, chief of the Moroccan Communist Party, served as a front. Yata's studied, erratic behavior kept the party from being taken seriously while it was girding for the showdown. Behind him was the brains of the movement, none other than Dr. Hedi Messaouk, the late king's surgeon. Moroccan students have been efficiently regimented under Mohammed Farouki, President of the National Union of Moroccan Students. Rabat's Municipal Council president, Hachemin Benani, is in position to menace the palace itself by blocking police action if the fight is carried into the streets.

This REPORT has previously described feverish Russian activity in the port of Alhucemas, wedged in between Spain's protective outposts of Cueta and Mellila, and on the former

American airbase of Ben Slimane, guided missile ramps pointing toward Spain on the former and Russian Migs on the latter. (Ben Slimane was on French property, turned over to the American Air Force on condition that it be returned when we pulled out.) A report on the desk of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the morning of March 21, 1960, stated that American Ambassador Yost (U. S. representative in Laos during the deterioration period there, now assistant to Adlai Stevenson in UN; (his wife is Czechoslovakian) had effected the turning over of Ben Slimane to Morocco and the ceremony that accompanied it, on grounds that Moroccan friendship could be gained by America's disassociating herself from France, humiliating and presenting the latter as a rival. Repercussions will be great in the Western camp when Morocco goes, aside from any psychological effects caused by Europe's semi-encirclement.

ALGERIA: Here communist influence, hitherto concealed, is following the trend of defiance to the West, coming more and more into the open. At 6:30 P.M., December 15, Mohammed Akkache, First Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, team-mate of Algerian Red leader Larbi Bouhali, escaped from Angers prison with the aid of French Communists who spirited party stalwart Henri Alleg (author of The Question) from the Rennes prison hospital on October 2. Akkache had been sentenced to 20 years in 1960 in a trial involving both French and Algerian directors of communist activity in Algeria. French, Russian and Algerian apparatus heads threw all the wheels in motion to set up the Algerian party's central direction well ahead of de Gaulle's anticipated withdrawal. Accordingly, Alleg (lauded by our book

reviewers for The Question but rarely mentioned as a communist propagandist) was lifted from Rennes prison in an operation that ran like clockwork, and not seen again until he surfaced in Prague. There Akkache has joined him. Andre Moine and Paul Cabellero, sentenced with Akkache, are stated to be next in line for delivery. Serge Michel, French member of the Algerian Communist Party who worked on Lumumba's radio, is already in Tunis, setting up a joint Bourguiba-Algerian information office. In ending, it might be added that American labor delegate Irving Brown is reported to have given \$10,000 to the Red-dominated General Union of Algerian Workers in Geneva in late November. OUVRIER ALGERIEN, the UGTA's official organ, published in November the program for confiscation of property belonging to Europeans and "traitors," after independence.

TUNISIA: The same trend. Taieb Slim, brother of the Tunisian delegate to UN, has been dispatched to Moscow, thus linking New York and Moscow by a two-brother team. This REPORT covered the assassination of Bourguiba rival, Ben Youssef (August, 1961 issue) in a Frankfurt hotel last summer when Nasser and Bourguiba buried the hatchet. West German police have ascertained that the commando of killers was headed by Bourguiba's former private secretary, Zaraguina. There the matter is likely to end.

AN ATTEMPT WILL BE MADE TO LAY AFRICA'S 1962 EXPLOSION TO INTERNAL COMBUSTION. As a hint to indignant American "rightists" likely to bang on the table and demand to know how Europe's flank was so deftly turned and Spain's NATO bases pin-pointed by Moroccan based missiles, one name is worth remembering: Ahmed Kamal.

Ahmed Kamal is a private American citizen of Turkish descent. Seldom does his name appear in papers. Roger Paillat, on page 71 of his book Dossier Secret de l'Algerie (538 pages, Le Livre Contemporaine, 116 rue du Bac, Paris 7), states that Ferhat Abbas, with Ben Bella and a number of other Algerian rebel leaders, met in Geneva in 1955 "with Ahmed Kamal, an American citizen directing an international Moslem association, who gave them 25 million francs" (approximately \$75,000).

Where Kamal gets such money, the purpose of the international Moslem associates he heads, are things the American public will want to know. Dossiers on Kamal exist in most of the political files of Western Europe, details on vast amounts that have passed through his hands for arms purchases, trips behind the iron curtain, his role as both money courier and political advisor to the FLN.

Official French and Swiss reasons for remaining silent on his operations are that Kamal was CIA's "authority on Arab affairs." Jamiat-al-Islam, the Moslem organization he set up after U. S. military transport LEVACA carried him and his wife from Tsing-Tao to Shanghai in October, 1945, and another boat carried them to America, has a correspondent in San Mateo, California. Mrs Rauza I. Rogard is on European files as the association's secretary-treasurer in San Francisco.

Presumably, oil interests anxious to overcome Arab hostility at the time America was supporting Israel helped give Kamal his start. Foreign Moslem groups put more money into his organization, glad to have any sort of native American Moslem organization to apply counter pressure to the Zionists.

When the revolutionary movements got under way in North Africa, Ahmed Kamal was ready for them. His aims coincided with those of American union delegates. As an American he was able to piously assure the correspondents of liberal and pro-Zionist American papers that Arab aspirations in North Africa were nationalist and democratic and that a grateful "Islam" in North Africa would act for peace between Arab and Israeli when independence was attained.

