

ITALY: SICK PENINSULA IN A COMMUNIST LAKE. That, briefly, is the forecast from all the indications at hand. One of the myths foisted on a fatuous post-war America by our aid dispensers abroad was the theory that when workman drive their own cars to work they will cease to be communist. Italy is proof to the contrary. Not only that, but here we have an example of a workman become billionaire opening Europe to Russian economic invasion. This workman's name is Enrico Mattei. He is the most important man in Italy today. Italy's position and his ambitions may decide the fate of the West.

GEOGRAPHICALLY AND HISTORICALLY, ITALY IS AT THE CROSSROADS. In the first place, the Mediterranean into which Italy projects is slipping from Western control. Albanian missile sites across the Adriatic and Moroccan airbases to the west present a closing ring of encirclement. A pro-communist Algeria will further bolster Italy's native communist party, already the richest and most powerful in western Europe. In effect, the Italian government is faced with forces ready to come to the aid of Italian communists if a show of strength is necessary.

One of the pet aims of Italian communism has been more power for regional parliaments. This would permit the establishment of local governments in the provinces of Venetia, Friouli and Julienna capable of opening the door to neighboring Yugoslavia. Sicily is an island dominated by a gangster Mafia organization which no Italian government has been able to wipe out and the leader of which is a senator. So disorders in Sicily could mean the massing for invasion from Albania. Troublesome minorities keep the Tyrol area taken from Austria at the end of World War I in constant turmoil. Once the above factors are taken into consideration one can begin to understand the importance of what is referred to as:

ITALY'S OPENING TO THE LEFT. Italians call it "l'apertura a sinistra". What it means is that Signor Fanfani's Christian Democrat government is attempting to form a league with the extreme Left wing of Italian socialism which is led by a man named Pietro Nenni. Signor Nenni, instead of leading the opposition, will hereafter, as long as it suits his purpose and for a consideration at every step of the way, pledge his party's votes to the support of Signor Fanfani. Signor Nenni's socialists are Marxist, anti-church and opposed to all compromise. The Christian Democrats of Signor Fanfani are devoutly Catholic and anti-communist. It is a political marriage that cannot last. To say that the Fanfani government, dependent on Nenni support for its existence, is on unstable ground, would be putting it mildly.

Neighboring France watches Italian developments apprehensively and describes what is taking place as "a little Popular Front", in painful memory of Leon Blum's alliance of communists and socialists in the mid-thirties which undermined France on the eve of World War II. Why "little"? Because Mr. Fanfani is not leaguering his Christian Democrats with the out-and-out communists of Signor Togliatti, but with their cousins, the particular socialists of Mr. Nenni, who act communist, think communist and vote communist behind a socialist label.

ITALY'S FUTURE - AND EUROPE'S. The summing up of most European observers is that Italy may be the blotch that will rot the West European apple. To make any appraisal of the prospects ahead a close scrutiny of all the factors is necessary. As things stand, the present leftward slide is all but unopposed. The previous Pope was an aristocrat, adamant against any yielding of ground. Pope John XXIII is a man of the people. For a time public apathy was dispelled and the press girded itself for a fight when Cardinal Ottaviani lashed out against Christians ready to align themselves with materialistic

atheists. The Cardinal's attack evoked no echo from above and the Fanfani-Nenni alliance was accepted as inevitable. Any effective attempt to oppose it at this point would be stigmatized as "fascist", a term used to mobilize leftists in all western countries against communism's enemies. Threat of civil war and outside intervention would be unnecessary to insure a communist victory. The communist vote was 35.2% in 1956. By 1960 it had risen to 38.9%. Signor Togliatti, the communist leader, is extremely satisfied with the government's dependence on Mr. Nenni's socialists because it means that from now on the Italian government will be under mortgage to him (Togliatti). He will be the arbiter, dictating Mr. Nenni's votes through the labor unions that link them.

PIETRO NENNI RAISES MANY QUESTIONS. He is 71, round-faced, bespectacled and ruthlessly ambitious. His father worked on the estate of a noble family as caretaker, his mother was a nurse in the household of another family, the Ginasi. Young Pietro acquired a thick skin in the jungle of his particular class and age. When his father died the Signora Ginasi put him in an orphanage from which he emerged eleven years later a revolutionary. Strikes, demonstrations and the street riots set up by labor unions were his meat. Then came Mussolini and it was exit Nenni. Twenty years of exile, from '24 to '44! The Nenni that returned was an accomplished Marxist who knew all the answers. It was the immediate post-war period of communism's big bound forward. Without any other consideration, moral or idealistic, the communists and socialists of western Europe were struggling for power. In France a Red leader named Thorez, who had deserted and fled to Russia during the period of Hitler-Stalin cooperation, was making use of his recent pardon by de Gaulle. A communist named Palmiro Togliatti became Minister of Justice and Nenni the socialist Vice President in Italy. In both countries the communists could have seized power, but Stalin held them in leash. Russia did not yet have the A-bomb, and Roosevelt and Stalin had divided Europe into two zones of influence. The last thing Stalin wanted was to give America cause for intervention in France and Italy, or a separate peace with Germany, until Russia had her bomb.

A brutal communist assault with its possible reaction from America was accordingly ruled out. Orders came from Moscow to concentrate on infiltration and subversion for the moment, and so it was that France and Italy escaped the fate of Czechoslovakia.

NENNI'S PARTICIPATION IN THE TOGLIATTI COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT caused a split among Italian socialists in 1947. It was the classic socialist procedure. Once a Socialist Party reaches a certain strength the tendency is invariably to divide, with those unwilling to collaborate with the Communists remaining where they are, and those seeking communist cooperation sliding farther to the left. In Italy the moderates followed a man named Saragat; Moscow's disciples stayed with Nenni, still clinging to the socialist name but serving Stalin.

When Togliatti's communist government fell, Nenni fell with him. Since then he has been among the "outs", always in the opposition. Under the new alignment his political exile will be over. Nenni will be supporting Fanfani's Christian Democrats by voting with them, or at least not voting against them. The cost of whatever Fanfani pays for this support will be borne by Italy, and beyond Italy the west.

Today Nenni controls 84 deputies in Italy's lower house, Saragat only 18. The Christian Democrats have been weakened by scandals, corruption in high places and all the abuses endemic to Italian politics. In the Chamber, out of 596 representatives, the Christian Democrats managed to elect only 273. Only in the senate does Fanfani still have a majority. From now on it will be Nenni's votes, obtained by under the table dickering before

each show of hands, that will decide the fate of any motion in the Italian House. It means that Moscow's directives will guide Italy's destiny.

This brings us to Mr. Mattei, the billionaire, most powerful man in Italy, without whose assistance the present socialist rise could never have taken place.

#### ENRICO MATTEI, RUSSIA'S BUSINESS PARTNER IN EUROPE AND NORTH AFRICA.

Mattei is 56, childless, able to lay his hands on a thousand billion lira, but living in a hotel instead of a home. For an America completely uninformed concerning this Titan looming on the European horizon a bit of biography is necessary. His rise can be easily explained: He was nimble-witted; he had a great capacity for work; and above all else, he knew how to use the disorders of the post-war world to advance himself.

Mattei was one of five brothers. His father was a policeman. At 14 he was varnishing metal beds in a factory; by the time he was 30 he had made himself an engineer and set up his own plant manufacturing chemicals for a tannery. Then came the war. It opened a new door to him - the underground. Arrested twice by the Germans he escaped both times. When Italy was liberated his companions of the underground became his personal following and he went into politics, got himself elected to the Chamber on the Christian Democrat ticket. Until the post-war Minister of Finance assigned him the job of liquidating a small, state-owned corporation set up by Mussolini to prospect for oil and then forgotten, Mattei was just another Deputy hovering around the ante-rooms of ministries. His express orders were to close the books and get the on-paper corporation out of the way. Instead, he took a long chance and re-organized it under himself.

ENERGY WAS THE PROBLEM OF ALL THE COUNTRIES IN EUROPE. Italy was worse off than most. Coal was non-existent. Oil and natural gas were almost as scarce. Seven great combines divided the world oil market among themselves; five of them were American, one was British and the other Anglo-Dutch.

Mattei realized that energy means power, industrial and financial, for both men and nations. From then on his cards were coal, oil, natural gas, lubricants, and in the background, atomic energy. It was through the state-owned oil company he had resuscitated that he proceeded to play them.

The first blow he struck was directed at the American strangle-hold on the Italian oil market. The price was prohibitive for Italy's economy. Mattei sized up the situation and realized that what was setting the price was not supply but the exorbitant demands of American labor, forced on Italy by means of a monopoly among the big 7. With his corporation as an operating body, he estimated that a billion dollars invested in the Middle East would bring in more oil in a year than \$24 billion could produce in America - - but that would take time. Meanwhile, Italy needed oil. He started buying from the Russians at half price, thereby making Russia his ally in the petrol war against Britain and America.

His next step was to start purchasing from America's and Britain's own Middle East producers. Once his right to purchase was tacitly recognized and his distribution facilities working, he turned to exploring and drilling. He offered the Arabs 75% as against America's 50%. Within Italy itself he uncovered deposits of both oil and natural gas.

FOR THE FIRST TIME ITALY BECAME INDEPENDENT OF THE BIG-7. Of the 8.5 million tons of crude Mattei refined in Italy last year 38% came from Russia and 26% from Egypt. Russia is at present number 4 of the world's oil producers, but can refine only some 80%. Pipelines were necessary. Accordingly, in 1960, Mattei closed a deal for

240,000 tons of steel tubing in return for 12 million tons of Russian gasoline delivered over a period of 4 years. By the Mattei-Moscow time-table the big dumping is due to start in 1965, at 1930 prices.

#### MATTEI'S PERSONAL POSITION IN ALL THIS IS THAT OF A SOCIALIST-CAPITALIST.

Actually he is an Italian government employee, a functionary - - but a functionary that wags the government. The more than a hundred power, gas and petrol companies he controls are state-owned. His direction of them is by special appointment of the Council of Ministers, and there is no chance of that appointment being rescinded. Over 2000 Italian industrialists are dependent on Mattei for natural gas. The storage tanks, pipelines and fleets of tankers feeding his outlets are all firmly in the hands of Enrico Mattei. One of his largest plants is in Ravenna near the slum area where he was born. The next logical phase of Mattei's horizontal expansion was the development of a great complex of oil, grease and chemical refineries. Motels and factories located throughout the Mediterranean basin followed. A foray into the rubber industry threatened the great Pirelli.

#### TWO CONSIDERATIONS INSURE MATTEI AGAINST ANY ATTACK FROM THE REAR.

One is the brutal economic fact that he is Italy's golden goose. He can make or break a government. Just as a precaution, however, to keep things that way, he saw the value of political power and a good press. Where Mattei needed a paper he bought it outright. The election of some eighty deputies to the lower house was financed by Mattei alone. The Christian Democrat federations of Milan, Florence and Avallino are controlled by him. Gronchi, the President of Italy, defers to Mattei. Most American bankers know of the Swiss loan of 1961 that came to the aid of the dollar, but few know that a credit of \$50 million was opened in Rome for the American treasury on the insistence of Enrico Mattei - - a debt that could have been avoided, as European financiers point out, by simply eliminating the leakage of \$25 million a year that will be paid by the United States to the World Development Corporation for the next three years as its commission on American aid obtained through it for Iran. (One of the partners in World Development Corporation is the brother of N. Y. Senator Javits.)

STRAIGHTENING OUT THE TANGLE OF ITALIAN POLITICS must of necessity proceed from a starting point of "What does Mattei think?" And Mattei appears to have concluded ten years ago that the Western ship is sinking. Hence the advancement of Pietro Nenni. President Gronchi will run for re-election, after which he is likely to dissolve the Chamber, the equivalent to our House, and call for a general election. Consequently, Catholic senators and deputies are courting the Left, while both Nenni and the moderate socialist, Saragat, are trying to lull the Catholics. For Gronchi the "opening to the Left" is his price for election support by Nenni's socialists. The moment of decision will come in June. Italy's clearest tendency is away from the Atlantic community and toward Moscow. Mattei's conviction that the West's decline is accelerating has undoubtedly dictated it. Germany will be the first victim of Italy's change of policy. France's reaction will be touched upon later in this report.

NENNI'S PROGRAM WILL BE: Nationalization of industry, wrecking of private monopolies and the end of the industrial complexes that gave Italy her post-war comeback. Mattei has nothing to fear from this, since his own empire is state-owned and he is theoretically only a State-appointed director, though no one else could possibly edge him out. On the contrary, the Nenni program would probably permit Mattei to gobble up more chunks of private Italian industry.

Nenni would end all secrecy for banks. The large land-owners would be stripped. To the CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Milan's largest newspaper, the future appears grim. "The

opening to the Left," its editor states, "will not end the struggle of ideologies and traditions. Its only result will be a series of maneuvers under the table, with each party, and inside the parties each faction and trend, seeking to cheat each other, while all, by mutual agreement, deceive the nation." The unknown factor that may out-pace President Gronchi's calculations, and Mattei's, is the Nenni electorate scattered throughout Italy, in villages far from Rome. Here the voters are adamantly against any compromise with the church, and if trouble does not come with the election it will come later. After that, the question paramount in America will be: How will the Atlantic Alliance make out in a home where one parent is Catholic and the other openly communist?

PRIVATE INDUSTRY IS DIVIDED, dependent mainly on the degree of Mattei's hold over it in the domain of energy and Nenni's via labor. It is a power struggle all the way. Fiat's 80,000 workers in the Turin plant alone brought Italy's greatest automobile producer into the Leftist camp. Olivetti's typewriter and adding machine combine lined up. Montecatini Chemicals (65,000 workers), Viscosa synthetic textiles (15,000), Marzotto the wool king and Rizzoli the publisher joined the phalanx, though the latter was only lukewarm. The Pirelli tire company (22,000 workmen) is making a back-to-the-wall fight for the old policy of "anything to bar the road to communism", knowing that they are in for a stripping if they fail. Pesenti the cement maker and the 15,000 employees of Falck steel mills are sticking with Pirelli.

THE FIRST RESULT OF MATTEI'S THROWING IN WITH THE EAST AGAINST THE WEST, from all indications, will be an upset in the political line-up of the Mediterranean world that will change the global picture. To a large extent America is responsible for this, by her playing of the anti-colonial card to woo violent Africa: Mattei realized that our policy was assuring the collapse of the Western supremacy in the Mediterranean, and the logical move dictated by that conclusion could not fail to have far-reaching results elsewhere.

The first and most important of these results is France's new policy in the Mediterranean. Mattei, it will be recalled, began his fishing in the troubled Arab waters by outbidding America and Britain in the Middle East. It was only reasonable that repeated assurances of support and final victory for the Algerian rebels should draw his attention to the rich plum of the Sahara. Mattei's fleet of planes, flying from Italian fields unencumbered by either police or customs control, was a precious asset, and Tunisia's appointment of Bourguiba, Jr. as Ambassador to Italy was primarily for the purpose of negotiating with Mattei. Mattei offered money, political support, a transportation system and a direct supply of arms; the Tunisians and Algerians could promise in return the oil fields and bases which they would take from the French. By September, 1960, a joint Tunisian-Italian refining corporation had been formed and Bourguiba agreed to evict the French navy from Bizerte in return for Mattei's promise to build a refinery there, capable of handling 1,250,000 tons of oil per year. This was followed by the formation of S. I. T. E. P. (Societe Italo-Tunisienne d'Exploitation Petroliere) to operate the oil fields of the Sahara. Part of Mattei's bargain was a promise that he would guarantee Russian assistance and Afro-Asiatic support of Bourguiba's claims. There was no threat to the Mattei-Bourguiba alliance and its implied purpose of carrying Arab North Africa into the Russian camp through Mattei's tie-in with the Soviets - until March 2, 1962!

THE BOMB-SHELL: DE GAULLE'S PEACE WITH THE ARABS. On de Gaulle's part it entailed the elimination of the best elements in the French army and the throwing overboard of 1,200,000 Frenchmen along with Algeria, but the reaction was immediate. Overnight Cairo liberated the French diplomats whom Nasser had been trying as spies. Libya lifted her boycott against France, and talk of a Mediterranean Pact with the blessing of the Arab League filled the air. From Rabat to Cairo France was presented as a possible

new center of polarization in the Mediterranean. What the sensational development amounted to was the possibility of a new political formation that would include Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia if possible, The Maghreb (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco), and perhaps a chastened Italy, with Mattei temporarily overshadowed by de Gaulle. Neutralism would be the climate of this new alignment. It would be a jolt in NATO's solar plexus.

WESTERN EUROPEAN POLITICAL OBSERVERS are reasoning thus as this is written: Washington will accept the situation, preferring a neutral Mediterranean world dominated by de Gaulle to the possibility of a communist one under Left-leaning Italy. America should have anticipated a readjustment of alliances when they underwrote the Algerians and made French surrender in North Africa inevitable. Loyalty to an alliance also entails loyalty to allies.

A further blow to American liberals and the press that has glamorized the Algerians all these years came from FLN leader Ben Bella when in late March he was given a conquering hero's return in an American plane. Said he, "100,000 Algerian soldiers are available for war against Israel if Syria wishes to continue the fight." This meant that, put to the test, France's treaty with Israel might soon go overboard also, to be replaced by an unstable African alignment made logical by seven years of "liberal" voting by Cabot Lodge in UN and by AFL-CIO agitation in North Africa.

Irving Brown, the principal architect of American Labor's policy of fomenting and supporting North African revolts against France, to the advantage of the Mattei-Soviet oil combine, was on March 22 assigned to represent free world labor (The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) at United Nations. In 1956, when questioned about the possibility of just such a move as Ben Bella has now made, Mr. Brown assured the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, at a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, that he had personally directed North African nationalism into "channels of democracy which have destroyed the totalitarian forces of the Arab world and made for unity between the Arab countries and Israel."

THE PHASE NOW OPENING BETWEEN FRANCE AND AFRICA is the most important development since World War II. Actually, it may be the realization under de Gaulle of the neutralist bloc that Tito dreamed of in 1955. How long it would last is another matter. It is de Gaulle's play for world power; he would be at the center of the balance between East and West. If successful, it would repose on the shakiest of foundations - the shifting loyalties and emotions of North Africa, where intrigue is a racial trait and any pledge is a form of politeness.

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Dear Reader:

There are so many things your correspondent wishes he could sit down and discuss with you in personal conversation, let's deviate from the usual procedure this month and sacrifice brevity for the sake of a less formal approach to what is happening, just as though we were talking. Across Paris, a couple of miles from where we are sitting, UNESCO has just held its 61st Executive Council meeting, which Russia and her supporters dominated. The principal theme was a drive to grant admission to UNESCO to nations not members of UN. Of course, this meant East Germany and China. It would be a sort of entry into UN by the side door. And propositions approved by this lop-sided UNESCO and then pushed through UN would have the binding power of treaties on member nations such as the U.S. It doesn't look good to us.

GENERAL RAOUL SALAN is being tried in the Palais de Justice, about two miles to the other side of us as this is written. Communists, radical socialists and the labor unions are clamoring for his head, as well as General Jouhaud's, though in the last week or so, as it became increasingly clear that none of the guarantees extracted from the Algerian rebels will be worth their weight in paper once the French pull out, about 55% of French public opinion appears to be against execution. That notwithstanding, chances are extremely good that the French Left will be handed Salan's head at least on a tray, like John the Baptist's.

Though he has magnanimously pardoned hundreds of Algerians guilty of the most heinous crimes, General de Gaulle is ruthlessly unforgiving where his own enemies are concerned. Salan demands that his defense go back to May, 1958, and the events that brought de Gaulle to power, with a further back-flash while the spotlight is turned on the January, 1957 plot to assassinate him with a bazooka in Algiers. When captured in 1958, Dr. Kovacs, the bazooka firer, confessed that the plot had been set up by a committee of six headed by de Gaulle's own later Premier, Michel Debre. The government is adamantly limiting the trial to Salan's actions since April, 1961, the period favorable to itself, hoping to end it before events indicate that the defendant is to be executed for trying to prevent de Gaulle from being wrong. Army officers called as witnesses for the defense are denied permission to testify.

A FACELESS, INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL GROUP referred to as the Bilderbergers is converging on Stockholm for another of those secret, yearly conferences of which we sheep are not informed, much less consulted.

St. Simon Island, Georgia; Buxton, England; Geneva, Istanbul and Canada have been hosts to the Bilderbergers. In spite of stringent security measures, such as temporarily replacing the personnel of the hotel where they stay with their own crew, usually a partial list of those attending leaks out. For their 1962 reunion they appear to have chosen the month marked for a rash of disturbing events around the world.

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, the scene of Russia's most smarting defeat and for twenty-six years the target of American liberals, is smouldering. Revolutionary activity has been stepped up in Portugal. In Spain 60,000 Asturian miners launched a wave of strikes on April 23 that crossed the country like a brushfire. The situation in Southeast Asia is deteriorating rapidly - - and inevitably - - as we and others have been telling you over the past five years. The day is approaching when our country will rue the meek permission given to public relations men to hand out their own propaganda as "news".