No man in the past fifteen years has been able so adroitly to play East and West, Islam and Christianity, against each other, to the constant advantage of Islam, and retain relative anonymity. With Moslem name and faith, an American passport, and Jamiat-al-Islam for a weapon, Kamal controlled the spending of millions. Black market dollars, purchased from American tourists on Paris corners by Algerian "tax collectors" converting francs extorted from Algerian workers into travelers' checks and greenbacks, passed through the hands of Kamal. The Central Intelligence connection he is credited with enjoying served as a transmission belt for Arab propaganda, which Kamal, as political advisor to the terrorists, was able to funnel straight into policy-forming levels in Washington.

HQ for the vast FLN intelligence and sabotage network in Europe, whose agents had been trained in Cairo by Johannes von Leers and a team of ex-Nazi specialists, was set up in Hamburg, fifty miles from East Germany, and in turn infiltrated by Communists, who used its lines for their own operations. Enrico Mattei, the Italian oil king through whom Russia plans to drive the West from the world oil market, is reported to

have made his deal of "arms and political support in return for a refinery concession in Bizerte and the promise of monopoly on the Sahara" through Kamal. but suggests a plan of action in the fight for liberation of Eastern and Central Europe.

These are highlights. If American indignation is a living force on the rise, and not, as the Reds aver, part of the pre-death convulsions of a sinking monster, Ahmed Kamal's name will make headlines in 1962. Witnesses may be hard to find. It is not healthy to know too much about Kamal's deals or those with whom he is dealing. Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent

FEED ALL THE FACTS, OF WHICH THIS REPORT OFFERS A VERY FEW SAMPLES, into a politico-sensitive IBM machine and the equation comes out: Disaster. Only the American people can salvage something of value at the door sill of 1962.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, A CRITICAL HISTORY (The Caxton Printers, Ltd. Caldwell, Idaho \$5.50)

An excellent book, written by Dr. Kurt Glaser, whose background includes a Ph.D. from Harvard in economics and political science, four years with the U. S. Military Government, specializing in German governmental affairs, including those of the Soviet Zone, and four years of intelligence research and consultation in Washington. In 1954 he traveled to Germany on the staff of the House Committee on Communist Aggression.

This is a well-documented study of Czechoslovakia from its beginning to present times. Making clear the reasons for many events which have taken place in this key area, the author does not stop with criticism,

FRANCE WITH THE FUSE BURNING. Never was a report harder to write nor a conscientious reporter in a tighter vise. To ignore the situation prevailing on each side of the Mediterranean, the barrage of misinformation to which the American public is being subjected, what may happen tomorrow or next week or next month, the irrevocable importance of those possibilities to our civilization, and even our responsibility for their inevitability, would be sheerest of disloyalties to the subscriber who has paid your correspondent \$10 on the solemn promise that, come what may, he on his part will provide ten honest reports.

THIS MONTH THE BIG UNKNOWN IS FRANCE. To refuse to face it would be easy. To explain it in a news letter is well nigh impossible. It is complicated, serious for the world and full of dangers for the reporter, namely because it is unlikely that you have been deceived by accident. Let us start with the blunt premise:

FRANCE MAY BE FACING CIVIL WAR. The French people still do not believe that it is inevitable. They are logical and individualistic. They believe things will arrange themselves in one way or another, as they always have before. Meanwhile the assassinations continue, the thefts of arms, escapes from prisons, underground radio broadcasts, strikes, demonstrations, and above all, the arrests. Draftee committees denouncing their officers and clandestine cells denouncing civilians; humming Left-wing organizations amassing, sometimes fabricating, supporting evidence and demanding more arrests, using a favorable time and climate to eliminate their enemies. Armed cars dump political prisoners, arrested without judgment or explanation, into the concentration camp in the Gard region. Those who fear the Left put out feelers, seeking security in an opposing camp. Gold transactions mount on the Paris Bourse (700 to 800 billion francs a day as compared with 200 to 300 billion francs a few months ago), a sure indication that the public is apprehensive.

AT THE STORM CENTER: DE GAULLE. No word was low enough for de Gaulle in the American press in late May, 1958, when he rose to power. The New York World Telegram denounced him in screaming headlines. Most papers called him a fascist threat. John Wingate, in his evening broadcast over WOR on May 28, 1958, went the other way, prophesied that de Gaulle would open the door to Communism. When indignant telephone calls started pouring in, WOR's New York office refused to give the names of Wingate's sponsors. To the calm observer, of which there were few, a pattern was evident: a two-pronged campaign to ruin de Gaulle with liberal and conservative.

By January, 1962, all that had changed. A determined announcement that Algeria was and would always be French would have collapsed the rebellion; instead de Gaulle chose abandonment, and the Left embraced him. To the conservative he was held up as the western leader who would not talk to Khrushchev, and who abhorred UN. Anyone in America less than enthusiastic about de Gaulle was thereafter a fascist and friend of colonial die-hards, in the eyes of a militant Left, or a friend of Communism, to the half-informed conservative. In such a climate, few reporters dependent on subscribers for existence dared tell the whole story.

AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION: "Peace", most generally Russian-style, has been UN's vocation, "anti-colonialism" its avocation. French defeat was demanded in the

name of both. American Labor moulded opinion and policy at home, agitated in Africa, and, through international labor socialist organizations, shaped policy in France. A powerful Algerian public relations campaign, financed by funds for which there has never been an accounting, never let up on our public.