So, Dear Reader:

Having delivered the last two ponderous reflections, let us get on with our letter. It has

been more than four years since H. du B. REPORTS started reaching out for you on the premise that those who accepted your subscription checks and newsstand coins were not being honest with you. Many conservative publications keep you informed on what is happening at home. Ours is, we believe we can say honestly, the only watchdog you have abroad, written by an American and with information sources painstakingly built up over the past thirty years.

Sometimes your docility makes us wonder if you want information. Our countrymen come over here and read the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune on cafe terraces, because it is in English and looks like something from home, but we have never seen one ask what the small letters, OFNS, mean at the bottom of many feature stories. It makes one wonder if you mind buying an "American" paper and being handed the liberal, British OB-SERVER FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE line.

For an example of the sort of vituperative propaganda even our long-established agencies give us these days in lieu of news, you should go back, now that the dust has settled, and study the senseless incitement to anti-white racism ASSOCIATED PRESS obligingly distributed for correspondent Andrew Borowiec, filed from Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, on September 29, 1961, during the height of the UN campaign against Katanga.

The idea that yesterday's news is dead should be tossed out the window; so-called "news items" which are invalid deserve no 24-hour statute of limitations. It is the misleading accounts of yesterday's events, such as AP handed you instead of honest reporting, that are leading us to our downfall. Another abuse to which the American reader is vulnerable is the quotation from the foreign press, supporting some correspondent's point, but with no indication as to the political position of the paper quoted.

L'EXPRESS IS THE FRENCH PAPER MOST FREQUENTLY OFFERED YOU ON A PLATTER. It is a weekly, founded in 1953 by the Servan-Schreiber family. Politically, it is the standard-bearer of the extreme socialist-Left, that faction of French socialism led by Pierre Mendes-France and committed to all-out cooperation with the French Communist Party and unions (as opposed to Guy Mollet's socialists who reject any connection with the Reds at all). Communist influence and infiltration was inevitable. A publications dealer on Third Avenue, in New York, pushes L'EXPRESS as "the leading liberal paper in France today". It has also been Fidel Castro's most staunch supporter, save that on October 12, 1961, it took up the cudgel for Senator Fulbright and against anti-Communist (i. e., fascist) officers such as General Walker, in the American Army.

LE MONDE, usually described as Paris' "diplomatic journal", runs a close second. It is dangerous in that, like New York Times, it is Left-wing, flagrantly slanted and misleading, but clothing its undeviating policy in a false front of dignity and conservatism that inspires confidence. FRANCE-SOIR, Paris' leading evening paper, is socialist and often described as "Le Monde in working man's clothes". FRANCE OBSERVATEUR, under indictment for leaking information to the enemy at the end of the Indo-China war, was, along with L'EXPRESS, relieved of all charges when Monsieur Mendes-France came into power. Think of FRANCE OBSERVATEUR as L'EXPRESS in metal worker's garb. FIGARO, Paris' leading morning paper, is pro-government, no matter what government. Change the names, and FIGARO'S April, 1942 reports on de Gaulle and the Resistance co-incide, word for word, with its April, 1962 reports on the OAS in Algeria. Often there are contradictions. Nicolas Chatelain, FIGARO'S Washington correspondent, did a series of five reports on "The bug-bear of the American Right" (May 7 to 11, 1962), extolling the American Left that from



post-war Indo-China to present day Algeria has underwritten every movement and leader making trouble for France, and describing the only friends France had during those years as overgrown children with too much money. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., quoted in the Congressional Record of July 27, 1953 as having written that "the present system in the United States (1946) makes even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia" (then under Stalin), is described by Mr. Chatelain as "one of the most brilliant subjects of the New Frontier", defending the rights of America's "extremists and fanatics" to make fools of themselves if they wish.

PARISIEN LIBERE is probably the daily most hated by French communists. It is anti-communist, read by the working man, which the Reds cannot forgive. AUORE is left-of-center, middle class and respectable. NATION FRANCAISE (7 Rue Cadet, Paris 9, \$14 per year, airmail to America) is a Right-wing weekly (monarchist) with a high literary standard. CARREFOUR (114 Champs Elysees, Paris 8, #13 per year for America) is Gaullist of the Resistance. (It was de Gaulle, not CARREFOUR, that changed). Jacques Gascuel's PERSPECTIVES DE LA SEMAINE (55 rue de Chateaudun, Paris 9, \$15.50 air-mail to America) is a sound, well-written weekly covering world events, without illustrations, advertising, or government pressure applied through large-scale purchases for Information Service handouts. AUX ECOUTES (17 rue d'Anjou, Paris 8, \$12 per year for America) is the week's crop of corridor confidences, leaks and gossip from government ministries, foreign embassies and public figures. (H. du B. REPORTS will transmit checks from subscribers wishing to subscribe to French publications.)

LES DOCUMENTS POLITIQUES, DIPLOMATIQUES ET FINANCIERS, published monthly at 16 Boulevard Montmartre, it is interesting to note, asks \$11.25 for its book on Russian Secret Service and Espionage in 1958, and \$23 for its book on American Secret Services in Central and Eastern Europe.

THE WAVE OF SPANISH STRIKES mentioned at the beginning of this letter is a matter we wish we could discuss with you in detail and then leave it to you to take up with Mr. Dean Rusk. Stalin once affirmed, in his "Principles of Leninism", that Russia's aim is "dictatorship of the proletariat in a country, revolutionary movements in all countries". Since the end of World War II American liberals have been scurrying over the world applying Leninism's second precept and assuring you that each mission accomplished was another victory because we got there before the Russians. First it was Black Africa and Algeria, now it is Portugal and Spain. Italy, France and Central Europe will come next. For months European intelligence sources have informed their governments that clandestine strike committees of the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) in Brussels and the communist nerve center in Prague were racing each other to tighten contacts with Pedro Lamata's Phalangist union in Northern Spain. Time was important because Spain seemed about to enter the Common Market. That entry had to be blocked at all costs. The climate was propitious. Admittedly, inflation was soaring and Spanish salaries were too low. Workers were discontented. But Spanish coal was already all but priced out of the European market. A wage hike at this moment could topple Spain's fragile economy. Admission to the Common Market, on the other hand, would strengthen Spanish economy and permit gradual wage increases which would remove the trouble potential both Western and communist labor groups were determined to preserve. Accordingly, both groups simultaneously voted for disorder in Spain as the surest means of preventing liberalization. Lack of liberalization would then be used to bar Spain from the Common Market. Britain's SUNDAY TIMES correspondent, Gerald Osborne, reported out of Bilbao on May 12 that the unrest which started in Spain in January may have been non-political, but by April and early

May the strikes were too well organized to be spontaneous. The leaders, he stated, were socialists, not communists, "who have the support of European trades unions".

French Left-wing students were sent into the streets on May 11 to show their solidarity with the Castro-like student groups demonstrating in Spain, one of which clashed with Madrid police on May 7 and turned out to have one American in its ranks. Simultaneously the flames were being fanned in Portugal and Angola. In Italy the Christian Democratic Party, which has led the country since the war, was so divided by the recent lowering of the barriers to the Left that it took nine rounds of voting to come up with a new President. This means that if the Christian Democrats disintegrate any further, Italy's Communist Party - 35% of the country's electorate and almost 2 million dues-paying members, the most powerful subversive force west of the iron curtain and in close contact with communist leaders in Africa and China - will take over. France has been conditioned for chaos by the classic road-clearer for Red advances: The psychological upheaval that follows defeat. The effect in this case has been more devastating because the political surrender was imposed in spite of continuous victories in the field. It is worth noting, if you will watch the next phase of developments in Europe closely, that from time to time, as the terrain is being prepared, a test-probing takes place in the form of strikes. This is a sort of skirmish prefacing a general offensive.

THE EUROPEAN STRIKE is worthy of a thesis by itself for Americans taught, erroneously, to believe that strikes are sociological reactions generated by injustice for the workers.

Today, both in America and Europe, the strike is a political weapon, the objective being to break a company's, an industry's or the government's will to resist the pressure of organized workmen. The tactics of rule-by-strike differ according to the parliamentary system of the country, but let the reader have no doubt about it, the disorders sweeping Spain today and being prepared for Portugal, Belgium and France are run according to a time-tried and letter-perfect handbook which covers every phase of the strike in political warfare with the thoroughness of Clausewitz laying down rules for a battle. The prime example set forth in the revolutionary handbook used by socialists and communists alike comes from TECHNIQUE OF A COUP D'ETAT, written by a man named Malaparte in 1931. Herein are all the rules for government take-over by paralysis.

Bear in mind, in Europe's parliamentary system the aim of strikes, such as Belgium's metal workers' union leader Andre Renard touched off in December, 1960, and Spanish coal miners' leaders are running now, is to force the government to resign, from premier down through all the ministers, and install a labor government of their own. In America it is not a fight for immediate government survival, but rather a demonstration of labor's power to throw the incumbent office-holders out at the polls if they do not continue on the job as labor's boys.

MALAPARTE TAKES FOR HIS EXAMPLE GERMANY under the socialist, Bauer, in 1920. The Director-General of Agriculture, Herr Kapp, was apprehensive of the steady slide to the Left, and solicited the aid of General von Luttwitz and the army to arrest it by shaking off the socialists. Bauer and his theoreticians were ready for them. They immobilized the country by nation-wide strikes. Reuther, Hoffa and Bridges could do it with impunity in America today. It took just four days of tie-up to bring Kapp, von Luttwitz and Germany to their knees, and Germany was on her way to the end we know.

Marxism's heavy artillery, the strike machinery, has been kept well oiled ever since. In America, since no major strike has ever been lost and government pressure has never yet come to the rescue of management, there has been no need to destroy the pretense of

just representation. Renard is a Walloon and he lost his destructive play for power in Belgium in 1960 because he failed to bring the Left wing of the Flemish unions into mob action. Now he is preparing to attack from another angle, to create an internal conflict between Walloons and Flammands, impose division of the country into two confederate states as the price of peace, with himself inheriting the leadership of the Walloon half.

IN SPAIN it is too soon to know if this is the main battle, timed to coincide with disorders in the rest of Europe, or merely a trying of the levers, like the current series of short-term, rotating strikes in France. There are certain aspects, however, that should be pointed out. Gerald Osborne, of London's SUNDAY TIMES (in no way connected with THE TIMES of London) is an extremely intelligent and conscientious observer and probably had his own reasons for stating no more than that European trades unions are pulling the strings in Spain's labor troubles, which are primarily directed against General Franco, and at a time when Spain's entry into the Common Market hangs on the balance.

There are any number of reasons why Osborne did not go further. British conservatives had just suffered a setback at the polls, and a hue and cry from the American Left and the ICFTU would only give British Liberals ammunition. Yet Osborne was aware, as were most of the considered thinkers of Europe, that the Spanish strikers had no cash reserve and were receiving funds from somewhere. Small shipments from the French Communist Party were intercepted at the frontier, but the major financing was coming from elsewhere, and in the light of information coming out of Brussels two seemingly unrelated events began to take on importance:

One. Mr. Irving Brown, AFL-CIO Delegate to the ICFTU in Brussels, and leading revolution-sower in North Africa, was hoisted upward to represent "World Labor" in UN on the eve of the Spanish outbreak. To give him an out if ICFTU is charged with financing and directing the Spanish disorders, or to be on the right spot at the right time to synchronize a UN drive against Franco and clamor for internationalization a la Katanga if it appears that Franco is winning, is the question. It may be both.

Secondly, Mr. G. Mennen Williams' declaration of May 29, 1961, just a year ago, before the 4th Annual Labor Conference at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, stands out. Said Mr. Williams, "Our own unions have brought both moral and material support to the struggle of the young unions of Africa, either directly or indirectly through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." It is the African breakdown that is boomeranging over Europe. Brussels, which, indirectly, as Mr. Williams stated, means AFL-CIO, and Prague seem to be vying for the honor of exporting student-labor Castroism into Western Europe. The West has everything to lose by permitting Spain to become the battlefield in a socialist-communist struggle.

About the only constructive observation your correspondent can make on this rainy Paris day which the mailmen have chosen as their turn to bring the wheels to a stop is that if it is too early to get UN out of America, you might start at the bottom and get certain Americans out of UN. Devin-Adair (23 E. 26 St., New York) has published an excellent book on Walter Reuther in which you will find enough material to start a file on Jay Lovestone, whose job it has been to regiment the delegates of Afro-Castroism in the halls of UN. Irving Brown you know. If we could oust them and replace Adlai Stevenson with a conservative we would not have to worry about getting UN out of America.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent James H. Ball, Managing Editor

AN AIR OF ANTICIPATION HUNG OVER EUROPE AND THE WEST AS JUNE APPROACHED.

Newspaper comment dwelt on Wall Street's reaction to angry use of the FBI to regulate the price of steel, the fate of Generals Salan and Jouhaud, and Washington's pressure on Germany's Adenauer to play with the Macmillan lad instead of the boy next door, de Gaulle.

FRENCHMEN HAD TROUBLES OF THEIR OWN TO CONSIDER: They had voted de Gaulle special powers to settle the Algerian affair any way he wished, but as the pitiful stream of homecoming refugees swelled from around 3000 a week to 40,000, with 250,000 a month anticipated before the end of June, Frenchmen who had voted "Yes" in de Gaulle's referendum were awakening to a tragic situation they had not bargained for. The "big colons" - wealthy European land-owners - who had been held up by Senator Mike Mansfield and UN as examples to justify FLN barbarism, were found to be non-existent. Instead there was a human tide of little people fleeing assassination, leaving everything they possessed behind in the hands of devoted Moslem servants who themselves expect to be killed when the French are gone. Farmers, old people, children and weeping mothers tried to cheer the Moslems they were leaving with promises that they would be back. Both groups knew it was hopeless; the partings were heart-rending. Thus was Algeria being prepared for a "plebescite of auto-determination."

Ex-President Rene Coty had said at Mulhouse in 1957, "Do not count on us (his government) to make a second Alsace-Lorraine in Algeria. How, without dishonoring herself, can France deliver these populations (Christian and Moslem) to the mutilators of so many men, so many women, so many children?" Now he was preparing to testify for the defense at the trial of General Salan. Cabot Lodge, who had encouraged and supported the murderous FLN in the UN and therefore helped to make this bitter exodus inevitable, seemed far removed; He had gone on to the secretary-generalship of The Atlantic Institute designed to "create good will through helping the free people realize the long range aims and ideals they hold for all humanity."

THE SALAN TRIAL: How can one describe it in a world where the basic concepts of justice have become fuzzy? The attorneys for the defense were playing for Salan's life, with the cards stacked against them. 133 witnesses had been called; they got 44. Admiral Ploix appeared in full uniform, announced that the Defense Ministry had expressly forbidden all men in French forces to appear for the defendant. (Minister of Defense Messmer had been denounced in an OAS tract for having made a fortune operating brothels and gambling houses in Indo-China.)

General de Pouilly, who commanded the Army Corps in Oran in April, 1960, and whose refusal to join the revolt precipitated its collapse, came of his own accord. His subpoena had been sent and intercepted, and it was only by reading a daily paper that he learned that he was expected. Said de Pouilly sadly, "With or without Salan the revolt would have come. It was not of his doing. It was the doing of a whole people who in their entirety felt themselves abandoned. There were two roads to take. One may ask why General Salan chose revolt. I chose discipline. Choosing the path of discipline I also chose to share with my countrymen and with France the shame of abandonment. Perhaps history will find his crime less grave than ours."

General Jean Valluy, former NATO commander for Central Europe, expressed his sadness at seeing a great leader in the defendant's box. "It is for us a shameful thing," he exclaimed. "I ask myself how we came to this, for I am not going to shield ourselves by putting the terrible things with which we reproach him (Salan) on his head. We must look further and higher. For each of us stands accountable for what has passed and for what still more

terrible is to come in Algeria. What exists in Algeria and what became worse after the arrest of the moderate leaders is that a certain OAS (Army Secret Organization) was able to come into existence and to remain the expression of a refusal - - but a refusal that existed before in the innermost souls of our compatriots, and that they are killing each other today in a folly of bloodshed which started by their being killed and by man's letting them be killed to the last survivor. "

A hush settled over the court. Coming from General Valluy, who, like General de Pouilly, had never wavered from the path of discipline, few could avoid any longer the soul-searching Valluy had experienced. Weighing heavily on the courtroom was the recollection that OAS terrorism had been preceded by FLN terrorism in which over 30,000 Europeans were brutally massacred and mutilated, given no consideration in UN's grave concern for "all humanity" or even in Paris' insistence that the mutilators lay down their knives before approaching the negotiation table.

The verdict of life imprisonment, unexpected even by de Gaulle, and the crowd's unrestrained joy at the sentence were indications of de Gaulle's weakening position. There had been a miscalculation: The hand-picked High Military Court selected to execute Salan, not to try him, had had a conscience. Under a storm of Olympian anger the High Military Court was summarily dismissed, like so many office boys who had not done their work, and a new High Court appointed. France was shocked by the realization that separation of executive power and judiciary power had ceased to exist. One Paris paper timidly observed that it was by ignoring the constitution and going over the heads of parliament, directly to the people, that Hitler and Mussolini had tightened their grip on their countries' jugular veins.

OUTSIDE OF FRANCE THE CHANGE OF CLIMATE WAS GENERALLY IGNORED. One reason was that the people were not told that it existed. London's SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, which usually passes for conservative, published on May 27 a report of the Salan trial by Claude Cockburn. Ranging from snide humor to undiluted vitriol, Cockburn sneered at Salan's tears and his attorney's physical characteristics, then destroyed the woman lawyers on the defense panel, characterizing them as beautiful girls who smelled delicious but who, politically, stank. Of the details of the trial, nothing. That communists and extreme socialists alone denounced the verdict and defense battery as fascist, not a word. Because Salan, like most officers who served in Indo-China, was said to have smoked opium from time to time, Cockburn made him a "drug addict". The New York Herald Tribune lamented that "murderer No. 1 only drew life imprisonment while murderer No. 2 drew a death sentence." The extenuating circumstances which swayed the court found no echo. There were hints that if parliament and the judiciary did not give de Gaulle the heads he was claiming he would only by-pass them and go directly to the people.

AN OMINOUS RUMBLE FOLLOWED when Paris papers relayed State Department's pronouncement that "humanity recognized no attenuating circumstances in the brutality of the OAS." As the nation which was being torn apart saw it, there would have been no OAS had certain Americans not condoned, spurred on, and even financed the brutality of the FLN.

GENERAL JOUHAUD WAITED IN HIS DEATH CELL AS THIS WAS GOING ON. A firing squad had been ordered on June 1, then sent back to quarters while the Court of Cassation debated whether or not the extenuating circumstances granted Salan justified a review of Jouhaud's sentence. The request for review was rejected. Of the more than 450 Algerians sentenced to death by French courts, not one had been executed. Letters from America piled up by the hundreds in Paris newspaper offices, pleading clemency for Salan and Jouhaud, though no report of their existence ever reached the public. The excuse of the anti-de Gaulle press was that they feared publication of such letters would lead to Jouhaud's

being shot outright. De Gaulle's clemency is his last hope.

THE BACHAGA BOUALEM, LORD OF THE OUARSENAIS REGION AND 35,000 FIGHTING MEN, was whisked away to exile on May 19 in a French plane, and the area that he had kept free from FLN penetration was handed over to terrorists on a platter. Still Deputy in the National Assembly for Orleansville (Algeria) and Vice President of the French Senate, the tall, dignified Algerian arose before the Assembly on June 6 to say, "For the past eighteen months my place has been among my people. Today I come to ask you what you have done to us. After my father I have served France these fifty-six years. I lost a son. I have been loyal to the end. Alone, we fought the enemy. We won, and you disarmed us. We defeated the FLN, and you abandoned the field to him. You are allowing him to cut our throats. We had to go away, with rage in our hearts. Behind us rose the flag of the FLN. We left our soil and the men with whom we fought."

The Assembly listened in silence as the Bachaga continued in a voice tight with emotion, "It is in their name that I speak, in the name of those men to whom France and her Chief promised that they would be French forever." He told the Assembly that ten Europeans are being held in the Casbah of Algiers and asked what they were going to do about it. Starting at the far right and going as far as the Socialist benches, applause shook the Assembly when the Bachaga ended with, "Three choices remain in my followers: To die by FLN bullets, to commit suicide, as some have done, or to go underground and fight. It is not a matter of only saving them, but also the honor of a country." If the full import of surrendering an Algeria that had not been lost in defeat was only beginning to dawn on France, all knew that it is in the Middle East that the last chapter will be written.

#### ALREADY WAR CLOUDS WERE GATHERING OVER THE JORDAN RIVER.

The agreements of 1947 placed Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee) within Israel territory. Syrian troops entrenched on the cliffs guard a quarter of its shoreline, looking down on Israeli outposts in the narrowing finger of land between Syria and the sea. Here a rock tossed from the Syrian positions on the cliff or a shot fired by a bored soldier can start a war.

Israel plans to divert water from the Jordan River to irrigate the Negev Desert. How much they do not say. On behalf of Washington, whose river it was not, Mr. Eric Johnston suggested that they take 400 million cubic meters per year, or roughly 40% of the river's flow. Arabs are convinced the entire fresh water flow of the Upper Jordan is due for diversion, but they add that even the loss of 40% would increase the salt content of the Lower Jordan to a point where it would be unusable for irrigation.

JORDAN, SYRIA AND EGYPT, divided on other points, have announced that they will take action together. About 77% of the river's flow comes from Lebanon, Syria and Jordan and 23% from Israel. Worse, Israel controls the Upper Jordan which pours into the natural reservoirs, Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee. The fresh water springs are in the north, the salt water springs in the south. It is from the sweet water section in the

north that Israeli pumps, installed in underground stations well inside Israel territory, will draw water for the 200,000 thirsty acres near Beersheba. Only one Arab action would be effective: Invasion. For Israel, where the water table is lowering, the project is vitally important.



JORDAN'S KING HUSSEIN, ruling over a turbulent land enflamed by both Nasser and Kassem propaganda and poisoned by the presence of thousands of refugees, has also come up with a project. He would divert the Jordan's main tributary, the Yarmouk, before it plunges through six miles of Israeli territory to the Jordan River. It would take ten years and cost 50 million pounds sterling. The North Jordan Valley would be irrigated, but, if Israel also goes through with her project, the Jordan would shrink to a briny trickle and the Dead Sea would become Death Valley. Some hundred UN observers on the spot wring their hands, weigh Israel against the mounting Arab vote in the General Assembly and stall for time. Time will run out in 1963 when the Israel pumps start functioning. From that moment world peace will repose on nations that are, at best, unstable.

A SMALL GROUP IN LEBANON ushered in 1962 with an attempted coup d'etat on January 9. It was badly planned. The Syrian Popular Party directed it and Lebanon's suppression was brutal. What is this Syrian Popular Party? A clandestine movement thirty years old. Two of its members sit as deputies in Jordan, two in Syria and one or two in Lebanon. Their aim: A "Greater Syria", comprising the Syria of today, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait. Their field of operation, a Near East where intrigue and plot and counterplot are part of the breath of life.



SYRIA MADE HISTORY A FEW MONTHS LATER. Gunfire pierced the darkness on the night of March 17. To the Israelis doing the firing it was only another milk run, a hit-and-withdraw reprisal raid in reply to sporadic Syrian fire from the cliffs, to teach the Syrians a lesson. For the first time the procedure did not run true to form. The Syrians had had time to train and were waiting. In principle every Arab in Israel is a willing spy, and it is in the area around the Sea of Galilee that they are most numerous. Israeli tanks, arms and wounded were left behind. The greatest casualty was the myth of Israel invincibility, for it may hasten the explosion in the Near East. Damascus was jubilant and the Syrian army rode

high on its victory, achieved without Egyptian aid. Ben Bella, the Algerian rebel newly liberated from French confinement, offered 100,000 combat-hardened Algerians if Syria would go on with the war.

WITHIN SYRIA ALL WAS FAR FROM PEACEFUL. It was Nasser's inflammatory propaganda that led Syria into union with Egypt in the first place. Disillusionment came when Egyptian officers and functionaries poured in by the thousands. The economy, built up by smart Syrian business men, went out of the window, toward Egypt, and in exchange came a plan to make Syria an agricultural province and reserve industrialization for Egypt. The September 29, 1961 revolt that shook loose the Egyptian grip was led by Dr. Mamoun Kouzbari, a son of one of the five great families that top Syria's ruling class. After a first senseless dispatch of parachutists Nasser took it with good grace. He knew his Syria. Once a government is installed, no matter what government, it becomes open game for plots to install another. While Dr. Kouzbari set to work restoring the economy milked dry by Egypt, Nasser contented himself with radio diatribes and subversion. The pro-Egyptian secret police network installed by Syrian Colonel Sarrej was still intact. The socialist Baath Party and the communists could be counted on to make trouble. From Iraq Kassem denounced Nasser, King Hussein and Ben Gurion alike.

Kassem could not subjugate his Kurds at home and it was only by leaning on the pro-Nasserites that he controlled the communists, and by leaning on the communists that he kept his pro-Nasserites in hand. However, he threatened action if anyone else intervened in Syria.

Nasser wrangled with Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the oil sheiks, and plotted to assassinate Hussein, Kassem and Tunisia's Bourguiba. Bourguiba with unctuous oriental politeness wrote Nasser of the infinite pain his Syrian setback had caused him, while continuing to plot the assassination, successfully carried out, of Nasser's protege, Ben Youssouf.

TEN DAYS AFTER REPELLING THE ISRAELI INVASION THE SYRIAN ARMY MOVED AGAIN. General Zahreddine, strong man of the army, was not in on it. Seven officers, on their own, rolled into action at 2 A.M. on March 28, and the army that had seized power seven times in thirteen years was in politics again. President, prime minister, ministers and most of the country's parliamentarians were tossed pell-mell into prison. Parliament was dissolved, the previous leaders were charged with compromising Syria's future relations with Egypt by too close relationship with Iraq. End of Act 1.

The junta found itself face to face with reality. Having ousted the government, they had no valid body with which to replace it. A few elite troops and the seven officers stood alone. Some units remained loyal to the deposed government; others clamored for the old Union with Egypt. In the fringe areas it was anarchy. In the south the Djebel Druse began talking of independence. In Djeziria and Haouran the bedouins were stirring. The Kurds in the east began talking of uniting with Kassem's rebellious Kurds. Kassem, profiting from a Syria-Iraq mutual defense treaty signed on February 23, threatened to march in and restore order. So did Israel.

Nasser, who had never forgiven Kassem for having oil money with which to finance the rebels in Algeria, gave his agents the full speed ahead signal. Some 400 pro-Egyptian officers calling themselves the Committee of Free Officers seized Aleppo in the north. The extreme wouthern corner of the country, occupied by the Djebel Druse and the Haourani, threw in with Aleppo. In Homs, midway between Aleppo and Damascus, pro-Nasserites and nationalists fought in the streets until troops from Palmyra threatened to blow both of them out of the town if they did not stop. President Nazim Koudsi was, literally, begged to come out of prison and set things back in order, which he did.

Out of the night of wrangling that followed in the name of "negotiations" a number of facts emerged. The seven officers who started the crisis were not disavowed, but they were given \$3,000 apiece and sent on a trip to Switzerland. General Zahreddine and Nasser's mortal enemy, Colonel Assassa, stood unscathed as the strong men of Syria. And the pro-Nasser "Committee of Free Officers" was given a promise of an eventual plebescite to approve a "new and improved form of federation with Egypt"; just how close was left unstated.

PEACE RETURNED. Then, on April 3, in Aleppo, Nasser agents raised the old United Arab Republic flag, re-launched the revolt, and demanded the promised plebescite then and there. The score-settling and violence commenced anew, and again, as he had in the Moussoul revolt he inspired against Kassem, Nasser let his supporters be wiped out without lifting a hand.

WHAT SYRIA AND THE NEAR EAST LEARNED from the week of revolts and counter-revolts was this: By becoming a political machine the Syrian army had split itself. Because of its divisions it could not govern without civilians. 57-year-old President Koudsi and all his cabinet, brought back to the presidential palace from prison, knew it too. It was the external threat that brought army and government together. Iraq and Egypt were about to carve up the country. Turkey and Jordan had moved troops, threatening to come to Syria's aid if Iraq or Egypt crossed the border. By common accord, General Zahreddine and President Koudsi, deadlocked in struggle an hour before, went on the air together to announce that Syria's troubles were Syria's internal affair and no one else's business.



Kassem echoed it an hour later. Russia took it up. Koudsi picked up the reins again and the Near East settled down to its accustomed life of precarious balance.

The counterweights are delicately adjusted. A jolt may destroy them. The breathing spell may last a month, six months, a year, or the explosion could come tomorrow. Israel, the common enemy, can bring them all together over night, will bring the Syrian Popular Party's dream of unity into being when the inevitable jolt comes. Independent Algeria, imposed on a betrayed France as "a move toward peace", is henceforth a vital factor in the unstable world we have described. Liberty to join in a Near East holocaust is one of the rights of an independent North Africa.

THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS: As Nasser polished plans for his personal "Arab Socialism", out of Syria, on June 7, came Syrian Prime Minister Bachir el Admeh's call for a greater and more powerful all-Arab federal union to be headed by Syria, Egypt and Iraq, the enemies of three weeks before. In Iraq, for the first time, rebellious Kurds (demanding federation status within Iraq, not complete independence) appeared to be ganging up on Kassem. These are the Balkans of World War III.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
James H. Ball, Managing Editor

IT IS SUMMER IN EUROPE. A surface calm spreads over cafe terraces and ministries. Succeeding waves of tourists replace inhabitants who have rushed to the seashore, both determined to let nothing interfere with their vacation. Storm signals? The tourists do not see them. The natives reply, "We'll worry about that in September!" It is this seasonal apathy that makes summer an ideal time for the fall explosion's build-up. The gap widens between the man-in-the-know and the man-in-the-street because the latter is more determined not to be bothered.

HERE IS A ROUGH PICTURE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING. It is a period of behind the scenes manipulation, country against country, opposition against government, and UN adroitly playing the world keyboard in preparation for events this fall. Physical possession of the media of mass communications--radio, television and press--permits government and its agencies to increase the preponderance of misinformation given to the public. The errors committed thereafter are brought about, not by government, but rather in response to the demands of public opinion. Thus nations are immobilized, populations conditioned for referendums that by-pass parliamentary procedure, and the desires of those with access to the microphone become irresistible. Repeat the same thing, simultaneously, in a dozen countries, and the artificially created wave is called the trend of history. Examples making up the activity pattern in this summer of 1962 are too numerous to mention. Let us take a sampling at random.

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES ABOUND. June 22-24, the 7th Federal Conference of the French Communist Party was held in Paris for a great re-forming of ranks after the victory in Algeria and a general fixing of sights on the party's next objective. A few miles away, at Nanterre, French Red leader Maurice Thorez sat in a huddle at a victory dinner with the Algerian Communist Party's secretary-general, Larbi Bouali. They discussed leap-frog tactics to help each other toward power. The term used was "plans for Franco-Algerian co-operation toward the establishment of Popular Democratic Republics". They predicted a popular referendum to take France out of NATO before mid-1963.

Ignoring the spirit of jubilation permeating both meetings, Mr. Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, took advantage of his access to the microphone to tell the American people that everywhere communism is in retreat. French Reds told their European colleagues that despite minor differences they and Mr. Cleveland were in agreement on the necessity of admitting Red China to the UN.

MR. GEORGE MEANY also descended on Paris for a tuning-up with Western Europe's labor leaders. Meany's was a sort of Common Market pep-meeting, the periodic working of the mine to keep American labor's leadership claims clearly staked out and valid. American business' search for new markets, and the establishment of new plants abroad, became "neo-colonialism". Meany told the boys that twenty-five per cent of AFL-CIO's yearly revenues is being used "for activity abroad", and that American wage scales must be imposed in all nations within the Common Market. The new slogan is "peaceful social revolution--redistribution of land"--not war against communism. Keep track of the number of times you see "peaceful social revolution" in the months ahead.

MEANY'S OBJECTIVES FOUND UNIVERSAL SUPPORT. Take the common wage scale idea first: Meany sees it as a round-about extradition agreement with European unions. It will push back into his clutches the American firms that fled to small countries with limited markets. Foreign socialists using native unions as battering rams favor the idea because an abrupt wage raise to American levels would assure mob support. Prices would soar,

firms would topple, popular anger would be directed against the government, and the local equivalent of Reuther or Meany would ride into power. Let this happen in every country in the Common Market and the free enterprise country that falls first will furnish a precedent for the rest. In a matter of months establishment of rudimentary world government, socialist in nature, would be automatic, belying the axiom that politics is not an exact science. America is represented as officially supporting the wage hike to American levels as a means of halting the flight of the dollar. Considering the power of those pushing the scheme and the isolation of those counseling prudence, it is hard to see how it can fail.

PEACEFUL SOCIAL REVOLUTION is the New Frontier's second prong of the same offensive. Translated into plain English, it is adoption of "class war in other countries" as American policy. NEW YORK TIMES, January 7, 1962, approved it for volatile Latin America. It will give local labor leaders mass following as "strippers of the rich". As succeeding levels, working from top to bottom, are stripped, with appropriation of foreign companies taken in stride along the way, the under-developed nations will gradually wend their way toward a universal lowest common denominator. As with the American wage-level offensive, the resulting economic break-down will ruin the country, but the price is not too high to a labor-socialist party intending to remain in power forever, once it gets there. When there is nothing left to confiscate there will still be American aid.

This, as succinctly as we can boil it down, is the pattern that emerges from Europe's succeeding conferences and congresses, from the French Red Federation's debate in Paris to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' conclave in West Berlin.

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE IN GENEVA ALSO MERITS A SPOTLIGHT. An honest intelligence officer, writing a report for a far-off superior, would have written as July drew to an end: The Disarmament Conference was not and could not be negotiated as disarmament alone. From the first it was part of a compound of world tensions in each of which Russia holds the initiative (Berlin, the East German Peace Treaty, Southeast Asia, the Near East.) Therefore, any concessions would have to come from us. Western Europe felt that Harlan Cleveland's false optimism and Walt Rostow's revision of America's defense policies were for the purpose of making palatable to the American people the concessions that were being readied.

We have seen the printed appeals with which the INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' UNION in Prague told the West's student associations (extremely liberal if not outright pro-Red) to organize propaganda campaigns in their respective countries during the disarmament conference in support of Russia. Instead of having a corresponding "secret weapon" in the communist world, America hears the most powerful men around our President telling us that Russia is mellowing.

General Norstad's replacement by General Lemnitzer was regarded as a fore-runner of NATO's conversion into a European sub-office of the Pentagon, a Pentagon directed by civilians whose bulging dossiers in foreign defense ministries inspire only lack of confidence. An ominous contradiction was seen in America's disapproval of a European or even NATO-in-Europe nuclear tactical force, while she herself was preparing for withdrawal from European bases within the next two years.

The last straw, to use the expression of a high French official whose name we cannot quote came with the resignation of General Gavin as Ambassador to Paris. Said he, "Next to Vinogradov, Gavin was the most pro-de Gaulle ambassador in Paris. Now Gavin is leaving and Vinogradov is returning." Your correspondent went to another official whose friendship dates back to the days in post-war China when Monsieur Chanderli, for the past six

years representative of Algeria's terrorists in U.N., was, as a supposedly loyal French official, assigned to close French installations in the China treaty ports, but used the occasion to establish contacts with Mao Tse-tung's agents.

"What do you think of Gavin's departure?" we asked. "Another set-back for Europe and the West", he replied. "None of us expected any good of him when he came. He turned out to be better than we anticipated, but insulating him like rubber on a heavy-duty line was 'the team'. In most ways he is probably as pro-de Gaulle as when he arrived. When a crisis came up we were never able to get to him, but he did see, on his own, that it is difficult to co-operate with de Gaulle. He saw France's relations with NATO grow worse by the day, in spite of all Norstad could do. Gavin watched the French climb, expensive all the way, to nuclear information America gave the British and let slip to the Russians. He was aware from the start of de Gaulle's decision to make his own "rapprochement" with the Russians. And while realizing that American support of the Algerian rebellion and discrimination in nuclear knowledge-sharing made a break inevitable, he (Gavin) did his best to restrain de Gaulle. At the same time he probably minimized French bitterness and de Gaulle's determination in his reports to Kennedy. Because you must remember that Rusk's men and the team coloring the air around Kennedy were holding a knife to his back all the time."

The summing up of other confidential talks: With Gavin's departure, Vinogradov is on the up-swing. Because Gavin tried to include causes in his reports on effects he was accused of being de Gaulle's man. Bohlen is expected to see neither to right nor left of the White House-Pentagon-State Department line. First results of the Norstad-Gavin shake-up will appear in the disarmament talks in Geneva. Russia's demands will stiffen.

LET US TAKE A LOOK AT OPINION IN GENEVA. A ponderous tome could be written by conscientious European civil servants who have seen "negotiators" come and go--a Treatise on the Philosophy of Disarmament Negotiations. Out of it two constants would emerge: (1) The West's representatives have seldom been men of stature. Stassen's appointment was regarded as a sop following his political demise. America's present negotiator is Arthur H. Dean, who from 1946 to 1950 was Vice Chairman of the ill-reputed Institute of Pacific Relations. (2) Paul Boncour's assessment of the problem, when he tackled disarmament for France in the League of Nations almost forty years ago, is as valid today as the day he made it. "There are three elements to disarmament", he said, "and try to change them as you will, their respective order is immutable. The first must always come first and the third must invariably come last. They are confidence, arbitration, and then disarmament. Confidence has to be established; after that an arbiter capable of speaking for his country endeavors to reach an agreement on disarmament."

"HOW ABOUT THIS CONFERENCE?" we asked a diplomat. "A farce, costly, but we all have to go through with the motions," was the answer. "Politicians have to pretend there is a hope, or the people will think they want war with Russia. Russia has never wavered; she refuses to accept international control because foreign observation is synonymous with espionage. Disarmament without quid-pro-quo observation, especially with a country like Russia, is an absurdity. Therefore any progress will come about by America's leaders' success in bringing America to accept an absurdity."

During the week of July 21-28 Mr. Dean Rusk had three private conferences with Mr. Gromyko, each lasting almost four hours. Foreign observers saw in them an indication of Kennedy's political need to come up with any results that might be presented to the electorate as a step forward. West Germans watched the closed door behind which Rusk

and Gromyko were talking and assumed the "advance" would be at their expense.

UN'S SECRETARY GENERAL, U THANT, took advantage of the vacation lull and conference distractions to canvass Europe for support for a reopening of UN hostilities against Katanga if Tshombe does not knuckle under. Britain was hesitant, America (calling it Tshombe's last chance) was all for going ahead. De Gaulle received U Thant for a two hour chat. It was far from cordial; the details, as we have been able to reconstruct them, settled around three questions. Algerian admission to UN was no problem. U Thant's re-election in eight months? "Not if you are going to ask me to support and help finance an operation disastrous for civilization!" was the answer. And that answer brought up question No. 3: UN's policy in the Congo. Lord Home had some hard words with Dean Rusk in Geneva on the matter and Lord Home's stand, for Britain, can be lumped with de Gaulle's blunt statement to U Thant.

America's insistence that UN be permitted to cut Katanga's life-line, the railroad running to Lobito, in Angola, as a means of strangling Tshombe, should be avoided at all costs. Tshombe would have to resist, and U Thant would use this resistance as a pretext for reopening the war against Katanga. The reasons for this could not be more cynical: U Thant knows that Union Miniere's revenues, now paid to Tshombe, would not cover 10% of the Congo's yawning deficit, but they would finance the setting up of a new permanent UN committee to handle said revenues, draining off liberal amounts for UN substructures and propaganda along the way.

Even more damaging to U Thant's case was the confidential report which Foreign Minister Couve de Murville enclosed in the Katanga dossier as a guidance paper. Briefly, the UN Secretary General's own government had made Tshombe's destruction a must. Over 10,000 armed communists were enjoying de facto autonomy in the wooded hills comprising three-fifths of Burma. The Shan states were in open revolt, the Chins, Arakanese, Kashins, Karens and Mons tribes, to say nothing of half a dozen others, only awaiting a Red signal to revolt collectively against Burmese rule. UN support of Sukarno's aggression against Dutch East Guinea might delay the signal; establishment of a precedent in the Congo would surely hurry it. But that does not explain American determination to underwrite Katanga's destruction.

WASHINGTON'S LAME EXCUSE: "Most of the other countries involved in the Congo operation are overwhelmingly in favor of applying American-proposed sanctions against Tshombe." Small justification when one considers the countries. Abbe Fulbert Youlou's Congo Republic, the neighbor immediately concerned, is all for Tshombe. In Angola only the rebels financed by the communists are against him. All of the nations engaged in the UN offensive last fall are compressing minorities of their own bent on self-determination or avidly eyeing areas about to be independent, with an eye to UN and Congolese support in the future.

Black Africa's delegates to UN are regimented and their votes massed by American ex-Communist Jay Lovestone, made AFL-CIO delegate to UN for that purpose. With the admission of Algeria, Ruanda and Urundi to UN, the bloc whose votes Mr. Lovestone can throw leftward will form a clear majority. Thus the under-developed nations of Africa, not yet emerged from savagery and with bottomless appetites; though representing 9% of the population, are able, in the hands of a man described in the Devin-Adair biography of Walter Reuther as "a political adventurer", to dictate the policies of UN. And America goes along because these nations are "overwhelmingly" for it!

Principal enforcers of the American proposal would be Nehru's Ghurkas, recently extolled in TIME Magazine for their ferocity. (They draw their knives only to kill!) These Ghurkas, turned against Katanga civilians last fall to force the dismissal of Tshombe's "mercenaries" --officers and advisors-- are, incidentally, not Indian, but mercenaries recruited in Nepal. UN troops are on an alert basis; vacation time is build-up time for bigger movements in the fall.