To what extent American public opinion was shaped by actual Communist guile and subversion no one has asked. When a conveniently packaged Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, labeled "el Maghreb" as North Africa is called (after the Arabic word meaning West, signifying Islam to the west of Mecca), becomes Communist, it will be too late. By then Africa will be sealed off; Algeria's Jews, and probably those of Morocco, Tunisia and the neighboring island of Djerba will have been lynched. Europe's flank will be turned, our European bastion ringed by missile bases and radars. For the isolation of America, not war to destroy America, is Russia's classic strategy. Incomprehensible to European thinkers are the motives behind State Department's, Information Agency's and our press' warping of opinion to approve a suicidal policy. The question: What did we hope to gain?

EXAMPLES. TIME MAGAZINE, of January 26, 1962. The feature story: Terrorist Salan. Though ten times as many Moslems have been slain by the Algerian rebels to impose, through terrorism, an impression of national solidarity behind the FLN, such atrocities are glossed over as commando raids in a fight for "liberation". This is the tenor of most reports that have reached America. The picture drawn is European against Moslem. TIME whittled down sympathy for the European by reducing their estimated numbers a good 200,000 and upping the Moslem figure by a million.

A few years ago the French were criticized for intermarrying with "natives". TIME, January 26, 1962, pictured them as having only one thought: an absurd dread of handing over Algeria, and with it their livelihoods, their homes and their lives "to the 9,000,000 infuriated Moslems they have lorded it over for so long." Cutting the throats of Europeans thus becomes a retribution. Krushchev might have written it!

Army officers determined to keep Algeria French are described as renegades "dreaming of old flags and vanished glories", supporting hard-boiled European settlers with "muddled dreams" who are determined to hold onto their possessions and their privileges.

The real reason this issue was held up by French authorities was neither the text nor Salan's portrait on the cover, but an embarrassing picture captioned, "Algerian Pied Noirs (Europeans born in North Africa) Demonstrating", the sub-title, "On signal, a fanatic thrust to keep their privileges". The first figure on the right is a turbaned Moslem. Another turbaned Moslem in the front rank holds a banner bearing "French Algeria". More Moslems, craning their necks to get into range of the camera, are easily distinguishable.

The answer of the American whose intelligence is insulted should be "Talk sense!" The truth is, millions of Moslem Algerians dread rule by a terrorist FLN, or employ by another Algerian. They are also standing up to be counted, in a "fanatic thrust to keep their privileges". If the number were not great, never would a Moslem, recognizable by his neighbors, risk being photographed in such a demonstration! It is the existence of this Moslem mass willing to fight for a French Algeria that makes a bloody civil war almost a certainty. The ignoring of them assures a rude awakening for America.

LIKE A FISH IN THE WATER. If it were as simple as we are told, Salan and his handful of despised Europeans surrounded by hating and hated Moslems, would have been seized and the Europeans engulfed long ago. The grim fact is, a Moslem body-guard fans out as a screen before, behind and around Salan and his "Secret Army Organization" (OAS). That is why they can move freely. Between the Moslems and the officers was a pledge that neither would betray the other. What is almost unknown in our day is that men should keep their word.

Yousef Ben Kedda, leader of the Algerian terrorists and known as "the Chinese", for his admiration of Mao Tse-tung, was given a lecture by Mao on revolutionary warfare on one of his visits to Peking. Mao had only contempt for the itinerant leaders flying from Tunis to Cairo to Rabat, to UN and back to Tunis again, living in fine hotels and enjoying safety, while their comrades at the base did the fighting. Mao called it the "embourgeoisement" that lies in wait for all revolutionaries. "The revolutionary leader", he affirmed, "must remain among the people, at their service. He must be in the mass like a fish in water." Ben Kedda may not have forgotten his friend's advice, but constant defeat in the field preventing his putting it into practice. It is no approval of terrorism to recognize that Salan had following enough among the Algerian masses to steal a leaf from Mao's lecture to Ben Kedda and swim with impunity when his revolt collapsed, like a fish in water, surrounded by a faceless mass, protected by it and the confines of an invisible globe. This is the meaning of the Moslem faces in the TIME picture.

A TELEVISED CBS DOCUMENTARY followed the TIME report at 10:30 p. m. (in New York) on January 26. The theme: France's threat from the Right. The viewpoint was essentially that of TIME, France's United Socialist Party, and the communists.

Realistic NATO allies did not fail to reflect that American press and TV attacks on France's most anti-communist officers, with Algeria as the field, coincided with an inquiry in Washington into the hounding from command of one General Edwin Walker.

The information ministries of three nations particularly menaced by aggressive Russian designs on the Mediterranean weighed the January 26 documentary against information in a file going back over the years, conjecturing on CBS' position in the political spectrum. Here correspondents listed as having dual employment (intelligence and radio or journalism) are studied for inklings as to the tenor of their reports which will be studied at policy-forming levels. The birthplace of FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA in a TV office purporting to be diffusing news was not overlooked, nor the later conduct of its founder.

CBS television viewers were given a picture on January 26 of bad Europeans murdering good Moslems -- European against Moslem, with "fascist officers" in the wings, threatening to destroy France if good Moslems should triumph.

Young Vallon, President of the National Union of French Students, appeared before the camera to be interviewed, serious-faced behind his glasses. In halting English, he expressed student determination to oppose the threat from the Right, repeated over and over that his students' union was making alliances with "other groups", joining forces with "other groups", to make a stand.