AND OVER ALL LOOMS ALGERIA. Says verse 37, Surat 47 of the Koran, "Neither falter nor offer peace when you are the most strong." In this Koran, which is Islam's MEIN KAMPF, Allah is depicted as the most cunning of maneuverers, employing ruses and strategies against the infidel, and the believer is encouraged to do likewise and to be proud of so doing.

So it was that in Algeria, after independence and a victory that was handed to Islam as a gift, everything happened that realistic political thinkers said would happen. The Evian Agreements were torn up as one of the rights of independence; the kidnapping, the torturing of unprotected Europeans and Algerian Jews, began. Ben Bella, in the name of the most strong, ousted the men who faltered and offered peace.

GENERAL CHALLE watched developments from a prison in the predominantly communist region of Tulle. With him were General Zeller and one of the finest soldiers that ever lived, Commandant Denoix de St Marc, likewise serving ten-year sentences for their part in the revolt of April, 1961.

As the chaos spread and Algerian "officials" told the International Red Cross, concerning hundreds of Europeans seized since independence, "Consider them dead; now is the time to look to the future," General Challe had ample time to look back over his written words: "In Algeria the French Army fought, not to maintain a colonial grip, as the world was led to believe, but to colonize in the best sense of the word. There could be no question of abandoning the country to a small faction supported by the East. The aim was rather to raise the Moslems to a European conception of human dignity. In so doing the French Army felt that it was fighting for Western civilization. The entire world was against her, and even the majority of Frenchmen, anesthetized by Marxist and neo-Marxist propaganda. America understood nothing of the affair, the price for which she will some day pay dearly, as will Europe and as will France. As for de Gaulle, it was necessary for him to drop Algeria as a come-on for the Afro-Asiatics if he hoped to aspire to the leadership of super-neutralism. The day France lost Algeria, NATO became an outmoded organization and communism gained its greatest victory of the 20th century.

"Whether French officers are free or in prison, most of them face the fact that in quitting Algeria they delivered that country directly to communism. De Gaulle's noxious Algerian policy was a bait to lure the Arabs, and beyond them the Afro-Asiatics. It was a vain dream from the first, for this neutralist bloc, even led by de Gaulle, will be incapable of constructing. It can only destroy. Behind it is the theory of a "Third Force" on a world scale, playing America against Russia.

"In this game, de Gaulle is not only handing over Algeria. After tearing down all the structures France erected there, and particularly the French Army, he is destroying Europe's unity, the Atlantic Alliance and all the policies the Occident holds in common. His imprisoned officers are opposed on all points to such a policy. The ideal, as they see it, is a Federal French Republic, including Algeria, and a European Federation integrated into a confederation of the West."

PERSPECTIVES DE LA SEMAINE, the Paris political weekly, looked hard and long at the mounting pressures within the Arab world, in its issue of July 28. Said its Arab affairs specialist, "The Algerian struggle having ended in a defeat for the West and a triumph for the Arabs, the latter, as was foreseen, now look toward Israel." Nasser had just launched his fifth missile, constructed by German scientists and capable of bringing Israel under fire from Cairo. Ben Bella, rapidly spreading his grasp over all Algeria, had offered 100,000 Algerian troops for "the liberation of Palestine".

"Israel's only chance", as PERSPECTIVES summed it up, "in the absence of support from the West, which is hardly likely, lies in the anarchy of the Arab world, its tribal conflicts and divisions. Perhaps now Israel understands--too late--that it was in her interest to abstain from supporting, at least by the declaration of certain of her representatives, the Algerian rebellion. It would have been wiser to restrain the ardor of Israeli intellectuals who made themselves the champions of the F. L. N."

The same might be said of America, where in November, 1960, fifty-two U. S. professors (Brandeis, Boston and Harvard Universities, M. I. T.) signed a manifesto supporting the Algerians and encouraging insubordination and desertion from the French Army.

#### AMERICANS HAD RENDERED VALUABLE ASSISTANCE TO THE ALGERIAN REBELS:

Hearst Correspondent Anita Ehrman, who was given a stage-set vacation "in the field" by the F. L. N., and who remained their militant partisan thereafter, passed through Paris in early June, probably to share the victory of her side with Ben Bella. Joe Kraft, given a joy ride by a well-behaved, hand-picked F. L. N. unit, in accordance with his agreement with Mr. Chanderli (F. L. N. representative in UN and architect of the Algerian Accord with Castro) came through with New York Times and Saturday Evening Post propaganda for the F. L. N. which brought him the Overseas Press Club's Award for Foreign Reporting in 1959!

The ink was barely dry on Edward Behr's pro-F. L. N. book when the Algerian mask was dropped. Irving Brown, through whose hands had poured AFL-CIO's money and instructions (called "moral and material support" by Mennen Williams), carried another \$150,000 to his Algerian protegés as the post-independence massacres got under way. Apparently no discredit is likely to accrue to Mr. Jay Lovestone, who had Washington approval for his requests that African governments, particularly the Communist ones, force the UN General Assembly to hasten Algeria's independence "in the interests of world peace".

FRENCH OFFICIALS informed embittered refugees pouring into Marseilles that if they refused two job offers all relief would be cut off. Then came the question: "Where are we going to get 50,000 dwellings before cold weather?" After summer the deluge.

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WHO KILLED THE CONGO? By Philippa Schuyler (Devin-Adair Publishing Co., 23 E. 26th St., New York) is valid in its entirety and should be read by every American whose silence will be taken as approval when the approaching operation to ruin Katanga starts.

-- Hilaire du Berrier.

Mr. du Berrier will be in the United States during November and December, and will be available for limited lecture engagements.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
James H. Ball, Managing Editor

THE MID-SEPTEMBER OPENING OF UN is on us. Secretary General U Thant hurried home from Moscow and points east, after his re-election campaign through western Europe. Facing him was UN's perennial headache which shames the West: Moise Tshombe and secessionist Katanga. America was preoccupied with Russia's advance from East Berlin to Havana, as one by one the components for future violence fell into place. A single truth stood out: That reporter is remiss in his obligation to his readers who does not state without equivocation that any vote concerning Cuba in UN, as it is now composed, would go against America. No gratuitous placing of Tshombe's head on the platter will woo a single African or Asiatic away from Castro. To spoon-banging Africa and Asia, UN is an instrument of extortion. Western Europeans above the socialist level see it as an instrument of injustice, its seat increasingly referred to as "the Temple of Hypocrisy". In stating "it was the will of the majority in UN" America tacitly admits, too late, that most UN decisions were a mistake; yet the campaign to strengthen UN continues, comparable to a petition by King Priam of Troy to enlarge the horse.

THE KATANGA CASE about to haunt us started in late July, 1960. Disorder from Patrice Lumumba's Congo, already plunged into anarchy, crossed industrialized Katanga. The Katanga Provincial Assembly was aware that 14 million Belgian francs had been remitted from a communist bank account in Switzerland to finance Lumumba's pre-independence election campaign. Violence was Lumumba's principal weapon for driving out the Europeans. His tactics included a stream of false reports, imaginary plots, resultant massacres and rapings, followed by denials in UN that any European had been harmed. An Italian consul was killed in the first riots exported to Katanga, and the stampede of panic-stricken Europeans started. In a matter of hours 10,000 people crossed the frontier into Rhodesia, a few miles away. Jadotville, center of the cobalt, copper and uranium extracting plants, was emptied. Workmen laid down their tools in Kipuski and Kolwasi. Shinholobwo's uranium-extracting center was pillaged by rampaging soldiers leaving a string of brutalized women in their wake and taking hostages with them. Without foreign engineers to keep it running the great industrial complex known as the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga ground to a stop.

WHEN THREE TONS OF LETTERS HAD PILED UP IN THE LEOPOLDVILLE POST OFFICE Kasavubu cabled Dag Hammarskjold that Lumumba could not govern. Lulus and Balubas were hacking each other to pieces in Kasai, Equator Province had slid back into barbarism, and Tshombe called a conference of tribal chieftains. In Washington a journalist asked Mr. Herter, "This Tshombe is a Belgian puppet, isn't he, Mr. Secretary?" Mr. Herter did not reply.

What Tshombe told the chiefs was, in brief: "The only wealth we have comes from the plants (Union Miniere). If they stop, we starve. The industry is Belgian. If Belgians do not run it, someone else will, unless we close down. Better stick to the technicians we have. We know they can do the job, and in the end they will be less troublesome than those UN and Leopoldville would foist on us." As a result of Tshombe's good sense the Lumumbashi chimneys continued to smoke and the copper trains continued to roll toward Lobito.

The first metal was poured from Lumumbashi's Water Jacket furnace on June 30, 1911. Belgium had spent millions to create an African industry on the spot, rather than ship Katangan ore to Europe. It was years before they showed a profit. In the power-scramble at hand, Union Miniere is the scapegoat; UN pictures it as a blood-sucking parasite of colonialism which the Congo is trying to shake off. 22.5% of Union Miniere's stock was



handed to the Central Government with independence, but that was not enough. Leopoldville wants confiscation. Morally it amounts to banditry, as flagrant as the seizure of American refineries in Cuba. Politically it would mean disaster for both Katanga and the West.

Such was the climate in which the Katanga Provincial Assembly voted Moise Tshombe president of an autonomous Katanga.

TSHOMBE, SOMETIMES REFERRED TO AS MR. CASH-REGISTER, is a realist, and probably the only African who understands the intricacies of economics. He is not of the Heller school - - anti-colonialism takes no precedence over return on investments. Tshombe formerly sat at the Economic Round Table, in Brussels. He is descended from a long line of Lunda chieftains turned business men, and his concepts are old fashioned by New Frontier standards. Tshombe sees Katanga's riches not as something taken from the soil but as wealth continually created within the country by a delicately balanced machine that converts natural resources into utilizable form. For a long time to come Europeans will be necessary to run the machine, but Tshombe's love of Europeans in general and Belgians in particular stops there. Without order, the wealth-producing machinery so laboriously built up over a period of years could be lost in a week. Chaos would follow. Thus, as July drew to a close in 1960, Tshombe chose cooperation with Belgium, seeking liberty for Katanga to run its own affairs.

ACCORDINGLY TSHOMBE DISPATCHED A DELEGATION TO PUT HIS CASE BEFORE UN. Jean-Baptiste Kibwe, formerly Minister of Finance in the Central Government, headed the mission, and was accompanied by Jacques Masugu and Joseph Yan. They reached New York via Amsterdam, by KLM, and moved into the Beaux Arts Apartments, on East 44th Street, from where, for over ten years, the representative of the suffering South Moluccans, Karel Nikijuluw, has been pleading for deliverance from Sukarno.

The atmosphere in the glass house on East River was more insultingly hostile than segregation. A few indifferent reporters showed up for the Katanga press conference, most of them Afro-Asiatics from UN, delivering insults in question form.

HAMMARSKJOLD HAD INDICATED THAT HE WAS DISILLUSIONED WITH LUMUMBA: He had toned down his threats and rescinded orders that UN troops march into Katanga. Tshombe had every reason to believe that the realities of the situation were self-evident; what he had not counted on was Russia's heavy artillery press campaign, launched against Hammarskjold as the Kibwe mission prepared to leave Katanga. Pravda called Mr. H. an agent of the western imperialists, out to betray the Congolese people and UN. Moscow screamed that it was his duty to carry out orders and occupy Katanga, that the authority of the Central Government must be enforced. Satellite nations echoed Moscow; Lumumba screamed that UN was afraid and its chief partial. Obviously it was safer to be firm in Elisabethville than in Budapest.

For Hammarskjold, the fate of Trygve Lie, ousted from UN in 1952, hung over him. If a subdued Katanga was what Russia wanted, subdued Katanga was going to be. Mr. H.'s pronouncements became increasingly anti-Belgium. The West had no particular reason to be grateful for Hammarskjold, but realization that he was the last European secretary general that UN would ever have was enough to make Foreign Offices tremble. Hammarskjold refused to see the Katanga Mission, and forbade his secretariat to have any contact with them. Thus, on the note of Hammarskjold's position, the UN propaganda machine swung into gear.

THE KATANGAN POSITION FOR THE DEFENSE, WHICH MR. KIBWE WAS PREVENTED FROM STATING, went as follows: The Belgian Congo is neither an ethnic nor a political whole. The Treaty of Berlin set its boundaries on lines conforming to European desires and conveniences, regardless of local historical or tribal realities, and thereafter Belgians administered the heterogeneous mass from Brussels. Katangans never felt themselves part of what, for administrative purposes, was called the Congo, and when talks regarding independence came up they said so. In June, 1960, their position was restated at the Round Table in Brussels. They never demanded complete dismantling of the artificial state, only creation of a federation within which each province would enjoy total autonomy.

LUMUMBA'S FORCES WERE MASSACRING BALUBAS IN KASAI, preparatory to loading troops on Russian trucks for the drive into Katanga, as Tshombe's delegation was being snubbed in New York. Violated nuns were pouring into Brussels with every plane from Leopoldville, but Lumumba called it a propaganda stunt of the Belgians. A triumphal trip to New York and Washington, with Christian Herter receiving him at the airport to a salute of cannons and escorting him to Blair House, had clinched Lumumba's world mandate for atrocities at home.

The cards were stacked against Tshombe. Politically, Belgium's construction of the industrial complexes was a fatal error, but since they were there and providing employment for 21,000 workmen, with indirect employment for thousands more, Tshombe was determined to keep them running. Everything hinged on some 2,212 Europeans, whom UN demagogues were determined to run out as a prelude to bringing in Czechoslovakians to "restore production".

WORLD GOVERNMENT AT WORK. As the 1960 session of UN opened, Tshombe's delegation was permitted to listen from the press box but never given the floor. Neither Belgian Foreign Minister, Pierre Wigny, nor Belgium's delegate to the UN, M. Loridan, dared meet the Katangans, much less speak for them. Actually, the decisions had already been made. The UN General Assembly is pictured as a world deliberative body, in consultation with which an executive group known as the Security Council renders its judgments. In practice, western opinion is effectively prepared long in advance to accept, if not approve, what those running UN have decided. Though America is the main financial banker of the operation that makes this possible, it is the anti-western glass house that imposes its policies on the White House.

As an example let us consider THE WORLD FEDERATION OF UN ASSOCIATIONS (WFUNA), at 1 rue de la Paix, Geneva. This is a federation of organizations set up "to create public support for UN". It is one of ten similar groups enjoying "consultative A status", which means that while spending millions of dollars to create blanket support for any move desired by the Secretary General of UN, it is also at the top of the list of those empowered to "advise" him.

UN agencies and associations in 60 countries were busily relaying Mr. H.'s anti-Belgium blasts as the session got under way. 51 of the organizations shaping local public opinion to UN's directives belonged to WFUNA. Also located in Geneva was the International Labor Organization (ILO), pushing the same line across national boundaries at the labor level. In ILO's governing body was George Lodge, son of Cabot Lodge, who was casting America's vote in UN. (Cabot Lodge now heads The Atlantic Institute, of which much more will be reported when the Common Market becomes a socialist-political Atlantic Community, an "economic UN".) ILO directives pass outward through The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in Brussels, which, as Katanga's fate comes

before UN this month, boasts 57,477,000 members tightly regimented into 141 organizations in 109 countries. ICFTU, having been built up by American dollars, has now dropped all claim to be an anti-communist bulwark, is admittedly neutralist, fighting for peaceful social revolution and "world workers' solidarity".

UN has a sprawling, support-mobilizing organization for every level and group, from war veterans to professors, with no wall between East and West. All this being considered, the impression that the three Katangans in the press box were Belgian puppets can be understood. Mr. Kibwe exclaimed, in the corridor, "We were taken in by the Belgians in June; we do not want to be taken in by UN in August." They were.

JOSEPH YAN WAS LUMUMBA'S MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS when he, Lumumba and Kasavubu left Leopoldville on July 17, 1960, on the trip presented to the world as an attempt to restore order. In New York he told those who would listen to him that Lumumba made inciting speeches and sowed new disorders wherever they went, fanning the savagery instead of calming it down. "He (Lumumba) is a disciple of Lenin," said Yan. "His plan was to plunge the Congo in chaos in order to establish a communist dictatorship, with the Europeans frightened into leaving of their own accord. That is why he tours the country instead of governing. When I saw what was going on, I quit and went back to Katanga."

THE FARCE STARTED. Russia's spokesman, Kouznetsov, quoted Pravda to attack Hammaraskjold for not marching into Elisabethville. An uninformed listener would never have guessed that Belgium had negotiated with the Congo as an equal, granted aid running into millions of dollars, that her king had gone to Leopoldville to grant independence and sign a treaty of friendship, and that in spite of all the guarantees the Congo had signed, Belgians were stripped, violated and humiliated. According to U.N., Belgium was invading the country and attacking Congolese. All would be peaceful and prosperous if only the Belgians would leave and Union Miniere would quit stirring up trouble!

LUMUMBA'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BOMBOKO, insulted the West's intelligence without batting an eye. His theme: Belgian civilians were paying for the machinations of their government but would be forgiven if, when the past had been avenged and order re-established, they cared to return. A noted French observer wrote that Hammaraskjold and Cabot Lodge gazed on Bomboko with tenderness as he concluded his speech, and the Assembly, largely colored, showed its emotion.

Belgium - - small, weak, and feeling isolated in the orchestrated debate - - made no strong attempt to defend herself. The hypocrisy of the whole performance was never exposed. Ceylon demanded immediate entry of UN troops into Katanga, and forced evacuation - - another word for expulsion - - of all Belgians.

Cabot Lodge spoke for a minute and a quarter. Wrote Raymond Cartier, the noted French political commentator, of Lodge's contribution, "We thought, since Suez, that the American technique of betraying her allies had reached its peak. We were wrong."

With the exception of two abstaining votes (France and Italy) the Ceylon proposal was passed, and the ostracized Katangans in the press box went home. Lassitude, rather than prudence, prevented civil war as a vote on September 20 again called for "vigorous action against Tshombe". On February 14, 1961, the subject came up again and, supported by Guinea and Ghana, Mr. H. obtained another authorization for a military venture.

We know the thorough preparation which UN's invasion, already decided upon, had received on the psychological level. UN's interlocking organizations whirred in every country possessed of a vote, building up support for motions their "consultative A status" parent bodies had been ordered to put over. In early July, 1961, UN's Intelligence Chief, Pior Djorn Egge, was dispatched to prepare the military terrain. UN official Conor Cruise O'Brien flew a planeload of Congo flags into Elisabethville, and General MacKeown reported that Katanga troops could be incited against their European officers. The rest looked like a push-over.

Before his death, Hammarskjold blamed the surprising defeat of UN on "The despicable mercenaries, dregs of the Algerian war". As September 18, 1962, approaches, two plans exist for wiping out yet-free Katanga.

U Thant canvassed Western Europe and the Red bloc. In spite of the humming of the opinion-jelling machinery, France and Britain had not been sufficiently softened, but America and the Afro-Asiatics differed only on the means. The latter were for throwing overboard the pretense of UN as a force for peace, for marching into Katanga and staying there. The American plan called for death by strangulation, economic sanctions at first, then the cutting of the railroad line carrying Katanga's minerals to the outlet in Angola. Tshombe would be forced into either surrender or a violent reaction, and the latter could be used to justify action by Nehru's Gurkhas under UN colors.

THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF CUTTING THE RAILROAD: (1) Destroying or seizing it in Katanga, or (2) Encouraging and underwriting Holden Roberto's revolt against Portugal in Angola, and letting Roberto do the cutting with forces now being trained in the Congo. This second plan may explain many things you are reading in the papers. (One might say that it is a bit soon to be knifing another NATO ally, before the dust has had time to settle in Dutch East Guinea.)

Parallel with the UN beaming of ground-paving propaganda exists a drive to black out or discredit Katanga's side of the story. In America it takes the form of a campaign to oust Katanga information officer Michel Struelens from the country, or, failing that, to put over the picture presented last winter by Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, that Mr. Struelens, operating from a "plush" office, is spending huge sums to buy publicity. Its bias aside, the Rowan statement was absurd. (Only State Department's desire for window dressing, i. e., a colored Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, justifies Mr. Rowan's job, but in spite of this he will be sitting with the American delegation at UN's opening on September 18.)

Informed opinion in Europe fears that the future of West Berlin and Katanga is black. Let us hope that the sell-outs, excused by "We had to do it; that was what UN wanted", come to a halt before the free world suffers irreparable loss.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
James H. Ball, Managing Editor

"No, Pompidou, you have never understood anything of the military art! When the battle is started you have to go through with it to the end. One never wins anything by half measures." So spoke General de Gaulle recently to his apprehensive Premier. Whatever may be said of the General's integrity and long range wisdom, the fact remains that to date he has come out on top. De Gaulle's worst critics agree that the same reply should have been given to President Kennedy's timorous advisors in April, 1961.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT HAS SPENT A MONTH DISCUSSING THE CUBA ABSCESS with European officers and officials. The broad lines of the threat facing America the reader knows. Russia has built up a military striking base in Cuba under our noses. Diplomatically, it is blackmail. Our allies are not sure whether fear of Russian missiles is restraining us, or collective African, Asian and Latin-American opinion is holding our arms while the mugger punches us. Since five of our NATO allies--some not so long ago--have had the same experience, with us holding them during the assault, the spectacle is not altogether unpleasant.