It is only rudimentary in honest reporting that in such a case the interviewer ask, "what groups?". The question was never posed. Vallon's communist connections were never hinted. Bluntly, the other groups with which the National Union of French Students joined forces are the communist labor union, C.G.T. (Confédération Générale de Travail), the United Socialist Party (P.S.U.), which favors a common front with the communists, the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.), and the teachers' union, the Federation of National Education (F.E.N.).

L'Express, an ardent defender of Fidel Castro and co-operation with the communists, also the French paper most widely quoted in America, made a significant report in its issue of October 12, 1961 (an issue in which the feature story is an attack on General Walker and the extolling of Senator Fulbright, for whose constituents no word is low enough in L'Express, obsessed by Little Rock). Said L'Express, "The C.F.T.C. (French Confederation of Christian Workers), will soon drop the last letter of their initials (C, for Christian), in order to recruit more easily among non-communist unionists and particularly among the militant layman of Force Ouvrière." Force Ouvrière is the socialist union organized by American delegates and subservient to AFL-CIO through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in Brussels. To put it flatly: C.F.T.C., infiltrated and taken over by the Reds, is dropping Christian from its name, and the public is told that this is in order to recruit more easily among non-communist unionists!

THE ALLIANCE OF RED STUDENTS AND RED TEACHERS IS EVEN MORE ALARMING. As inflation raged in Paris, word went out through communist lines in all the unions, "Recruit new members!" The Teachers' union with its hold on the intellectuals and some 338,000 members out of France's 360,000 first-degree teachers was selected to spearhead the drive. The battle-plan was flawless. Stage one called for unionized teachers to make a breach with new demands. Civil servants and public officials would use it to obtain similar benefits. Their victories would be exploited to bring in more recruits. Workers in nationalized industries would be drawn into the fight. Private industry would follow. Stage two would be one of tightening the ranks, concentration on workers' benefits rather than political aims, constant reminders that more members would bring more strength. These were the groups with which the students joined forces to paralyze Paris with a 15 minute strike, a trying of the levers, at 11:00 a.m. on December 19. At 6:30 that evening the students' union and its "other groups" massed in the Place de la Bastille, against police orders. Communist agitators came to the front. Time-tried techniques, moving like clock-work, brought the mob in conflict with the police. The objective was attained.

ENEMY NUMBER ONE: THE POLICE. Next day in the National Assembly, communist and extreme-Left Socialists charged the police with brutality, demanded the police chief's resignation. Afoot was a move to assure the communist-dominated Left of police inaction when the street-fighting starts. Students and workers groups in France and draftee committees in the army, set up ostensibly to denounce officials and officers likely to support a heralded putsch from the Right, were in reality geared

to effect the elimination of every potential leader likely to oppose a putsch from the Left. No American television viewer could have guessed all this as he listened to commentators with the ring of authority in their voices throw all the weight of word and picture behind the serious-faced president of a Red students' union. No paper, either in America or France, voiced the apprehensions of thinking Europeans who are neither communist nor fascist, at the installation in Washington of a former CBS Paris bureau chief in a post midway between former CBS chief Edward Murrow and President Kennedy as "the authority on France" when the crisis comes.

THE BIG QUESTION IN FRANCE: Is the slanted campaign a build-up, to prepare American public opinion for American Army and Airforce intervention against the despised fascists, if, as in the case in Katanga, an offensive is launched by France's Left to seize power with an on-paper fascist offensive as a pretext? Such a move could within six months move the iron curtain to the Pyrenees.

LET MONSIEUR JACQUES GASCUEL SUM UP THE SITUATION FROM FRANCE.

Jacques Gascuel publishes PERSPECTIVES DE LA SEMAINE (46 issues per year. American subscription, by airmail, \$15.50. Address: 55, Rue de Chateaudun, Paris 9). It is in its 18th year, covers the world, and is exceptionally sound. Reports PERSPECTIVES DE LA SEMAINE of the rapidly deteriorating situation, in its issue of January 27, 1962:

"Directors of old parties and leaders of the labor unions launch accusations. They are stirring. The non-communist Left, split into factions, is in disorder. The Right, more united, moderate in its language, is worried. It condemns and deplures. To the extreme Left the communists proclaim violent opposition to the regime but are not yet quite ready to go into the streets. On the extreme Right a young group appears to know what it wants and believe the path to power open or about to become so. The O. A. S. (Army Secret Organization), though undeveloped in France, is trying to enlist them. The communist attempt to form a 'democratic front' against an imminent drive by the so-called fascists has failed. Formation of a third force composed of moderate Socialists (the Guy Mollet wing, opposed to co-operation with the communists), the Popular Republican Movement (M. R. P., slightly left of center) and the Independents is possible. To date, however, it has neither form nor voice in the country. The army watches and waits. It is almost 100% anti-de Gaulle but is reserved vis-a-vis the O. A. S., ready to turn towards a nationalist, left-of-center, anti-communist government if such a government should succeed in seating itself and should appear to have a chance of success. The police cannot be counted upon to maintain order in both Algeria and France.

"The government gives the impression of impotence and nervousness, of fearing a showdown with the O. A. S., though Mr. Terrenoire (Minister of Information) accords them no more than 500 members in France. New repressive measures have been announced. Gendarmes on the reserve list will be called up. The number of those interned will increase. Papers will be threatened with seizure and indictments if they publish O. A. S. statements, broadcasts or tracts. The calling up of gendarme reserves is not expected to give the forces of order sufficient strength.

"Barring of O. A. S. declarations from the press is regarded as an admission of the government's fear of both the organization and its effect on public opinion. General de Gaulle remains impassive, soaring above all this. For him the O. A. S. and its

troubles are a passing vicissitude. Informed circles close to the government, however, are disturbed. They see the deterioration as speeding up. The result: setbacks abroad and at home, setbacks of which the country is not yet aware. In such conditions an unforeseen incident can at any moment, by one means or another, bring about the departure of General de Gaulle. Then what? Most believe that after some disturbances the wheels of the constitution will start moving, that the army will assure order. Mr. Monnerville will occupy the presidency long enough to hold an election that will make Mr. Antoine Pinay president of the Republic with Guy Mollet as Premier. Others fear that certain forces will seek to profit by anarchy, will resort to force to install their own regime. Middle of the roaders are increasing, determined to avoid civil war and anarchy, refusing to purely and simply abandon Europeans and Algeria alike since the prospect of that abandonment is the cause of the anarchy."

Monsieur Gascuel foresees Algeria as, if not a French province, a Franco-Moslem Republic linked with France. The present outlook is unclear. Barring a sudden turn of events, de Gaulle appears determined to pull out, with or without a cease fire or an agreement with the F. L. N.; ready to herd the European population by persuasion or force into one or more zones on the coast.

As for the O. A. S. itself, Mr. Gascuel states, "They have never thought of installing themselves in the Elysee Palace (the presidency) by force. Neither do they represent 'fascism on the march'. The extreme statements foisted on the public have only discredited their authors, and the government to the extent to which it has associated itself with them. The truth is, O. A. S. action has created a climate of anarchy which might well make a clash of force possible, but the O. A. S. itself wants neither anarchy nor dictatorship. What does it want?"

"The de Gaulle government believes that Salan's plan is to occupy the large cities of Algeria, which with the forces (European and Moslem) at his disposal, is realizable, then to form an independent Algerian state within the framework of the French Republic. Should de Gaulle sign an agreement with the F. L. N., this Algerian Government would prevent its being put into action, which should not be difficult. An executive body would be formed, composed of Europeans and Moslems -- even F. L. N. Moslems provided that they do not come from Tunis, Rabat and Cairo. France would retain sovereignty over the country, mobilizing a European and Moslem native army that would permit the withdrawal of French forces."

The anarchy being caused in France by the O. A. S. is believed a move to demonstrate the complete impotence of the government and hasten de Gaulle's departure, leaving the formation of a government of national union to Antoine Pinay, Guy Mollet and Maurice Faure. Under it the army would end the anarchy, restore order and halt a policy that more and more prominent Frenchmen feel is destined to end badly. Such is Monsieur Gascuel's resume of the positions of the principal actors in a drama that may hold in its grip the fate of the West. On the basis of his reporting over the past eighteen years, he should not be taken lightly.

WE ASKED A PRIEST WHOSE POLITICAL REPORTS RECEIVE CLOSE ATTENTION IN ROME. "How would you sum it up?" He answered, "Civil war is not impossible. Over 400,000 destitute people have already come back from Indo-China, Morocco, and Tunisia, where they were born. The danger point has been reached. Several hundred thousand more, plus X thousands of Algerians who opted for France, sowing disorder

in France when the throat-cutting starts on their friends and relatives left behind, will be disastrous. It will be worse than the Congo. De Gaulle's policy will make chaos both here and there inevitable. Yet, we cannot blame him. He had no choice. America, UN and his own Left were against him. He had to break out of the encirclement. How could he announce integration of Algeria with France and end the war, as long as France's communist party, extreme-left Socialists, communist unions and a powerful union manipulated by an anti-colonialist American labor delegate were holding a knife at his back? How could he negotiate an honorable settlement, with an American labor delegate sitting at an Algerian's elbow in UN saying, "Don't give an inch", and rallying the new governments of Black Africa to form a bloc encouraging the F. L. N. to raise their demands? And another American labor delegate telling Algerians in Paris and Geneva and Tunis to sit tight, distributing G. Mennen Williams' speeches to prove that the American government was behind them, holding up Senator Kennedy's letter of September 1, 1960, to Habib Bourguiba, as proof that America would force France to yield if they would only hold firm!"

YOUR CORRESPONDENT'S SUMMING-UP: We permitted our labor boys to operate over the world unchecked, when to curry favor with their proteges they knifed our allies. By our silence we let the world assume they were speaking for us. Sooner or later something had to break. It looks like this is it.

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THIS MONTH IT IS AFRICA. In 1960 we called it "Turbulent Africa", quoted the incendiary speeches of our officials, labor delegates and politicians which hastened the debacle. A power struggle and the blood bath were inevitable. Western Europe appraised Russia's intentions and the African threat. Salient factor number one confronting the planners in Defense Ministries from Sweden to the Mediterranean was Russia's stated thesis:

Colonialism in Africa will be followed by nationalism. It will lead to indescribable chaos and following the chaos will come Communism.

THE VIEW FROM EUROPE'S PLANNING TABLES: Moscow's avowed policy is the isolation of America through systematic stripping of her allies before 1967, not conquest by open attack; in other words, Inter-Nato Operation Salami. By March, 1961, so successful had the policy been that Krushchev was able to adjure Warsaw Pact delegates meeting in Moscow to refrain from any overt act in Africa, lest their impatience alarm the West. He said:

Our objectives are being advanced. Communism's best ally in Africa is the West's non-Communist Left.