West Germans believe we will sit by, since we failed to remove the Cuba cancer sooner; Russia will swell her technicians and "volunteers" until there is a sizeable force which they can offer to pull out, in return for American withdrawals elsewhere. The launching ramps, submarine pens and other installations will remain in Cuba. The menace will stay. Constant repetition of the liberal propaganda theme will make America's back-down palatable at home. The thesis: "Russia is mellowing. Her face is changing. The gap between liberalizing America and maturing Russia is narrowing; broad concessions by America will hasten the process." Nothing could be further from the truth. Never has the cold war been more deadly. America is facing the greatest threat in her history as a nation.

CUBA IS BEING WEIGHED IN RELATION TO WEST BERLIN AND ALL OVERSEAS AMERICAN BASES. Communists consider a net gain inevitable. Extreme-Left socialists anticipate a wide surge forward as America turns to them, temporarily at least, to halt the communists. Britain is preoccupied with the Common Market and an end-run revolt in Aden threatening her little brood of Arab oil states. (The Aden TRADE UNION CONGRESS, composed of Yemenite workmen who are proteges of ours in a round-about way, through Brussels, is handling the violence for the Aden People's Socialist Party.)

A widely translated column by David Lawrence recently told our allies that Cuba is their problem also. Suez, Algeria, the Congo, Dutch East Guinea and Angola figure in their replies, which are angry or cynical, depending on the speaker. It is the same old story: Each humiliation of a European ally strengthened an already powerful native party subservient to the government threatening us in Cuba.

AS ONE EDITOR SAW IT, we have been backed into a corner by diplomatic adaptation of the tactic used by grasping women to extract more jewelry from not very bright admirers--the "You don't love me" approach, in which the victim produces gifts to prove otherwise. Russia is the suitor we are bidding against, and America must act like Ghana or UN will cry, "The new nations are looking to you!" But Russia is never for a minute led to believe that each new gift might be the last. From time to time boyish America has appeared on the point of acting like a man. Then the immobilizers have stepped up. "We must prove our position to them (Africans, Asians, Arabs, Latin Americans.) If we take action it will destroy our moral influence. They will despise us and turn toward the Russians." Result: We have proved our position--weak. "They"

despise us. In the pro-Red ALGER REPUBLICAIN, of March 13, 1962, Mr. Boualem Khalfa lauded Russia and wrote, "America threatens aggression against Cuba."

Parallel with the argument that we must prove to the new nations that we love them, while they cry in the background, "We are looking to you," a so-called "Peace" campaign softens us. The same French editor told us, "During the war we worked out a philosophy in the underground. It went, 'The bee that uses its stinger dies. When bees refuse to use their stingers in those terms their race will perish.'" The "Don't use your stinger and live" philosophy, however, is beamed only at the West. It is UN's Russian-sponsored commercial to sell unilateral (American only) disarmament--another way of saying, "If you will die, we won't kill you." Anyone who opposes such disarmament is a warmonger, inviting condemnation in UN and out by those new nations that are watching us voraciously. Such is our psychological position.

CUBA, AS THE MILITARY SEES IT. Several hundred Latin American students are following courses in revolutionary technique in Havana. In America an equal number are being trained by labor unions for class war on the same side. Simon Bolivar stated in 1829, "Providence seems to have ordained the United States to plague Latin America with misery in the name of Freedom." It is believed that America's twenty billion dollar Alliance for Progress investment (referred to as the "Fidel Castro Bonus") will do America more harm than good in Latin America. That is the general idea; now for the run-down.

In January, 1960, Castro sent an emissary to Cairo. It was the period of the proposed "Cairo-Havana-Panama" axis. Nasser's seizure of Suez was to be repeated. A softening of Washington's position vis-a-vis Cairo followed immediately. Operation Stepping-Stone entered its penultimate phase in February, when Anastas I. Mikoyan went to Havana and the Russian arms deliveries got under way. By mid-1960 Cuba had already become a stationary flat-top with rockets pointing toward Cape Canaveral.

France doubled her attention to Cuba when Algerian UN Delegate Abdelkader Chanderli made his trip to Havana in late March, 1960, to draw up the Cuba-FLN accord, which American liberals used thereafter as a talking point for more proofs of affection for the Algerian terrorists, to woo them away from Castro. The French Navy was apprehensive over Castro's fomenting of disorder in Martinique, Guadeloupe and the Dominican Republic, and stated that Russia was closing in on Guantanamo. A fuel base for Russian subs was reported under construction on Cay Largo Island, 65 miles south of Cuba. The first Cuban guided missile team arrived in Paris on July 7, 1960, on its way to Russia for training.

Christian Herter's statement on August 28, when the 19 American states met in San Jose, Costa Rica, that either the threat of a Russian military base or Cuban interference with the American naval base would provide the U. S. with a clear-cut pretext for unilateral action was unconvincing. European unilateral action over Suez had been defeated by America, out of "fear of war", and the Herter statement of principle did not mean that action would take place. On the other hand, preparations continued for a communist-fed Morocco-Dakar-Havana airlift to support Castro against America.

Yet, on July 7, 1960, America accepted the idea of a debate of Cuba's charges against the U. S. before the UN Security Council. A French observer noted at the time, "It is full of consequences. In letting an organization in which Russia has a leading voice discuss this purely American affair, the Monroe Doctrine has breathed its last." Krushchev confirmed this by declaring on July 12, before the debate even started, "The Monroe

Doctrine is dead." It was Russia's greatest victory since FDR gave Stalin the plates for our banknotes.

THROUGHOUT THE CUBAN-RUSSIAN ARMOR-BUICKLING PERIOD, and while the Russian "fishing nets" were being drawn around the world, The New York Times stuck valiantly by Castro. In France his champion was the extreme-left socialist but heavily communist-infiltrated weekly, L'EXPRESS, in whose gushing eulogies he was the bedfellow of Senator Fulbright. Then came the never-to-be-forgotten Castro-Krushchev trip to UN. In the noise over K's shoe-banging and Castro's near demolition of a New York hotel, most of America overlooked the fact that both K and Castro were welcomed by Malcolm, the boss of Harlem's Black Muslim "Heaven No. 7"; that it was Malcolm who reserved rooms for Castro's rowdies in the Theresa Hotel.

Already aware of ever-present communist fifth columns and sleeping cells in every major American industry (with no comparable American "secret weapon" in Russia), America became aware of the existence of a virulent, anti-White, Black Muslim fifth column which can count on a majority vote in UN against any repressive measures America might put into effect.

CASTRO'S MILITARY STRENGTH, ON NOVEMBER 12, 1960, was reliably estimated at 9 infantry divisions (7,500 men each), over a hundred 30- and 35-ton tanks (more than sixty Russian and Czech), 12 to 15 MIG 15's and at least a dozen new MIG 17's. About 250 planes of various sorts, 100 motorized pieces of artillery, 100 heavy Czech mortars and some 550 Skoda anti-aircraft guns. Between 28,000 and 30,000 tons of Soviet equipment had been unloaded. (Remember that this was two years ago, long before the terrific arms build-up of the last 6 months.)

On December 3, 1960, a report out of Brussels alarmed European ministries, although it went largely unreported in America. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) announced that its goals had been achieved in Africa. Colonialism was all but dead and the revolution won. It was time to move into new fields: Martinique and Guadeloupe were chosen, with side action against the Trujillos in the Dominican Republic to be continued. This declaration was full of portent, because any such announcement by ICFTU is a clear notice-serving of the foreign policy of American Labor, and its foreign policies have never been repudiated by a Secretary of State, to date.

THE HAPPY COINCIDENCE OF LABOR'S FOREIGN POLICY AND CASTRO'S AIMS MERITS SOME STUDY! Castro visualizes a communist, Japanese-type island empire, led by Cuba. Martinique, Guadeloupe, the Dominican Republic and Haiti would form it. Jamaica and the Bahamas are also on his planning board. Any introduction of violence among Cuba's neighbors will serve Castro.

Che Guevara's big dream is a continent of communist sister states, from the Rio Grande south, with special emphasis on the "liberation" of his native Argentina, where his mother plays an increasingly important role in communist activity. Guevara has made Havana a haven for Peronist exiles from Argentina. Peron, still believing that once he gets back he can outsmart Guevara and his Reds, is going along with the Guevara-Castro game. From Havana his chief lieutenant, John William Cook, says Argentina may be communist before May 25, 1963.

This is the world whose "public opinion" freezes America into inaction. The summing-up of all of the non-Left editors, officials and military observers whom your correspondent has consulted: No communist regime was ever brought down by economic failure; there is no alternative for America but outright intervention.

Russia threatens that she will strike if America moves. One official in Cuba, at least, must have misgivings: He is General Alberto Bayo, commander of Castro's military school. He stood on a Barcelona balcony in November, 1936, while a Russian general swore that Soviet Russia would never see her Spanish comrades fall.



THE BAY OF PIGS. April 18, 1961, was a fateful day in American history. The way out was there, and we threw it away. Again, the summing-up by our allies: Going into it with the leaders and terrain selected showed lack of judgment. Letting the invaders land, still believing air support was coming, was betrayal. Backing down, vacillating, then deciding to go ahead again, when it was too late, showed lack of character. American leadership was from that moment in the defendant's box.

Who was responsible? Confidential reports stated that Adlai Stevenson rushed to Washington and dissuaded the President, on moral and legal arguments compiled by his legal advisors, after the helpless Cubans, still believing we were behind them, were already at sea. The usual international rules were invoked, though we faced an adversary that has never abided by any. What the little nations in UN would think of us was brought up. UN would be weakened and America despised if we used force. (Did we or UN gain prestige by our backing down?)

Who were the lawyers arming Mr. Stevenson? The firm representing certain South Kasai diamond concession holders, whose grants UN fought to make valid in late 1961? Or the Madison Avenue house of Paul Weiss, Riffkind, Wharton and Garrison, credited by the foreign documentation offices of our allies with providing investigation reports and conclusions to kill--on plausible grounds, in some one else's name--any action which UN-minded officials wish to sabotage? Or could ex-Stevenson law partner, W. Willard Wirtz, No. 2 man in the Goldberg Labor Secretariat until recently, now the Secretary of Labor, have had something to do with it?

One thing was certain: The brief had been carefully prepared. Its authors were acquainted with plans and timetable for the invasion. Probably its preparation dated from the inception of the invasion plan itself. Why then were the Stevenson arguments withheld until the invading force was at sea and past the point of no return? If it was American involvement that Stevenson and the inner circle around the President wished to avoid, why were the old B26's, manned by Cuban pilots and not even taking off from American soil, grounded at the last minute? The assumption is that the landing force was gently pushed into a trap.

Radio Swan, on Greater Swan Island in the western Caribbean, (operated by a director of International Media Company, which also publishes OVERSEAS WEEKLY) was to have sent the code signal that would touch off an uprising in Cuba. The signal was never broadcast. By whose order, and why? A government determined on victory would have ordered an investigation. President Kennedy condemned demands for one as having a "divisive effect" on America.

The above questions are constantly being asked by European Defense Ministries, weighing the likelihood that Washington will risk Florida for Berlin. Their conclusions are discouraging. The Bay of Pigs was our big chance. Having thrown it away, the price of another attempt will be high.



CUBA, AS THE AUTHORITY ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES SEES IT. "What are the chances of cutting the 'fishing nets' before they encircle us?" we asked. For answer he opened a drawer and took out a paper dated March 5, 1962--a routine circular letter sent to student organizations around the world by the International Students' Union (UIE), located in Prague, student branch of communism's WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

We have never before printed a paper of this length. This time we believe it is a necessity. (The translation from the French is ours.)

Dear Friends:

As you know, an eighteen nation disarmament committee has been formed, by decision of the 16th General Assembly of UN, last December. It will meet on March 14, 1962 in Geneva. The disarmament committee is composed of the following eighteen countries:

BURMA, BRAZIL, BULGARIA, CANADA, UNITED STATES, ETHIOPIA, FRANCE, INDIA, ITALY, MEXICO, NIGERIA, POLAND, ARAB REPUBLIC, ROMANIA, UNITED KINGDOM, SWEDEN, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, and SOVIET UNION.

The International Student's Union (UIE), on the basis of the resolution for peace adopted at the 6th Congress of the UIE, in Bagdad, has continually insisted on the urgent necessity of defending World Peace. The realization of general and complete disarmament is important for the guaranteeing of peace, which is today of vital interest to all humanity. This is why the Secretariat of the UIE, resting on positions defined at the 6th UIE Congress, welcomes the Constitution of the eighteen nation disarmament committee and sincerely hopes that it will be a great step forward on the path of general and complete disarmament.

The Secretariat of the UIE notes that one of the characteristic traits of this disarmament committee is that the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America form more than a third of its members. This is unprecedented in the history of international disarmament negotiations and it was made possible by recommendation of the United Nations. We the Secretariat of the UIE believe that this state of things is a positive reflection of the growing aspiration of world public opinion for peace and general disarmament. It proves that the peoples of the world are profoundly preoccupied by this problem and in particular it reflects the growing importance of the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the international arena.

The Secretariat, while hoping for satisfactory results from the Conference of the eighteen, emphasizes that the realization of these hopes depends to a great extent on the efforts deployed towards that end by the millions of people of the world. The mobilization of world public opinion and the support of the popular masses--which are primary guarantees for the promotion of positive developments as well as for the exposing and checking of negative attempts which may take place in the process of the negotiations--will play a leading role in the success of the work of the eighteen-nation disarmament commission. We believe that the contribution of students and their organizations will be of particular significance, a contribution which will correspond fully with the spirit of the resolution adopted at the 6th Congress and at the Student's Congress of the UIE, in Prague, on the struggle for the preservation of world peace. The

Secretariat is of the belief that the participation of the Chiefs of State at this conference will greatly increase its chances of carrying through its task to a successful conclusion and will also answer the desires of the peoples of the world.

This is why the Secretariat of the UIE launches an urgent appeal that all member organizations of the UIE engage in a vast campaign in favor of real progress for the work of the conference of eighteen in Geneva, towards the realization of general and complete disarmament, and that they will thus add their contribution to the general campaign being undertaken on different levels of society on the international scale.

On this subject we, the Secretariat of the UIE, wish to point out concrete forms of action in which student organizations can engage: Publication of declarations, the organization of meetings and demonstrations, the writing of letters to the eighteen-nation disarmament committee in Geneva and to the United Nations (Secretary General and the Political Committee of the UN), the collection of signatures to be sent to the disarmament committee, the sending of representatives of national and local students unions to the Embassies of all countries belonging to the committee. Obviously these are only a few suggestions that can be used in various countries, taking into account the conditions prevailing in each. In the development of these campaigns it is appropriate to seek the cooperation of organizations on other social levels, in particular the labor unions, youth organizations, peace committees and any other organizations that exist.

We wish equally to remind you that these campaigns should fix their sights on the evening of March 14, the date when the discussions are due to open in Geneva. It will be a good idea to pursue our efforts for the success of these negotiations during the entire time the committee is meeting.

It is equally necessary to add that these campaigns will make a definite and effective contribution to the preparation of the World Congress for Disarmament and Peace which will be held in Moscow from the 9th to 14th of July, 1962, and to which the Secretariat of the UIE has already expressed its warm support.

Furthermore, we must underline that the general struggle of peoples and students against the policy of aggression and preparation for war continually pursued by the imperialistic forces, as well as the incessant struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, constitute a new and important contribution to the efforts envisaged for assuring a success of the conference of the eighteen. One must not, above all, forget this aspect, for the imperialistic forces can, as they have in the past, erect numerous obstacles in the path of the realization of complete and general disarmament, while continuing to push further their preparations for war and aggression in Europe, mainly in West Germany, in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America, particularly as concerns the aggressive aims of US imperialism towards Cuba. In basing its position on the resolution of the 6th Congress of the UIE which declares that "the existence of imperialism and colonialism remains a permanent danger for world peace", and that because of this, "the struggle for peace and the struggle against colonialism and imperialism are bound together", the Secretariat of the UIE appeals once more to all member organizations to intensify, in launching vigorous campaigns around the conference of the eighteen, their general struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

An important contribution to the success of the disarmament committee can be made in denouncing and checking any attempt by the imperialist forces to torpedo the disarmament conference which is being held to satisfy the ardent aspirations for peace on the part of the people of the world.

We shall be very happy if you will keep us informed on all the activity you undertake as soon as such activity is organized. We need this information in order to give adequate publicity to our common campaign in the publications of the UIE.

Receive, dear friends, our best wishes for success and our most friendly salutations.

(Signed) SECRETARIAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT'S UNION

Before each UN session, Foreign Ministers' meeting and International Conference this document should be re-read. It provides an idea of the thoroughness with which the deck is stacked against us. Note the unctuous flattery of the Africans, Asians and Latin-Americans, the call for petitions, letters to UN and our opponents at the conference table, demonstrations outside our embassies--to prove that the world is against us, so we must give ground.

Consider the "mobilization of world public opinion" through labor unions, student organizations, peace committees and groups on other social levels "to make real progress", lest the dastardly American imperialists frustrate peace-loving Africa and Asia and Russia again! And note that Prague is to be supplied with details immediately, for the propaganda mill.

It is hard to see how we can win, with no comparable organization synchronizing a like world-wide undermining of the enemy for us, as we move to every conference table. The leaders and much of the press of our country have demonstrated their ability to ruin anyone who tries to form such an organization.

We refuse to win, and Europe, helpless in the back seat, is going down with us. That, as France trembles on the verge of an upheaval which may come in days or weeks, is the America-Cuba picture, reported from Europe.

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Hilaire du Berrier will be in the United States and available for lectures from November 20 to February 15. Write American Opinion Speakers' Bureau, Brookfield, Mass., for information.

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Hilaire du Berrier, Correspondent  
James H. Ball, Managing Editor

"A power that can be defied with impunity is nearing its end." - - - Balzac.

CUBA: ACTION--OR WASN'T IT? European papers, in approval or anger, depending on their political complexion, dramatized the news on Monday, October 22. America had acted! Most governments convoked cabinet meetings. Socialist Sweden, visualizing a golden new opportunity for advancing UN, called an extraordinary Council of Ministers. Britain's Lord Home, anticipating a Cuban-type buildup some day in Dr. Jagan's pro-communist British Guiana, assured himself of Washington's support by mobilizing both conservatives and laborites behind Washington now. In Malta and Gibraltar Britain's military planners studied every possible precedent which might be entailed in the Mediterranean by the new Cuban-Algerian tie-up. (More on this alliance later.)

Communist parties, and those vociferous groups preferring the certainty of becoming Red to a possibility of being dead, staged demonstrations before American embassies, assiduously avoided censuring Russia for mounting the ramps in Cuba. So, in ever widening waves, the reaction to America's blockade rippled around the world.

IN FRANCE, THE NERVE CENTER OF WESTERN EUROPE'S DEFENSE, the Olympian calm maintained by General de Gaulle was in sharp contrast to the scare headlines of the press. De Gaulle waited until Wednesday before making any statement on the information Dean Acheson had brought to him on Monday. The French government, such as still existed, appeared unconcerned; Monsieur Joxe, who concluded the worthless negotiations with the Algerians, put it for the ministers, "It is none of our business. Remember, we have resigned."

THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN DE GAULLE AND DEAN ACHESON was cool but polite. They faced each other in the shabbily elegant Elysee Palace. "We are happy not to learn of President Kennedy's decision over the radio", said the general. President Kennedy's emissary explained the military necessity of secrecy. Since a referendum on which de Gaulle's future depended was six days away, and the de Gaulle press was dramatizing the Cuba "crisis" to frighten France to the polls, there was no point in bringing up America's anger when she was not consulted at the time of Suez. (Cedric Gibbons' irate voice went over the air at the time in a yelping staccato, charging America's allies with deliberately choosing the eve of a national election to stab America in the back.) International tension, or the appearance of it, is a major arm in the de Gaulle arsenal also, so the general confined himself to observing, "You would have found advice and vital information here, long ago, had you asked for it." Neither spoke of the mutually embarrassing trip of Ben Bella to Havana, after White House honors that made protocol procedures inflationary.

Many Frenchmen found more than a hint of satisfaction in our plight. For seven years American arms, money and official encouragement had bolstered the Algerian leaders now vociferously telling Castro to run us out of Guantanamo. Why should we squeal about it now? We said nothing when FLN delegate Chanderli flew to Cuba in March, 1960, to negotiate the basis for the Cuba-Algeria accord! Mr. Jay Lovestone, sent to UN to represent the AFL-CIO, continued openly to mobilize Africans and Asians behind the Algerians, with no reminder from Cabot Lodge or Washington that the Algerian revolt against our ally was none of American labor's business, unless they were interested in hastening an alliance against us.

TWO DAYS PASSED BEFORE DE GAULLE ANNOUNCED FRANCE'S SUPPORT. This was not by accident: To the country and for Western European ears, de Gaulle announced, "Don't get excited; there will be no war." Privately he confided, "It will end with a com-

promise." The outline of this presumed horse-trade, in which a loss of ground for the West is taken for granted, was sketched thus in broad lines by a small circle of intimates; "He (the general) is convinced that Kennedy put his cards on the table and said, "Mr. K, our elections are a little over two weeks away and I am in trouble. If those Republicans get in you are going to have hard sledding also. Our bases in Turkey have been outmoded by new technical developments. How about your appearing to do a back-down in Cuba?"

True or not, the acceptance of this thesis as fact is important. De Gaulle sees himself as the eventual mediator between the two K's. That is the basis of his concept of the new Europe: France as the fulcrum between the two world camps, gradually polarizing around her the Mediterranean community. Krushchev has encouraged this line of thought as a means of weakening NATO solidarity, but he is convinced that Kennedy, across the table, is no match for him. In a showdown he has no intentions of letting de Gaulle or anyone else get between him and America's President. Skeptical officials watching letters fly back and forth between East and West behind the screen of headlines reflected that Cuba is not important for Krushchev but that the entire West will suffer if any concessions are made on Berlin.

A CLOSER LOOK AT AMERICA'S INTERNAL POLITICS. First, bear in mind that our American public may take the word of a columnist, whereas European Foreign Offices consult their files, and to the latter Walter Lippman's political vision is far from 20-20. Briefly, as seen from abroad: Kennedy was touring the country. Each stop brought home to him with frightening impact one thought--the country was exasperated. To date, a small ring of "liberal" theoreticians with no mandate from the people had made the decisions. Vital policies had been shaped by Adlai Stevenson, to whom the electorate had denied a mandate! Now, at whistle stops and in cities that electorate was demanding action. Economically Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., may consider capitalism dead. Politically, capitalistic America was repudiating Schlesinger.

For a week newspapers hammered Americans with a diversionary crisis in Berlin. Krushchev said nothing, beyond stating that no peace treaty would be signed with East Germany before the American elections, and a trip to Washington was hinted for November. From public apathy the "Berlin crisis" collapsed; it was a "buyer's market", and the American public refused to buy Berlin. As it faded from the papers an inspired press cried, "Firmness Pays!" There had been no firmness except in words, and these from McGeorge Bundy, remembered abroad as the man who stuck by Alger Hiss. Bundy said that if necessary America would go it alone--Bundy, who at his personal crossroads repudiated America! No, concluded European planners, feeding all the available facts into their collective minds: With 39 Democrat senators, real and potential, 435 congressmen and 35 governors suspended in mid-air, Krushchev will do nothing to hurt the chances of his favorite party. There will be no "going it alone".

THE PRESIDENT FLEW BACK TO WASHINGTON. On the night of October 21 the disc changed; the spotlight was suddenly shifted to an arms-flow and ramp buildup which our allies had followed since its blueprint stages. The significance of Russia's first exportation of her most modern fighter, the MIG 21, and its destination--Cuba-- were observed long before October 16; therefore October 16 marked not the date of the President's knowledge of the gravity of the situation but rather the point beyond which national demand for action could no longer be defied. In eight days, in greatest secrecy, the vast military operation was set up, by a "brain trust" that had until then been obstructive.

AMERICA HAILED IT AS A VICTORY. On Sunday, October 28, Krushchev announced

that the bases would be dismantled and the arms we consider aggressive brought home. Many of the key-post press and government men watching this scene unfold winced. They are old hands at concealing arms from such crack ferrets as the Gestapo, and the picture of U Thant combing every inch of Cuba's mountain hideaways, then solemnly telling UN the threat had been removed, was patently absurd. There was a noticeable lack of emphasis on whether nearly 5000 Russian "technicians" would be repatriated along with the missiles so flagrantly displayed by Moscow and Havana. A disturbing thought lingered: Should Krushchev affect humiliation to keep X number of Republicans out of office, he will collect for it at some future date, with the vindictiveness of the Russian commissar he is.

The prospect of the permanent establishment of a communist base in the Caribbean by America's promise not to invade Cuba if the bases were removed caused less concern abroad than one would expect. The reason: The man making that commitment had promised equally emphatically on a certain occasion that the handful of Cubans being sent with his blessing would have air support above them.

Castro's balking had the earmarks of a stall for time, an essential part of a scenario being adroitly played. The script bore the elements of a morality play at times, as Castro's demands on Guantanamo were supported by a Ben Bella whom our President, in Senate and White House, had worked hard to bring to power.

FROM CUBA EYES MOVED TO BERLIN, TURKEY, IRAN. America's danger spots were Cuba, Berlin, and the dollar. Sources best left un-named in a report available to many readers added a fourth, as yet unadmitted--Algeria. Boiled down to essentials, Ben Bella, plus X, plus Y--factors reposing in a mounting pile of reports out of Algeria --equals Castro. Algeria, plus the same X and Y factors, equals the Congo. Our Algerian proteges present to Europe, and the rest of Africa, the same threat Cuba poses for the United States and Latin America.

ALGERIA, THE REALITY. The only relationship Arab Africa and Black Africa have ever known is that of master and slave, and the Arab inevitably outsmarts his victim. No better picture of Arab "superiority" could be found: Primitive Congolese raped and brutalized hundreds of nuns and wives of Europeans in their post-independence orgy, then, in their childishness, committed the political error of permitting the stream of violated women to leave the country. None of that foolishness with the Algerians! Hundreds of French women and girls kidnapped after independence, and with no international concern for their whereabouts since, are being forcibly held in Algerian brothels, as fruits of victory for the "heroes of the revolution". It is hardly likely that their plight will ever be mentioned in the UN. Certainly the de Gaulle government will never bring it up. A scholarly Frenchman reflected, "In 410 A.D. St. Jerome wrote of Alaric's atrocities in Rome, 'How many noble and virtuous women have been made the sport of these beasts!' Today it does not even make the papers."

LABOR IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AGAIN. At the risk of being accused of belaboring the point, your correspondent must return here to a vital question. It has a bearing on the situations we are reporting.

Mr. Irving Brown, it will be recalled, is AFL-CIO's delegate to the INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) in Brussels. He organized the GENERAL UNION OF ALGERIAN WORKERS (UGTA) and made them the striking force against France. When members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, at a Waldorf-Astoria Hotel dinner in 1956, expressed fear that regimented Algerians

might later turn against Israel, Mr. Brown reassured them. He had "directed" North African nationalism into channels of democracy which would destroy the totalitarian forces of the Arab world. Now, today, those Algerians are pro-Castro, anti-Israel, but, with our blessings and the encouragement of UN, against Portugal in Angola.

Mr. Brown is AFL-CIO's delegate to the ICFTU and ICFTU's delegate to UN, where he expresses hopes to make ICFTU "the voice of world labor", which means ICFTU adaptation to communist labor's script. Let us put it another way: Mr. Brown is American labor's representative to the "international labor corporation" which gives his "directors" anonymity as they pour out American labor funds for revolutions and political activity in other countries. In this front "corporation" the American directors are often out-voted by even more violent foreign groups, such as the Walloon unions in Belgium, which by their outrages impoverished the Walloon areas and drove Belgian capital into Flemish territory.

At the same time, Mr. Brown is the "front" group's representative to UN, in position to push, in its name, the international political intrigues his left-hand group, the American unions, are financing. If this seems far-fetched, the United States Information Agency tells us, officially, in Mr. G. Mennen Williams' widely distributed speech of May 29, 1961, that "our unions have given support, both moral and financial, either directly or through the ICFTU, to labor movements throughout the world, and will continue to do so."

ALL THIS IS IMPORTANT and should be driven home to the American mind as our own, immediate, imperative "Carthage delenda est." For this is what we sponsor without dissent, a pattern that has become classic: American money and delegates are "packaging" whole areas of the world in labor strait-jackets, for a convenient taking-over.

THE SPECIFIC CASE: ALGERIA. On May 29, 1962, Mr. George Meany pledged the moral and material support of American labor for the Moslem workers of Algeria. The New York City Central Labor Council announced a fund-raising drive, "to aid the Algerian labor movement". At date of this writing, less than six months later, Mr. Brown's UGTA is completely in the hands of the Algerian Communist Party. All of the anti-communist French-trained officials in the UGTA have disappeared, no one knows where. Pro-Red FLN veterans of the revolution have replaced them. France's all-powerful communist Confederation of General Workers (CGT) has drawn up a UGTA mutual aid agreement, to help communists into power in both countries. Yet, through the ICFTU, which Mr. Brown represents in UN, American labor is financing the training of some 200 pro-communist UGTA militants in Germany and Austria! And this brings us to the matter of Germany.

BERLIN MAY BE NEXT. West Germans have learned to live with the knowledge that Lubeck can be encircled in the first two hours of a Russian drive. It has not happened so far, and they hope to save money by staving off a little longer America's prodding to raise their conventional forces to some 750,000 men. Europe's business boom is losing momentum, will probably drop further in 1963. West Germany is thinking of economy; she has not accepted the thesis of "better the certainty of becoming Red than the hypothetical chance of being dead". But from down below the erosion is spreading. Two years ago the Christian Democrats rallied support for Adenauer on the pledge that he would stay. Today it is solicited on the promise that he will go in '63. Who will replace him? From where are demands coming that he set a time limit in return for temporary support? The signs are alarming.

THE STRASBOURG MEETING: On March 31, 1962, a group of officials from the French communist CGT labor union mentioned above slipped quietly into Strasbourg to meet a delegation of colleagues from West Germany. There was one difference, however, aside from nationality (which according to labor jargon is supposed to have disappeared anyway). The French group was headed by Marcel Dufriche, of the steering committee of the French Communist Party and Secretary-General of the Administrative Committee of the CGT, which belongs to the communist super-union, the WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, in Prague. The West German union leaders who crossed the border to meet him in talks that ran for two days and a night were important figures in West Germany's DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTS BUND (DGB), which belongs to the ICFTU, which Mr. Brown represents in UN and which America set up and still finances under the delusion that ICFTU is "staunchly anti-communist". (TIME, Oct. 19, 1962, "Letters" Section gave Mr. Brown space for the ICFTU line reserved for American consumption.)

The subject of this hush-hush meeting in Strasbourg would have been unbelievable two years ago. Actually, they discussed ways and means by which our protege, the DGB, with its 6,383,000 members, might take over distribution of East German labor union pamphlets in West Germany, the previous system having been disrupted by the wall. No mention was made of reciprocal distribution in the East. Today, and in this fact lies the warning to the West, such a development is considered normal. Less than four weeks later (April 26-28) Herbert Tulaz, the West German Assistant Secretary-General of the ICFTU, told a monster DGB rally in Nuremberg what the ICFTU's objective is. He said that "world-wide workers' solidarity is a trade union obligation." In other words, a sort of world labor gang-up against management, private investment, and any non-socialist government! As a matter of fact, the crusade against communism which had been held up to America as ICFTU's reason for being was officially discarded eleven days earlier, in our own backyard, without attention being brought to it in our press. In Mexico City, on April 15, 1962, Mr. Omar Becu, the head of ICFTU, told Mexicans, and beyond them Latin-Americans, what ICFTU is not. Said he, "The ICFTU does not serve any particular ideological or military bloc." The importance of this renunciation of loyalty to the West cannot be too strongly stressed as regards West Germany. Deterioration on the political front is its inevitable consequence, but America has still not awakened to it. Mr. Brown, in TIME's Letter Section, was still duping us six months later.

SO WE COME TO THE CONDITIONING OF THE PUBLIC FOR ADENAUER'S DEPARTURE IN '63. It is dressed as a "move to decrease tension". Adenauer would step down in the West and Ulbricht would resign in the East. European chancelleries see it as a Moscow-Washington deal. The same forces that put Irving Brown's one hand at work in Europe and the other in UN have been building up strong pressure in America for dumping Adenauer and installing the socialist, Willi Brandt. Ulbricht has long been a source of embarrassment to Krushchev; getting rid of the most hated man in East Germany (H. du B. REPORTS, Sept., 1961), while appearing to make a concession to us, would suit Krushchev perfectly.

Ulbricht's successor has become the question of the day, and at once the spotlight turns to Willi Stroph, the man who succeeded Grotewohl as acting President of East Germany.

STROPH, THE SELF-EFFACING MYSTERY MAN. Stalin put him at the head of German economy in the Soviet Zone in 1945. Today he is 48, a faceless cog in the Russian machine. He was a worker's son, born in Berlin in 1914. He entered the Communist



Party in '31, became a Russian agent in '35, responsible for a steady flow of information on German military developments over the years, which Stalin rewarded with the Economic Affairs appointment. Beyond this little is known. In early August, 1962, he appeared at the meeting of communist big-wigs in Kiev. Under Stroph the Russian grip on East Germany will, if anything, be strengthened, and a Western concession is held likely as well--for the illusory advantage of feeling that we "ousted" Ulbricht.

ADENAUER'S DEPARTURE WILL HERALD A DIVISIVE POLITICAL STRUGGLE. No matter how it ends, an era will have passed. Willi Brandt's backing in Washington we know. (H. du B. REPORTS, March-April, 1961) But Brandt may not make it. Scandals have shaken his party; the latest was the arrest of its Bonn Secretary-General, Fritz Lompscher, on September 6, 1962, as an East German spy. Herr Mende, leader of the Liberal Democrats, accuses Brandt of "rattling the American sabre". Also in the running are Franz-Josef Strauss, the Minister of Defense, and Ludwig Erhardt, the man credited with West German prosperity.

ERHARDT, VICE-CHANCELLOR AND MINISTER OF ECONOMY, is one of the Titans of post-war Europe and an enemy of socialism. Boundless energy, Bavarian good sense, a powerful personality and the solid physique of a work-horse are his assets. But he has enemies. They range from Fritz Berg's FEDERATION OF MANAGERS, who charge him with applying brakes to Germany's prosperity, to socialists who are angry at his efforts to restrain labor from a system in which he warns, "Each man's hand will be in the pocket of his neighbor and no man will work for himself." Erhardt's chances may have improved--but so have Brandt's--in the adroit exploitation by West Germany's Left of the arrest of the director and two editors of the sensationalist, Left-leaning weekly, DER SPIEGEL, on charges of high treason. DER SPIEGEL attacks on Strauss were behind the arrest, according to Brandt. Facts indicate the contrary.

FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS WAS BORN IN 1916 in Munich. A soldier on the Russian front during World War II, he came out a lieutenant.

In 1949 the Union of Christian Democrats, known in Bavaria as Social Christians, elected him to the Munich BUNDESTAG. A year later, he braved post-war Germany's abhorrence of anything that had to do with war as the defender of America's plan for German rearmament within the Atlantic Alliance. From then on he was Adenauer's man, and the Left circulated the message that he was dangerous. He was labeled "a potential militarist" but nothing stopped him. He replaced Herr Blank as head of the German Army. Reunification with the East? Strauss told West Germany there was no use talking about it for the moment. To charges that he was leading Germany toward another military adventure he replied that "absolute integration of German armed forces within NATO excluded the possibility."

On one point all Germans seem to agree: They want no German troops assigned to West Berlin, fearing that it would relieve the allies of their exclusive responsibility and lead to progressive American, French and British disengagement from the 4-power agreement on which control of the city rests. Instead, Strauss demands German forces armed with nuclear weapons, to be held in West Germany for "first hour commitment" to back up the allies, in the event of a Russian drive.

When Adenauer's birthday is celebrated on January 5 the shadows we have mentioned will darken the occasion. And another one looms: Economic recession in Europe is taken for granted in 1963. Aside from its effect on America and the dollar, it will quite likely mean a \$350 million cutback in West German defense spending. Most

qualified observers believe that it would make inevitable the until-now unpalatable American-Willi Brandt plan.

IT IS STILL SPOKEN OF IN WHISPERS as "The solution of the 13". Inference that the number is unlucky is ever-present. The plan amounts to an International "Authority"; thirteen countries would sit on it, including East Germany, to guarantee liberty of access to West Berlin. Brandt has assured his followers that Dean Rusk wants it because it would bring the support of UN and the Afro-Asiatics. Gromyko approves it because it would legalize East Germany's existence. Adenauer opposes it with all the unyielding firmness of his nature as "initiative for the sake of initiative, and as such without any sensible justification". But East and West alike have been promised that Adenauer will go in 1963. "Internationalization" with all of its consequences in the impassioned atmosphere of a UN weighted with pro-Eastern neutrals may write "finis" to the German problem. . . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

Recommended reading: Nathaniel Weyl's RED STAR OVER CUBA. (Devin-Adair, 25 E. 26th St., New York). A revised, up-to-date edition of this noteworthy book.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR HILAIRE DU BERRIER'S LECTURE TOUR:

January 16-30, Middle Atlantic Coast  
February 1-10, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa  
February 14-22, Texas and the Southwest  
February 25-March 1, California  
March 1-9, Washington, Idaho, Montana

For information on possible speaking dates, write American Opinion Speakers Bureau, Brookfield, Mass.

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HURRICANE ADLAI blew across America. America's delegate to UN, Adlai Stevenson, was under fire. It was openly reported in Paris that a stormy session had taken place in Secretary-General U Thant's New York office, following Krushchev's apparent back-down in Cuba. French, British and Turkish delegates, so the story went, stood firm against U. S. delegate Stevenson's demand that U. S. bases in Greece and Turkey be ceded.

In America, where preparations were in full swing to commit G. I. 's in the fight to serve up Katanga and President Tshombe on a platter to an anti-Western and violent Congo, the Stevenson storm ran its course. John L. Steele (LIFE, Dec. 14, 1962) wrote of "Adlai Stevenson, our government's widely-respected ambassador to the United Nations." Others demanded, "Widely respected? By whom, and where?" But, as in the case of General MacArthur's recall from Korea, the ground-yielders sat tight, whether subversive or aiming at "Peace through surrender". Those protesting worked off their anger in talk, and 1962's end promised to be like many others.

Abroad, Foreign Office officials who have been at their jobs since the end of World War II, unaffected by a parade of Ministers who came and went, turned to their files. These make up what is called the "dossier system" -- the theory being that detailed records on the moves of statesmen and policy-setting officials over the years, if closely studied, will permit a fairly accurate prediction of what the subject will do under any given circumstance.

From the moment Mr. Stevenson became Assistant Secretary to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, on the eve of World War II, the details of his life, public and private, were important, and the files grew. They were scrutinized closely when it appeared possible that Mr. Stevenson might become our president, and again when he became our delegate to UN. The Congressional Record makes up an important part of the foreign dossiers on prominent Americans, and the Record covering the hearing of March 2, 1954 on "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments" produced one of the nuggets regarded as significant by dossier clerks.

Rear Admiral Adolphus Staton stated under oath that he and Admiral Hooper were at grips when America entered World War II with the problem of radio operators on American ships who were potential security risks. In their minds was the example of some 700 Spanish naval officers butchered at sea when the Spanish admiralty radioed news of the outbreak of civil war in 1936 and communist operators, at the keys aboard ship, passed the word to communist cells below decks instead of to the commander on the bridge.

Admiral Staton had no difficulty removing Japanese operators or those suspected of being pro-Nazi or pro-Fascist, but when it came to communist suspects he ran into trouble, though one operator had boasted that Stalin had a communist on every American ship and could learn the location of any American ship at sea by dispatching a signal.

A man Admiral Staton had never heard of called on him and introduced himself as Adlai Stevenson, special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy. He protested that the two admirals "did not have anything against these men". Admiral Staton replied (p. 1316 of the Record) that an emergency existed and that questionable radio operators should not be at the keys of ships in naval convoy. It was a matter of resolving "reasonable doubt" in favor of Uncle Sam. Mr. Stevenson replied, "Well, Admiral, I don't think we ought to be too hard on the Commies." And that was that.

As 1962 drew to a close, in no so-called non-aligned countries and in precious few among our allies was there a man of assistant ministerial rank to state publicly, "I don't think we ought to be too hard on the Yankees." Mr. Stevenson's expressed credo of late 1941, on the other hand, had become official for UN and America. This was the factual backdrop against which the world's trouble spots were studied at year's end.

HERE IS HOW THE SITUATION LOOKED FROM WESTERN EUROPE: Communist conferences succeeded each other with alarming rapidity. Obviously, far-reaching diplomatic events were in the making. At the same time, Western Europe had the uneasy feeling that secret negotiations, the most hush-hush since the end of World War II, were going on between Washington and Moscow. Secrecy was of prime importance if anything were to come out of these negotiations. But progress involves concessions, and America's allies, striving desperately to pierce the veil of secrecy maintained by the two giants, held a grim fear that the concessions would be unilateral, and at their expense. Repeated reports of the proposed direct line between Washington and Moscow did nothing to dispel these fears.

In Britain Lord Hailsham, who may be the Conservative Party's next leader if the law is passed permitting him to leave the House of Lords and become simply Mr. Quintin Hogg, cried, "Britain will not be made an American protectorate." Before both him and France's de Gaulle were reports that a global-scale Yalta was in the making, that out of the secret talks three points of agreement had already emerged: 1. Russo-American co-operation in the probing toward other planets in outer space, and assurances that neither power will place a "military satellite" in orbit. (But here the difference between military and peaceful is as vague as that between defensive and offensive, when applied to missiles.) 2. Both America and Russia will stop all efforts to develop the absolute weapon. 3. After January 1, 1963, nuclear testing will cease, and the two great powers will use all means at their disposal to impose the same prohibition on their allies. In Britain this information worked against Macmillan.