THROUGH ADROIT PLAYING OF THE ANTI-COLONIALIST CARD, i. e., chaos-bearing nationalism, America was led into estranging France, Holland, Belgium, Spain and Portugal. Russian influence first spread, then crystallized, in North Africa; a Russian descent on thinly populated Scandinavia in the north could grip Europe in a firm embrace by the Soviet bear.

WITH EVERY CLICK OF THE TELETYPE AN ALARMING PICTURE HAS TAKEN SHAPE. In late 1958 AFL-CIO delegate Irving Brown visited Ghana and Guinea. Inflammatory speeches and the planting of an American colored girl, Miss Springer, to merge and agitate on the local scene presaged future excesses. Portuguese Foreign Minister Marcello Mathias alerted Paris on October 3, 1960, to American agitation in Angola. (H. du B. Report, May, 1961), gave details on a trip by Frank Montero and William Scheiman (of AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA) for the purpose of contacting Angolan subversive elements and assuring them of American support. (Frank Montero is a Vice President of American Committee on Africa; Robert Delson, former editor of The Socialist Call and in 1948 a supporter of Communist Ho chi Minh, is its General Counsel.)

AT PARADOR DE MERIDA, on June 20, 1960, General Franco told Salazar of the contacting of Spanish underground opposition leaders by undercover agents of the State Department and the American support such feelers were depicted as signifying when enlarged upon in incendiary reports to the Spanish masses. Over Franco's head, and our bases, now hangs the threat of Russian guided missiles, standing poised in Morocco. Qualified observers agreed: Anything that has happened in Africa to date was mild compared to what is to come. Here are the factors:

NASSER IS SICK, WEAKENED BY DIABETES AND UNDERMINED BY SET-BACKS, but he is also desperate. It is still too early to write him off. He saw himself as the natural leader of North Africa's Arabs and the rightful master of Africa's Blacks, regarded as cattle by most Arabs. Creeping conversion of Black Africa to Islam became his vehicle; Negro pilgrims to Mecca were diverted to Cairo through scholarships to Nasser's indoctrination centers. Fathia Ritz, the light-skinned wife of Ghana's N'krumah, was specifically provided by Nasser in 1957 to be Egypt's agent. Guinea's Moslem president, Sekou Toure, became a Nasser tool. Africa was the stake, and each leader's diatribes against "Balkanization" stemmed from a desire to keep it packaged, for easier assimilation by himself.

Felix Momie, leader of the Union of the Camerouns People, before his poisoning in Geneva, was to have launched an Egyptian-backed reign of terror, partly financed by Russia, which

would have brought the Camerouns into the Cairo-Conakry-Accra camp. In Tunisia, Salah Ben Youssef was slated to replace Bourguiba and become a local viceroy under Nasser, in a vast Afro-Arabian empire, but Bourguiba dealt with the threat in true Bourguiba fashion: His private secretary, Zergaioun, leader of Tunisia's Black Hand, took a plane for Frankfurt, via Zurich, on August 11, 1961, accompanied by a hired killer named Ali Aourak. Three days later they returned via Rome. Ben Youssef had been quietly killed in a Frankfurt hotel, and Interpol prudently concluded that it would be foolish to ask Bourguiba to extradite his own killers.

Within America a troublesome, anti-White, Black Moslem Movement holds riot squads ready to launch street demonstrations in New York. The idea: To force police action under the eyes of anti-White UN delegates whose orchestrated protests would then bring African anger down on America's head. Guinea's delegate, Maraf, supplies the funds. Nasser, Castro, Krushchev or Adoula reap the benefits, as Nasser's exigencies of the moment decide.

NASSER'S BRAIN TRUST: Johannes von Leers, Hitler's former Arab Affairs expert, directs and co-ordinates Nasser's Intelligence, sabotage and assassination program. It is run with German efficiency, has lines through Switzerland, East and West Germany and provides the intelligence experts of the whole Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) which Nasser hopes to lead in his play for African-Islam domination and an eventual triumphant Holy War against Israel.

DEUTSCH ARABISCHE GEMEINSCHAFT, the parallel political Arab-German organization, met in Mainz as recently as February 11, 1962. Purpose of the Mainz congress was to bring Germany into Nasser's game by presenting German-Arab friendship as the factor that will bring about German reunification. The theory: A grateful Islam, under Nasser, victorious in Algeria, will then help re-unite Germany. It is an invitation to the two Germanies to out-do each other in supporting Nasser now.

BOURGUIBA SEES AFRICA AS HIS. His country is the poorest, smallest, most backward on the coast. The Algerian terrorist army camping in Tunisia outnumbers Tunisian forces by a good three thousand men. Yet Bourguiba's position is better than it looks. AFL-CIO is behind him, with unlimited money, mass communications, and the boast that it can guarantee American support. The financial and material support of Italy's oil king, Enrico Mattei, was secured by Bourguiba, Jr. when he was ambassador to Rome. Mattei, more powerful than the Gronchi government, has his own fleets of tankers. His planes operate from private air-fields, unhampered by customs agents and police. Alliance with Mattei brought arms, money, and the oil agreements that led Bourguiba to lay claim to some 8,000 square miles of Sahara oil fields he regards as automatically his after Algerian independence (namely the fields developed by Sahara Esso, Petropar and the French Petrole Company). Mattei, it will be recalled, is Russia's European agent in the project to drive America and Britain from the world market by dumping Russian oil at cut-rate prices.