Communist conferences -- the meeting of the Central Committee of the USSR in November, followed in rapid succession by Bulgarian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian and Italian Communist Party confabs -- were regarded not so much to inform the satellites of what Krushchev was doing as to strengthen his grip against pro-Chinese factions in every communist party in Europe, to give Krushchev a solid front in his negotiations with Kennedy. Britain, France, and Germany realized only too well that, likewise, fulfillment of Washington's side of any bargain would be contingent on Kennedy's imposing Russia's conditions on his unconsulted western allies.

A maneuver appeared to be taking shape: Macmillan had obtained nothing from de Gaulle at their Rambouillet meeting regarding Britain's entry in the Common Market, and a further humiliation awaited him, with Kennedy in the Bahamas, when he was denied the Skybolt. Britain saw it as a plan to provoke Macmillan's fall, send Britain to the polls and bring a Labor-Liberal government into power, a repetition of the Eisenhower-Dulles maneuver in November, 1956, that brought about the fall of Eden.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF FRANCE AND GERMANY were slated to meet in mid-December, to coincide with the Moscow sitting of the Supreme Soviet. But in France the aging Thorez was being pushed by up-and-coming younger men, encouraged by Peking militants and strengthened by some 48,000 new recruits in 1962. Recent shake-ups in Moscow, the upsurge of a new generation of Russians, increased the ground tremors

under French leaders Thorez and Duclos. Thorez, always an opportunist, tried to put off taking sides in the Peking-Moscow rift until February, but Russia forced his hand. Before the Supreme Soviet convened, Thorez -- in a soft voice, it is true -- denounced Mao Tse-tung and joined the Russian lineup. Janos Kadar did likewise at the VIII Congress of the Hungarian Party. Krushchev was able to say to Kennedy, "I have my boys in hand. Do you have Britain, France and Germany?"

THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY is a party to watch in 1963. Figures mean little: Its card-bearing members fell from 2,145,317 in 1955 to 1,754,000 in 1961, but its power remains. In the 1958 elections 6,700,000 voters voted the Communist ticket.

Compared to France's Thorez, Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Party's chief, is a man of culture. He is also a wily politician. Togliatti's theory is that "it is not necessary to be in power to govern; all that is necessary is to be in position to exert sufficient pressure on those who govern." This is something to be remembered in the West. Frolov Kozlov was Krushchev's personal representative to the Italian congress, there to evaluate the combined pressure of communists, extreme-left socialists and labor unions that Togliatti, in a crisis, can throw against those who govern. Kozlov pushed the line that "peaceful co-existence" is nothing more nor less than victory via the route of least resistance. "Being certain of our historic future," Kozlov told Togliatti's lieutenants, Mario Alicata, Giorgio Amendola and Giancarlo Pajetta, "we have no need to play with fire."

A MENACE TO THE FREE WORLD is implicit in the proposed change of the Common Market from an economic entity to a political one under a supra-national control, for a group of nations can be taken over as easily as a single one if one takes over their common head.

THE PACKAGING-OPERATION THESIS. The reader may recall the example of the Ford plant at Dagenham, England, where British union leaders played a cat-and-mouse game, waited till the great plant was in operation and then, agitated by American labor leaders from whose clutches Ford had fled, unloosed a wave of crippling strikes. To those who warned that the game might be carried too far, they replied, "Ford can't shut up shop and pull out; look at all that machinery." The same operation, in international scope, is to be carried out in the Common Market. Belgium, seat of both the Common Market and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), is the most unstable country in the Western Alliance, and it was here that socialist-minded leaders of the Common Market Six gathered on July 18, 1961, to set up a committee to establish the status of a "European Political Authority". When the six nations were deemed too deeply involved to pull out of their economic union (thoroughly laudable in itself), the labor-socialists, backed by an already powerful supra-national "union of labor unions", were ready to take over the package and give it a political wrapping. Through the rest of 1962 they dickered. Monsieur Spaak, Belgium's socialist Minister of Foreign Affairs, supported by Holland's Foreign Minister, Mr. Luns, held out for each nation's relinquishing a bit of its national sovereignty to a federal supra-government, socialist in nature, that would govern the Six.

Germany's Erhard blasted the idea as "an attempt to erect a centralized state run by an immense bureaucracy and saddled by technocrats." (Most informed European conservatives agree that Erhard's eventual succession to the German chancellorship is a lure to ease Adenauer's departure. It would be of short duration.)

IN JANUARY, 1962, the French came up with a counter-proposal for a "Union of Countries", a loose confederation in which no gang-up within the economic community could reach into any single member state and impose on it the will of whatever elements may have taken over the "packaged" government at the top. Spaak and his powerful allies in labor unions and socialist parties countered with a vicious attack on what they called "an attempt to return to old and out-moded classic alliances, proven to be ineffective." Only a United States of Europe, they said, with a supra-national government issuing its own currency (due to be introduced between 1965 and 1970) can form the basis for the construction of a new Europe. The drive toward the Spaak goal was stepped up at the end of August, 1962. This is the battlefield on which the West's apathetic "Free Enterprise" leaders, politically astigmatic, will have to fight or go under in 1963. To the labor-socialist idealist, waiting to claim the package the economists have wrapped, Europe's Six, and with them presumably Britain and America, will form the pilot group for a global package capped by UN. Stage One and Stage Two, as it were.

AMERICA'S ADVANCE TOWARD STAGE ONE IN 1962: On February 21, 1962, AFL-CIO announced in Miami that American labor would henceforth have its own foreign policy. Shortly after, out of AFL-CIO's annual convention in Atlantic City came the statement that dividends and profits from American labor's \$40.6 million strike fund will be used for foreign activity -- i. e., to implement that foreign policy. This took the form of strike agitation in other countries, in some cases to hike wage scales, effect the shut-down of American firms that have fled abroad. Washington encouraged it as a means of stemming the flight of capital by upping prices (and with them the cost of living!) abroad. Foreign socialist parties encouraged it as part of the political offensive against governments barring socialists from power. The "international labor solidarity" was openly proclaimed, as a world coalition against management, and governments that are marked for toppling one at a time. (Victor Riesel, on November 14, 1962, in the New York Mirror, propounded it as "global unionism", approvingly and with no distinction between Iron Curtain world and free world.) There was no dissent from the American public. Substitution of "loyalty to world labor" in place of loyalty to one's nation is basic in this campaign.

JULY, 1962, saw the formation of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT -- why "free", when run by hoodlums dedicated to the closed shop system and suppression of American sovereignty, no one bothered to ask. "International Fair Labor Standards" was the term adopted in the fight to up salaries around the world, set the inflationary spiral mounting and focus local wrath on a government not at fault. The first grant of Reuther's World Labor Defense Fund was political: \$10,000 for rioting Spaniards being agitated by AFL-CIO's "Ministry of Foreign Affairs", in labor's cold war against Franco.

AMERICA'S POSITION in all this may be described as "over the barrel". The liquidity of the American dollar is in the hands of Western Europe. No international union-of-citizens exists which is capable of opposing those who got us into this position and who can now advise submission to the little UN in Brussels as a means of safeguarding the dollar.

Britain's Macmillan, caught in the squeeze between labor-socialist Europe and labor-socialist America, hints darkly of devaluating the pound sterling by 15 to 21%, if nothing comes of the next Common Market entry negotiations in Brussels in late January. It would start a chain of devaluations; first hit by Europe's frantic cashing-in would be the dollar.

Another possibility in Macmillan's mind is a separate European community, headed by Britain and with its headquarters in Rome but linked to America and Canada. It would include the Outer Seven, now economically linked with Britain, and would be powerful enough to impose its own conditions for entering the Brussels "package". Such is Europe's social and economic state at the beginning of 1963, and to it is linked ours.

LET US TAKE A LOOK AT NATO. To understand the struggle going on behind the scenes one has first to remember that NATO, as a solely military grouping, is nothing more nor less than what Spaak and Luns described as an "old and outmoded classic alliance, proven to be ineffective", when they were fighting to take the Common Market out of its economic role and give it a single socialist supra-national government. One can then perceive the objectives of Mr. Spaak when he was head of NATO.

European political thinkers state openly that the present talks between Kennedy and Krushchev will lead to partition of the globe into more deeply divided spheres of influence in 1963. A neutralist area, pink in shade, will take form between Russia and America. Fear of Russia and distrust of America will be its reason for being. De Gaulle, to distract attention from taxes and prices, rising instead of being relieved by the abandoning of Algeria, will push it.

Walter Lippman, addressing the Anglo-American Press Association in Paris on Nov. 29, 1962, showed complete ignorance of realities. He said that Europe must renounce any idea of possessing nuclear arms. Pointing to our stand in Cuba he added, "America has earned the right to be trusted when she affirms that the vital interests of European security and prosperity are considered as vital as our own." Europeans, publicly and in print, declined to place their fate in our hands.

Here is the way a French official put it: "The greatest menace is Russia's conventional army massed in Eastern Europe. But it will not come up for discussion until Phase 2 of the disarmament talks. Phase 1 will devote itself to halting nuclear testing, i. e., assuring the Russian-American monopoly. Britain and America are expected to force compliance on de Gaulle and Adenauer. Strauss would never have stood for it. That was why he was ousted from the Bonn Defense Ministry. Strauss held that calling on Germany to furnish 700,000 infantry troops while America held the science fiction weapons was asking Germany to furnish the corpses while America provided gadgets. Only tactical nuclear warheads can stop Russia's numerically superior conventional forces. Strauss held that a nuclear warhead is worth a brigade and is far less costly. Germany lacks manpower; therefore, diverting another 200,000 men from the labor market, instead of giving Germany the arms that alone will be effective, he described as 'a waste of time and money'."

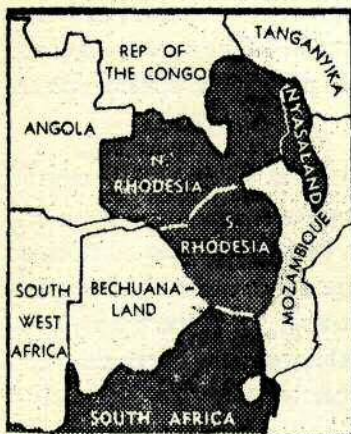
ON THE COINCIDING OF EUROPE'S VITAL INTERESTS AND AMERICA'S, the editor of a great Paris political weekly was even more emphatic. "Our vital interests were threatened at Suez," he said. "What would America say if French and British warships had escorted Russian vessels through the Cuban blockade, or if France and Britain had seized the occasion to encourage Panama to shake off the American yoke and reclaim the canal?" Many political and military leaders still feel that French interests and those of the free world were at stake in Algeria. Viewing the bitterness and distrust dividing NATO, one might assume that the exterior threat is subsiding. Such is not the case.

THROUGH THE LOBBY OF THE ONONDAGA HOTEL, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK, as 1962 drew to a close, slunk what appeared to be the denizens of some extra-low co-educational

hobo jungle, usually in groups of two or three. It was regrettable that all America could not have seen them. They were young, the boys unshaven, uncombed, unwashed; the girls, if anything, dirtier. Their clothes were something you see in drawings of beatniks. Here, in a sedate, upper New York State hotel, is complete refutation of the myth of the clean-cut, upstanding young American. How did they get there? You sent them. They are trainees for the Peace Corps. Training them is an African named Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, who acquired his degree at Oberlin College on a scholarship granted by Oberlin president, William E. Stevenson.

The Syracuse POST-STANDARD extolled Professor Mondlane on July 15, 1962 as "presiding over the Mozambique Underground Parties". Boasted the POST-STANDARD, "S. U. PROF HEADS LIBERATION". Spelled out, what the story meant was that a militant partisan in a terrorist movement against our NATO ally, Portugal, is indoctrinating Peace Corps recruits and other students in Syracuse University. Among his statements: His followers get arms "very easily". They are going to get their independence. He (Dr. Mondlane) hopes to become the President of Mozambique. He is teaching in Syracuse for the present, but when the time is ripe he will go back and rejoin the struggle.

By all sensible standards, Dr. Mondlane (not Michel Struelens!) should be booted out of Syracuse University and America. Thirty-six of the Peace Corps youth being indoctrinated into a "War Corps" for Dr. Mondlane's personal terrorist fight to become President of "free" Mozambique are destined to be sent to Nyasaland, according to local and neighboring up-state newspapers. Nyasaland borders Mozambique on the north. To the west of Nyasaland is Northern Rhodesia, also being worked by anti-white agitators. Beyond Northern Rhodesia is Angola, where outside-backed terrorists are operating against the Portuguese. Algerian guerilla experts and communist Congolese form the background of the Angola upheaval. An important question, still unasked, is: What means does the juvenile riff-raff currently soiling the Onondaga Hotel have for polling the natives of Angola and Mozambique? How can they know what percentage of the population is proud of being Portuguese, feels benefited by the Portuguese presence and wants none of Dr. Mondlane's self-interested terrorist movement? The answer is that they have no knowledge of these matters except what they have learned from their professor. And yet the reading material for this group states that "it must remain neutral until after independence." Presumably after independence they can indulge in all the political activity they wish. And Dr. Mondlane is their "educator".



In 1962 New Frontier officials in Washington decided to double the Peace Corps and raise its budget. On January 6, 1962, the drive for more "specialists" was opened, and Associate Director William Moyers announced they would be drawn from labor. Mr. Goldberg stated that it was necessary "that the government receive the benefit of the advice and cooperation of the American labor movement".

On January 23 a Washington official explained that the Corps needed TOP SECRET stamps for its papers, "because the Corps conducts very delicate diplomatic negotiations". In November, 1962, up-state New Yorkers learned that their Peace Corps guests, who looked like dregs of the Greenwich Village Left, were being turned into partisans of the anti-Portuguese International Brigade instead of tree-planters. Their destination: Nyasaland, a



still peaceful African country, about to become independent. Their purpose: To enhance American prestige. Nyasaland has a white population of some 9,500 and some 2,850,000 negroes. A great opportunity for the Onondaga beatniks to "conduct very delicate diplomatic negotiations"!

Every American should read MY COUNTRY, FRANCE, by the Bachaga Boualem. (Editions France-Empire, 68 rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, Paris 1. In French, 265 pages, \$2.50)

It is the story of Algeria's betrayal, as recounted by the Lord of the Oursenais, an Algerian chief who, and he leaves no doubt about it, is on the side of civilization. Here is the poignant account no American ever read in his daily papers. For the first time the 90% who wanted to remain French but who were never questioned, whose youth received no scholarships to American universities and whose leaders were never courted by Cabot Lodge in UN or Mennen Williams in Africa, have a spokesman powerful enough to break the wall of silence. He is the Bachaga Boualem, former Vice President of the French National Assembly, whose thousands of loyal followers were massacred after independence.

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FEBRUARY, 1963

H. du B. REPORTS

PARIS, FRANCE

INTENSE POLITICAL ACTIVITY marked the opening of 1963, and out of it, in broad lines, future history's murky pattern began to emerge. Undersecretary of State George Ball was dispatched to Paris, where French political strategists regard U. S. Ambassador Bohlen as "assigned to help French socialists unseat de Gaulle, now that the abandonment of Algeria has been accomplished." Mr. Edward Heath, Britain's Lord of the Frivy Seal, and Belgium's Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Fayat, sounded out the capitals of Western Europe. West Germany's Foreign Minister Schroeder hurried to London, Italian Foreign Minister Piccioni traveled to Bonn, Krushchev to Warsaw and East Germany. Adenauer and de Gaulle consummated their grand accord. Macmillan made plans for a February trip to Rome, full of portent, while whispers circulated of a de Gaulle visit to Moscow in early spring. And each offered commitments as though he firmly believed his government would remain in power forever.

Thus the dramatis personae on the world stage in 1963 was announced in rapidly succeeding headlines. Who these actors are and what they stand for is of importance. For out of their actions emerges the overall picture of cross purposes and powerful suspicions dominating world affairs.

MANAGED NEWS, as our elite without dignity has described it, leaves America with little real understanding of the actors or the issues. Gladstone, when charged with lying to his parliament, justified his denial with the definition that "a lie is an untruth told to anyone who has a right to know the truth." The parallel of basic cynicism is striking. Our local American newspapers are not at fault for perpetuating the hoax, for an untruth when expressed by those who hold power is still news.

DISCUSSED BY THE HURRYING DIPLOMATS WERE: The Common Market, atomic submarines, Polaris missiles, the French "Force of Dissuasion", multilateral nuclear power, German reunification, West Berlin and disarmament. Each has a bearing on the others. At stake is America's relationship with Europe. But which Europe? There is a Europe of the Six, called the Common Market, and the Europe of the Seven, led by Britain. There is a Europe of two--de Gaulle and Adenauer. On de Gaulle's planning board is a Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals, led by France. A super-Rapacki Plan. The Rapacki Plan, it will be recalled, foresaw a neutral demilitarized zone separating the communist world and the West. De Gaulle's plan is inspired by Britain's historical policy of "divide and rule", a policy of playing France and Germany against each other to rule a continent. De Gaulle would adapt it to a globe divided into two powerful camps. His France would occupy a position in the center of the teeter-totter, as mediator between East and West, by the shifting of its weight dominating the world.

MACMILLAN'S TRIP TO ROME, say the political mappers, was to plant the idea of a Britain-Italy alliance, as a counter-weight to de Gaulle and Adenauer. Italy would quit the Brussels group and join Britain's "Outer Seven" (Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland and Britain.) Rome would be their capital and Britain would again become the dominant power on the continent as their leader. 1963 promises to see an intensification of the struggle between Britain and France, with America supporting the former.

HOW DO WE EXPLAIN THE CONTRADICTION between a de Gaulle often commendable in foreign policy (his stand against UN, Kennedy, Krushchev and on West Berlin) and

yet ruthlessly destructive at home? The best political analysts in France sum him up: "In foreign affairs he (de Gaulle) thinks of France. In internal policy (and this includes the betrayal in Algeria) he thinks of de Gaulle. Disagreement is opposition, and opposition is an attempt against the security of the State."

The concept of a Third Force extending from the Atlantic to the Urals? It is seen as an extension of personal power, a widening of the area in which foreign policy will become internal. Power for de Gaulle, and the promise of future plums dangled before the eyes of business men who voted "yes" in the delusion that abandonment of Algeria would end the drain of war and lower their taxes. (The drain increased as 800,000 Europeans poured into France, and taxes jumped to support an Algeria more costly to woo as a potential satellite than to retain as a province.) If Europe goes Red, de Gaulle still sees himself as the pilot, not Krushchev, for it would be by then an internal problem in his personal, Atlantic-to-the-Urals Europe.

THE COMMON MARKET which de Gaulle is accused of sabotaging was set up by the Treaty of Rome as "an economic union". It is now referred to as "an economic and political union" and therein lies the gimmick. Ostensibly, the removal of trade barriers and the progressive lowering of customs, until they could be done away with altogether, was the reason for the Common Market's formation. Britain refused to come in when the group was formed, true to the tradition that Britain must join no group on the continent that she does not dominate. Therefore France, Italy, West Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland constitute the European Economic Community (EEC), as the Common Market Six are called.

EDWARD HEATH, BRITAIN'S LORD OF THE PRIVY SEAL, is the negotiator for Britain's entry. Britain is discouraged, caught in the grip of uncertainty and doubt. Questions of defense, relations with the Commonwealth, industries that no longer pay their way, and the problem of disappearing markets await solution. The much-touted "special relationship" with an America in which fads appear to have replaced policies has had its drawbacks. De Gaulle fears that as a Common Market member Britain would seek, as middle man for her "special partner", America, to compensate for the loss of sovereignty EEC membership would entail. But de Gaulle's opposition is not the only one embarrassing Mr. Heath. Powerful Tories at home draw back from crossing the Channel. Lord Beaverbrook's press resisted it by encouraging British soldiers in Germany to telephone, collect, the accounts of incidents involving Britons and Germans. Supporting Mr. Heath in the fight for Britain's entry is Lord Home, Secretary of the Foreign Office. Watching him, hoping for the best but filled with apprehensions, is Mr. Reginald Maudling, Chancellor of the Exchequer. On Mr. Maudling's shoulders rests Britain's financial future. These are the men who will sink or swim with the Macmillan government. Pushing them from the sidelines, for America, is Christian Herter.

To many Frenchmen the "special relationship" between Kennedy and Macmillan is only a phase of an Anglo-Saxon alliance against France. Certainly this should surprise no one. The NATO Alliance is not a paper validated exclusively by signatories from fifteen Foreign Offices. In the ultimate reckoning it rests on armies and navies and air forces. And to a man those of France's forces who would be staunch allies in any war against the Russians, the men who would bear the brunt of a fight for the West, regard Kennedy, quite understandably, as a hateful traitor who stabbed them and their now dead comrades in the back through the years when they were fighting to prevent Algeria from becoming another Cuba across the Mediterranean. A Kennedy call for them to "act like

allies", when his whims are crossed, they see as more "managed news" for political effect at home. Macmillan is suspect as the "special friend" of Kennedy, provided with the atomic secrets we let slip to the Russians but deny to France, yet he became the object of a peculiar sympathy when he and Lord Home sadly returned from their pre-Christmas meeting with America's President in Nassau, which the European press unanimously regarded as humiliating. The prospect of Macmillan's fall, of Britain going to the polls and a labor-liberal government coming in, is pleasant only to the one-worlders who have ceased to think in terms of country.