BOURGUIBA AND DE GAULLE HAVE ONE THING IN COMMON: The plans of both are contingent on de Gaulle's destroying General Salan's Secret Army Organization and all forces fighting for a French Algeria. Accordingly, de Gaulle has agreed to continue financial aid to Tunisia until July in return for Bourguiba's promise to make no more trouble at Bizerte in the meantime, the modern French naval base whose electronic tracking devices cover all submarine and air activity in the Mediterranean and which Bourguiba has promised Mattei for his refinery. When de Gaulle has removed Bourguiba's obstacles in Algeria, after paying for a free hand to do so, the dog-eat-dog struggle among North Africans will start. Tunisia's claim to 60% of Saharan oil resources will not go down easily with her voracious neighbors. Standard Oil of New Jersey will be given some crumbs to keep America in Bourguiba's corner until the Mattei-Russian combine forces it out, which will be when Bour-

guiba no longer needs Washington.

BOURGUIBA'S TRUMP CARDS are American support, and oil revenues to come. From Rome Bourguiba Jr. was dispatched to Washington, to cultivate President Kennedy. Moroccan and Algerian obedience is obtained by holding up American support as a personal Bourguiba asset. And he can come up with a letter from President Kennedy any time he wishes to back it. It was to Habib Bourguiba that Senator Kennedy, while a candidate for the presidency, wrote, on September 1, 1960, that the Algerian problem could not be considered an exclusively French affair, and that America would see to its internationalization -- as though decolonization were an end in itself and peace in North Africa would thereafter be automatic.

TO COUNTER NASSER'S MACHINATIONS IN GHANA, GUINEA AND THE CAMEROUNS, Bourguiba undertook to underwrite revolt in Angola, Portugal's large colony in South Africa. It is not by accident that Holden Roberto, representative of the Angola terrorists, is at UN on a Tunisian diplomatic passport. (At the same time visas are denied to Moise Tshombe, of Katanga, and Dr. Nguyen ton Hoan, whom the anti-Communist Dai Viet Party of South Vietnam has been trying to send to America.) It is also a clue as to why Jay Lovestone, Labor's lobbyist at UN, and the pro-Bourguiba press have directed a barrage against Portugal. Briefly, Angola, when and if Bourguiba makes it independent, will be his operations base in the fight for Black Africa. Holden Roberto is Bourguiba's pawn to counter Nasser puppets in Ghana and Guinea. Mongi Slim, the wily Tunisian of Greek descent, protects Bourguiba's interests at UN. His brother, Taieb, is Bourguiba's "foot in Moscow". It is a two-brother team.

TO SPELL IT OUT IN SIMPLE TERMS, the struggle in North Africa is a prelude to the struggle between Arab and Negro, in which America and the Red world will be played against each other. India's aspirations and big business' attempt to grab concessions (supported by UN action in the Congo) are passing phases; both will go when the blow-up comes, leaving not a trace of their role in preparing the fury.

INTELLIGENCE, THE EYES AND EARS OF DIPLOMACY. The networks of many powers are deployed in the areas at stake. Before moving to the political powder keg of the Congo, let us look at the information sources on which the opposing players operate. How much does our government, to say nothing of our public, know? Are we groping in the dark, or are we being led knowingly toward the isolation from all allies which Moscow desires by 1967?

RUSSIA has her sleeping cells, with a foundation of native communists in each country. But there exists another complete and, literally, world-wide network, for which America pays most of the bills without deriving any of the benefits, and of which the American public has never been given an inkling.

TURN THE SPOTLIGHT TO UN. Suez brought us "Mr. H's Army", and UN took shape as a framework for "world government", with channels for diplomacy. An integral part of governments and armies is an intelligence service. UN, though you have never been told so, has one. It is headed by a Norwegian, Colonel Pior Egge. Behind him, faceless, are the Communists who rose through UN to do the filing. Sprawling associated agencies serve as carrier bodies for UN's intelligence mill -- UNESCO, ILO, the World Health Organization, and even UN's own federation of war veterans, based at 16 Rue Hamelin, Paris, with a former top-level Japanese agent as its Information Chief. This network is preponderantly American-supported, but Russia and the Afro-Asiatics receive all the benefits. Under the noses of a West whose eyes are carefully protected by wool, the intelligence rings built up by Mr. H. silently co-ordinate information, control communication chains, compile economic

and military data, disseminate propaganda. To justify a UN attack on Katanga, this network blatantly labeled a defensive plan of their opponents as "offensive". So much for UN Intelligence.

BOURGUIBA'S INTELLIGENCE SET-UP enjoys Communist co-operation when their aims coincide. He may or may not receive assistance such as UN gave Adoula in the Congo. His Black Hand is mainly terroristic. The intelligence, sabotage and assassination specialists Nasser's ex-Nazis trained for the Algerians form a potential Fifth Column in Tunisia where many have infiltrated Bourguiba's services. Taieb Mehri, head of Tunisia's National Guard, supplies intelligence reports favoring his own policy, namely, a pan-Arab coalition against Israel, under Bourguiba. Driss Guiga runs Bourguiba's German-type secret police and courts American confidence by dressing and talking Western. America's highest ranking officer lives in Driss Guiga's sumptuous house at Carthage. Many think he is being used as a pipeline to Washington for planted information. The Union of Tunisian Workers, organized by an American delegate, serves both Bourguiba's intelligence lines and ours. The difference is, it advances Tunisia. As of last fall, Tunisia is in the Belgrade (Titoist) "non-committed" but pro-Communist camp.

HOW MUCH IS AMERICA BEING TOLD? A lady in Indiana wrote Senator Albert Gore (D. Tennessee), Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on African Affairs, requesting information on American involvement in a huge syndicate hoping to exploit concessions in a Congo-dominated Katanga, and even UN Delegate Adlai Stevenson's involvement with a member corporation. Senator Gore replied, "I am glad to inform you that there appears to be virtually (emphasis ours) no truth whatsoever in this imaginative account."

The diamond mining concessions of Templesman & Sons were written off as not pertinent, since they are in Kasai Province. "We have no information that Adlai Stevenson is in any way connected with Templesman & Sons" the senator concluded. He further stated, "I have been unable to obtain any information about a company by the name of INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN CORPORATION", adding, "While there have been rumors started about the financial operations of the late Mr. Hammarskjold's brother, to the best of our knowledge that gentleman's interests are confined to Sweden."

IF SENATOR GORE, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, cannot obtain any information on INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN CORPORATION (IAAC), and sincerely believes the reports quoted by his correspondent are "fanciful", then it is certainly our duty to put before the senator what is common knowledge to all of our NATO allies.

ONE: TEMPLESMAN AND SONS. True, their diamond concession is in Kasai, but Kasai's SOCIETE MINIERE DU BECKE, like Katanga's UNION MINIERE, is paying its taxes and royalties to the local regime (approximately \$12 million a year) instead of to the Leopoldville Government, a fact that makes Kasai "next in line" for Katanga treatment. MINIERE DU BECKE (known as Mibeka) and its subsidiary company, SOCIETE MINIERE DE BAKWANGA, anticipate a UN-manuevered fleecing, and the gradual eating away of their concessions by a member of the international syndicate (which includes IAAC). Royalties and taxes will thereafter be paid to Mr. Adoula's government, issuer of the new concessions. The logical heir to MIBEKA's diamond mines: Templesman and Sons. Adlai Stevenson's law firm is reliably reported to have represented Templesman and Sons.

TWO: INTERNATIONAL AFRICA AMERICA CORPORATION: A tangled thread to follow! Briefly, IAAC was incorporated in Delaware in 1953 to exploit concessions in Liberia. Its New York office is at 52 Wall Street, in the office of the law firm of CLEARY, GOTTLIEB,

STEEN AND HAMILTON. The Hamilton of this firm is Fowler Hamilton, current chief of American aid. On assuming his American aid post, Mr. Hamilton resigned from the board of directors of IAAC and was replaced by his law partner, Mr. Steen. IAAC transferred its Liberian concessions to a firm called LIBERIAN AMERICAN-SWEDISH MINERALS CORP. (LAMCO) in return for a million class B shares of LAMCO stock, and Mr. Johnston Avery, former Point-4 Program chief, became both a director of IAAC and President of LAMCO (according to IAAC's 1960 report). We are still in Liberia, mind you. Then IAAC made a deal with a Swedish group, which included Swedish LAMCO, Grangesberg-Oxelosund & Co., and a number of other corporations, and the new lineup became known as "The Syndicate". IAAC put in 500,000 shares of its stock towards backing the million class B shares floated by the Syndicate. Head of Grangesberg-Oxelosund is Gustav (Bo) Hammerskjold, Mr. H's brother. Sture Linner, UN's operations chief in the Congo was formerly Grangesberg's chief engineer. Sven Schwartz, head of Syndicate corporation firm, BOLIDEN, was among the mining heads anxiously watching UN's crushing of Katanga from a Leopoldville hotel. IAAC may say it is interested in Liberia, but the Syndicate with which it is inextricably (and all but incomprehensibly) enmeshed has interests which only a UN victory would further in Katanga and Kasai.

By another hocus-pocus of shares, IAAC gave Canadian-incorporated LIBERIAN IRON ORE, LIMITED (LIO) half a million shares of its LAMCO stock in return for half a million shares of LIO. LIO's Vancouver office (untaxed in either America or Canada) then became the head office of IAAC.

As things stand, the ousting of Belgians from the UNION MINIERE, now running Katanga mining operations, would bring all the wheels to a standstill. That, and penalization for paying royalties and taxes to Tshombe, could put UNION MINIERE out and members of the Syndicate in (perhaps under UN administration, which would be profitable to UN also).

IT IS WORTH NOTING: Adoula was labor leader in the Congo, which helped stack the cards against Tshombe. American Ambassador Gullion's role is yet to be thoroughly examined. Rumors or announcements of American aid projects in Liberia, Katanga, Kasai or the Congo will boost you know what stocks. A few international operators may make a clean-up. (The corporation heads watching the Katanga invasion expectantly from a Leopoldville hotel almost equaled, man for man, the "mercenaries" against whom UN and our American press were ranting).

It should be of interest to Senator Gore that Sahara oil and Katanga and Kasai mines may not alone finance the holocaust in Africa, but they are the stake and they will ultimately finance the great coalition against us.

THIS REPORT IS LONG. Its importance impels us to write it for your, and Senator Gore's, understanding of the events to come.

* * *

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