Such were the factors, human and otherwise, facing ruddy, jovial Edward Heath as he sat on the seventh floor of the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs building in Brussels while a few doors away western European Ministers, socialist or pro-socialist-dominated except for France's Couve de Murville, discussed de Gaulle's blackball of Britain's membership in the club. De Gaulle went his way, haughty and enigmatic, opposing socialist world government within the Common Market, while removing every barrier against the advancement of communism at home.

GERHARD SCHROEDER, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Adenauer cabinet and head of West Germany's delegation to the Common Market, supported British entry. Schroeder is an ambitious man: Already his thoughts go beyond the present Adenauer government (referred to as the "Kouterjandkind", the thalidomide child.) He is emerging as spokesman for the opposition within the Adenauer cabinet, an advocate of change, carefully measuring the strength of Heinrich Kroul, Minister of State in the Christian Democrat Party, and Willy Brandt, the socialist, who hopes to edge out Adenauer's presumed successor, Finance Minister Erhard.

Schroeder has won powerful allies in adopting the stand he has taken, in favor of Britain and with reservations concerning the Paris-Bonn accord, for the President of the Common Market Commission is none other than his fellow German Walter Hallstein. Hallstein sees the Commission as an ever-expanding, supranational governing body. One-worldism on a six-nation scale, with its capital in Brussels! But Brussels is also the capital of labor's carrier-body for one-worldism, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), whose member unions in neighboring countries are the striking fists for socialist parties all adamantly dedicated to supranationalism, as long as it is socialist, and who exert strong pressure on their own governments. So Schroeder, in aligning himself with Hallstein, has won the support of these, and, indirectly, of his own chancellor's enemy, Brandt.

De Gaulle's stand is that the Common Market Commission should occupy itself with statistics and the filing of reports and stay out of the internal affairs of member nations. Hallstein foresees a common EEC currency for his supranational Common Market government between 1965 and 1970, with Germany, as holder of Western Europe's gold reserves, printing the banknotes. On the question of just how much power Hallstein's committee succeeds in seizing, the fate of the West may depend, for if he becomes a sort of U Thant ruling over the Common Market's Six, the fear of thinking Europeans (and Americans!) should be: What sort of man will follow Hallstein?

Sitting on the sidelines and biding his time in the West German Defense Ministry, where he replaced Franz-Josef Strauss, is Kai-Uwe von Hassel, the Tanganyika-born (in 1913) ex-President of the Schleswig-Holstein provincial government. Von Hassel is a hard-driving organizer and a man to watch in the year ahead. He saw his predecessor pictured as a militarist and a war-monger and eventually destroyed by a ruthless socialist Left, for favoring a strong Germany armed with medium range nuclear warheads and firmly holding

the second line of Western Europe's defense. Whatever the direction, von Hassel may go far. He is cold, calculating, and the grandson of a general, which gives him an authority with the German military which Strauss, the butcher's son, never had.

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, is also a staunch advocate of British entry. This assures Mr. Spaak of American support, the support of Mr. Hallstein, of Belgian labor and the vast confederation of labor unions whose orchestrated members exert pressure in other countries and in UN. Mr. Spaak's stand is understandable: As well as being Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, he is head of the Belgian Section of the International Socialist Party, which accounts for his adherence to the Hallstein thesis of political as well as economic union for the Six. British entry on Hallstein-Spaak terms would mean an advance for socialism. A word on the party which Mr. Spaak heads: Its hard core is composed of anti-clerical, French-speaking Walloons of southern Belgium, regimented into a union some 700,000 members strong, one of the most vicious bodies for street-disorder in Western Europe. In December of 1960 they all but tore up Brussels.

The openly-proclaimed internal goal of Belgian socialism is the smashing of the church, monarchy and management. Spaak himself deposed the present king's father, Leopold III. Spaak's loyalty to king and country is therefore, at best, open to doubt, yet this is the man directing Belgium's foreign policy and pulling the strings to the Common Market's political aims. Through the 1950's Spaak headed NATO. Twice in 1960, while Belgian socialists and communists worked together to hasten premature independence for the Congo, Spaak rejected calls to come home and head his party. He had "work to do elsewhere". After the riots of late 1960 in which labor violence was the arm used in the play to upset the Catholic-Liberal Eyskens government, Spaak quit NATO and returned home, uncompromised by either the Congo policy or the riots. In sum: He had an alibi; he was not there. Mr. Luns, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, takes his stand firmly beside Spaak, and the ICFTU and Hallstein.

Military men of the Common Market countries look askance at this power shape-up and its political packaging. Their experience with military "supranational government" in a NATO dominated by America has caused them to be wary about political supranational power in the EEC. Whatever the theory, they found in practice that America, their own military leader within NATO, defended their interests when they coincided with those of the men running America, but betrayed them when the threat came from communist-inspired rebels in Africa, Asia, or Indonesia.

NOW LET US TAKE A FURTHER LOOK AT THE COMMON MARKET. What might be called "the gentleman from Africa in the woodpile". This is an aspect which neither the American government nor press has made any attempt to honestly explain. Emphasis has always been on the program for the progressive removal of trade barriers and lowering of customs. But in 1961 references to the Common Market as an "economic United Nations" began increasing. News magazines started gushing over prospects for "the free movement of labor within the Common Market countries", an end of residence restrictions and passports. An AP story on February 10, 1963 painted a rosy picture. "A man from Bari, in the extreme south of Italy, who had faced a bare existence in the olive groves, could step easily into a steady-paying job as a miner in Wales." But how Wales might like the Mafia and a flying squad of Italian communists, the blatantly slanted AP story neglected to ask. George Woodcock and a small group of British labor leaders who were Britons first and world trade unionists second said "No!" Many on the continent did some thinking also, and what they saw they did not like: Groups of laborers, hand-picked and indoctrinated, floating from one country to another within the Atlantic group, from plants where strikes had hiked the wage scale (and usually closed the factory, thereby creating

By the end of February the fruits of 1962 were taking shape, a 1962 that had been crucial for the world euphemistically referred to as "free". Already, on the governmental ramparts where a trusting nation believed only Americans to be on guard a plan was afoot to lift American nationality from a group of American aviators and place them under the flag of UN, in a uniform dominated by the votes of communist nations and regimented Afro-Asiatics. Matters would be evened up, however, by the dangerous precedent of granting American nationality to Winston Churchill.

Wheels were in motion to appoint a lawyer named Rifkind (a partner in UN delegate Adlai Stevenson's law firm) ambassador to inconspicuous but important Benelux partner Luxembourg, deep in the heart of the Common Market. Mr. Rifkind, it is conceded abroad, provided the legal arguments by which America's UN delegate persuaded President Kennedy to withdraw promised air support after the April, 1961, Cuba invasion was under way, thereby permitting, as a high French official put it, his comparison with "the fire chief, who, after the trusting man on the roof had jumped, rolled away the net."

OVER IN ALGERIA, for whose independence America worked in UN and elsewhere, on the excuse that it would help world peace, a vicious war against one of America's allies was shaping up, a war likely to put the torch to all Africa and the Middle East. Two movements for the liberation of Angola, one of them communist, the other pink, operated recruiting offices under the sponsorship of Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella. Old-time terrorist leader "Colonel" Slimane was dispatched to Leopoldville to prepare the offensive, while Ben Bella requested tanks, artillery and planes from America. Said a prominent European statesman, "Inasmuch as the present Congo government is a puppet of UN and Washington, any attack mounted on Congo territory against Angola cannot fail to engage the responsibility of UN and America."

In anticipation of his military adventure -- southward against Angola, Mozambique and the union of South Africa, or to the east against Israel, Ben Bella started forming his great dream, a 150,000-man mobile Arab Legion. An Afro-Arab conference is in the works to set up a preliminary two-year plan, and Ben Bella's candidacy for all-African leadership was staked on a platform that was simplicity itself. "Our aim," he said in an Angola Liberation Movement speech, "is to liberate all Africa and the Middle East, not only from colonialism but from the presidents and petty kings subservient to the West."

IN FRANCE AND THROUGHOUT WESTERN EUROPE international moral deterioration made a great leap ahead. Teams of men referred to as "barbouzes" (false beards) roam the countries friendly to France, under false papers identifying them as journalists or traveling salesmen, preferably the latter, since journalists are assumed to have political opinions. Under the direction of a man named Plettner in the French Sureté they were combing Europe for de Gaulle's political enemies. De Gaullists, a sprinkling of Red infiltrators and members of the French underworld seizing a profitable opportunity to clear themselves with the police, composed the "barbouzes". Police reports, intelligence files, and communist-run "anti-fascist committees" smoothed their way.

Leaks from offices made porous by dormant anti-Gaullists gradually painted a disturbing picture of 7 barbouze sections in France and 9 abroad, with 5 commando groups of 6 men each to a section.

There were 53 names on the list of those marked for kidnapping into France or assassination on the spot. Heading the list were Georges Bidault, Jacques Soustelle and Colonel

Argoud. Two crack teams covered Italy. On August 17, 1962, Bernardo Valle, an undercover agent of pro-Algerian Italian oil king, Enrico Mattei, picked up Soustelle's trail at Rome's Fiamicino airport as he was about to board a plane for Milan. Word was passed to de Gaulle cells and the Mattei press, and the cloak and dagger story rivaling all fiction followed. Soustelle's arrest by the Italian press (under pressure from Paris and the Italian Communist Party to hand him over) was solely to prevent his liquidation or an Eichmann-type kidnapping. (Two months later Mattei, accompanied by a journalist from TIME Magazine, which had literally taken on the Algerian FLN's propaganda campaign in America, met death in a plane crash.)

THE TWO BARBOUZE TEAMS WORKING WEST GERMANY also had competent allies. Hamburg, under its American-launched, socialist mayor Brauer, sheltered an efficient Algerian intelligence ring trained by former Nazi specialists in Cairo and Red instructors in East Germany. The powerful West German trade unions were solidly behind de Gaulle, as long as he was destroying the enemies of French Socialists. So were the party of Willi Brandt and America's intelligence "front" in West Germany, the Gehlen Bureau. In early 1963 French, Belgian and German police officials held a conference in Brussels, actually the capital of the international socialist movement currently using ineffective anti-communism as a political war-horse in the West. Pretext for the meeting was mutual defense against subversion in time of war. The real reason was the raking in of French refugees working against de Gaulle. De Gaulle had already taken up the matter with Adenauer at summit level. And whatever disagreements the Common Market leaders might have with de Gaulle, on the principle that the political enemy of one is the enemy of all they were united.

In late February a trap was set for Georges Bidault but their quarry gave them the slip, just as he had two months previously when, on the eve of a meeting arranged outside Geneva, a tip-off came from Swiss officials that French agents were arriving en masse and the rendezvous was cancelled. Last September a Belgian socialist paper, THE PEOPLE, jumped the gun and announced the arrest of Colonel Argoud, who had been entrusted with the job of bringing the French army into the fight in April, 1962.

A barbouze group was dispatched to Austria, another to Spain and one to Portugal. At the same time two teams were set up in Belgium. Backing them to the hilt were Belgium's socialist Foreign Minister, Paul Henri Spaak, and the international labor organization manipulated by American delegate, Irving Brown, currently encouraging and financing political strikes in Spain and subversion in Portugal, but no trace of Argoud or de Gaulle's civilian opposition was to be found.

Then came February. Someone advised Bidault to hold a "cabinet meeting" in Munich, under cover of the pre-Lenten Fasching Carnival. Thirty French agents converged on Munich. At the last minute Bidault, either warned of betrayal or not liking the signs, again cancelled the meeting. Somehow word failed to reach Argoud, who at that moment was dictating letters in a Munich hotel to a blonde secretary from Dr. Paul Schmidt's interpreters' school. The hotel manager and two Swiss tourists (never questioned by the German police) saw Argoud struggling as he was forced into a car. On the night of February 27 a French military convoy was waved through a frontier check-point into France without a search, as is usual with trucks of the allied powers in Germany under NATO agreements. The blonde secretary was later reported in Paris "on a vacation".

On Tuesday, February 28, de Gaulle was informed that the mission was accomplished. De Gaulle was jubilant but Frenchmen asked themselves what he would do with Argoud

now that he had him. It is doubtful that the army will tolerate another execution. Fifteen officers refused to command the firing squad that executed Lieutenant Degueudre last July, before an obedient executioner could be found. The fifteen who refused were given sixty days in prison and cashiered from the army. To the dismay of the officer who accepted, the firing squad refused to kill Degueudre and he himself was forced to put six coups-de-grace through the war hero's jaw and face to finish the job. Special police made up the squad that killed Bastien-Thiry this month.

THE IMPORTANCE GIVEN THE POLITICAL KIDNAPPING OF COLONEL ARGOUD in this report does not indicate a deviation from matters pertinent to America. Aside from its concrete example value, indicative of a political morality accepted as normal by an apathetic public, this political kidnapping may have repercussions that will alter our own foreign policy and perhaps our history.

The world was shocked in 1939 when a White Russian general named Miller was kidnapped in broad daylight on a Paris street, hidden for a few days in the Soviet embassy, then shipped to Russia in a box marked books. Then, as now, political thinkers of a conservative hue in western Europe were concerned over public lack of concern throughout the free world. As they see it, it is strange that the barbouzes never succeeded in cornering Bidault or laying their hands on Argoud until a clearly discernible move to destroy de Gaulle from the left was about to be thrown into gear. Then, and then only, was Argoud successfully kidnapped in Munich and Bidault brought to bay in Bavaria. Was it as enemies of de Gaulle or of the French Left that they were tracked down? There was more to come on the drive from a new quarter to get de Gaulle.

A WAVE OF STRIKES SWEEPED THE COAL MINES OF FRANCE. It came suddenly to add to the troubles caused by men who had brought de Gaulle into power and were being hounded across Europe or into prisons when they protested that they and the nation had been betrayed.

On the heels of the worst winter in 80 years, with coal stocks at their lowest, France's miners warned the nation in late February that March 1 would usher in a strike. Last October was to have seen the showdown between government and labor. Prices were soaring and salaries in the nationalized industries (mines, gas, electricity and railroads) had not kept pace. But elections were due in November and the mysterious powers setting political strikes in motion, often from a great distance, were considerate of the government fighting for its life for having satisfied the demands of UN, Russia and America in Algeria.

Why then did these powers choose March 1, 1963, for their test of strength?

NUMEROUS EXPLANATIONS WERE GIVEN, but no reputable European or American newspaper perceived, or at least reported, what competent men studying the sinuous turnings of international labor affairs saw taking shape. US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, critical of labor's high-handedness within America, disposed of the French crisis with an innocuous page.

THE FIRST COINCIDENCE TO IMPRESS THE SPECIALISTS was that the strike came just after de Gaulle torpedoed Britain's entry into the Brussels-based Common Market, opposed the Market group's slide towards socialist supra-nationalism, and defied America's efforts to block the development of a French nuclear striking force. All three projects were equally dear to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the



capital of which is also Brussels. And 138 affiliated organizations in 107 nations, boasting a membership of 55,662,862 regimented militants make up the weight ICFTU can throw into a fight against any industry or national leader singled out for attack.

American labor provides the political direction and the money, and none of the laws hampering political parties or individuals apply.

A closer look at the pieces falling into place:

A WEARY AND DISHEARTENED MACMILLAN had returned to London with Lady Dorothy after their disappointing visit to Rambouillet with de Gaulle in mid-December. "Nothing went well; neither the weather nor the talks. It was a wasted weekend", as Macmillan expressed it; on descending from the plane. The cabinet was convened in Admiralty House. There Macmillan put his cards on the table. In effect, what he had to say was that it was a foregone conclusion that de Gaulle would use every pretext to bar their entry into the Common Market. It was at that meeting that plans were made to throw everything they had into an attack against de Gaulle, in the event that neither the adroit statesmanship of Edward Heath nor the pressure of President Kennedy could open the Brussels door.

The day after the cabinet meeting the Prime Minister took off for Nassau, via Brussels. Macmillan's problem was getting a foot in the door of the Brussels club, or the founding of a new one, in Rome, one that Britain would dominate, supported by "perpetual ties with Canada and America". Kennedy's problem was his quid pro quo for Krushchev: How to guarantee that no American ally will be able to use a national nuclear warhead against Soviet Russia. Britain could be controlled by withdrawing the Skybolts carried by British bombers and replacing them with Polaris missiles, electronically locked, subject to push-button release from Washington. France, due to test an H-bomb in late 1963, was another matter. (America is expected to underwrite African demonstrations of disapproval when French tests take place.)

Macmillan's aims and Kennedy's both demanded the fall of de Gaulle -- but under conditions agreeable to themselves. And the men in America deciding who is to rule countries friendly to the West preclude any but a Leftist succession to de Gaulle. The civilian opposition in exile and the army officers paralleling them must be immobilized before the putsch occurs.

PUTTING TWO AND TWO TOGETHER THE PROBERS FOUND: On January 25 Common Market union leaders sat in a huddle in London with top men of the British Trade Union Congress. Presiding was the head of France's FORCE OUVRIERE (FO), one of the puppet unions shepherded by AFL-CIO delegate Irving Brown. Purpose of the meeting: The drive to "get" de Gaulle. "Workers' organizations must consult each other and work together in order to attain their common political objectives" was the way they put it. The powerful German DGB union passed a motion that "all the governments interested apply combined pressure until the conclusion of a Common Market accord with Britain."

On January 28 and 29 a British labor delegation met with ICFTU representatives in Rome to form "a workers' coalition alongside the political coalition being erected against France."

On February 4 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL carried a front page story headed "U. S. UNIONS GIVE CASH TO SUPPORT ORGANIZING AND STRIKES OVERSEAS." Speaking of the proceeds from AFL-CIO's \$40.6 million war chest being spent abroad, "The money goes mainly to support strikes and propagandize for pro-union legislation", said the

Journal approvingly. There was an inference that our action prevents foreign unions from falling under communist control. Under analysis the thesis collapses, as does the statement to the effect that financing strikes to raise foreign wage levels will halt the flow of gold from America. Economists not of the Schlesinger-Heller school agree that European strikes, tele-commanded from America supposedly to arrest the U. S. gold out-flow by upping foreign wage levels, have had much to do with the murderous inflation threatening Europe. They have halted America's gold hemorrhage not at all. What they have done is close factories, create unemployment with its resultant fertile field for communist agitation, and show American firms contemplating flight from AFL-CIO clutches at home that big brother can get them, no matter where they go. How exporting inflation and unemployment can halt communism is something the parties parroting that claim should be asked to explain.

Politically, the main targets of the coup d'etat-by-strike exponents are, as the fight now stands, Franco, Salazar of Portugal, and de Gaulle. Almost every news release of the ICFTU since April, 1962, has carried announcements of sums donated by American or other affiliated organizations to pay Spanish laborers not to work. It is common practice to refer to this sort of activity as "the introduction of peaceful social revolution", particularly in our State-Department-approved activity in Latin America. It is misleading for the simple reason that such social revolution remains peaceful only so long as those being despoiled consent not to resist.

In a letter to the Rockford (Illinois) Register - Republic, of January 5, 1963, Irving Brown (AFL-CIO delegate to ICFTU and ICFTU delegate to UN) wrote that the ICFTU is proud that it not only has enemies in the communist world (which is debatable, since the ICFTU tells that world it belongs to neither military nor ideological camp!) but also, "interestingly enough, in the totalitarian right like Franco Spain, Portugal and the militarist dictatorships of Latin America".

As he wrote, Santo Domingo's former intelligence chief, General Arturo Espallat, was lying low in Ottawa, trying to contact any foreign power interested in his files on the American agents responsible for the assassination of Trujillo, the plot employed and the sums spent.

The only mention made by THE WALL STREET JOURNAL in the February 4, 1963, article quoted was in four lines on European criticism of American labor's foreign meddling as "politically inspired by the State Department". No more.

Twenty days later came the coal miners' defiance in France. The labor world government in Brussels was declaring war.

DE GAULLE USED HIS TIME-TRIED WEAPON: MOBILIZATION. Communist unions expressed willingness to go back to work after a 48-hour token walk-out, and they abstained from any personal attacks on de Gaulle. It was FORCE OUVRIERE and the Confederation of Christian Workers (both of which answered all communist calls to street demonstrations throughout the Algerian War) that prepared for a fight to the finish. In the government's arsenal two powerful weapons remained, short of surrender: Propaganda, which is to say radio, T-V, and press, and (2) the police, semi-military and civilian, of the nation. The government was cautious. A general tightening of the country's labor ranks was discernible. The iron mines, gas company and national railroads began to stir. Immediately threatened was the steel industry. It was not necessary to read THE WALL STREET JOURNAL to know what source the rebelling workers were counting on for moral and financial support. The specialists see

in the gathering forces an extremely interesting political experiment.

USING THESE TWO WEAPONS, PROPAGANDA AND FORCE, sometimes separately, sometimes together, de Gaulle was able, in the past, to double-cross his supporters, abandon Algeria, impose the "peace" demanded by UN and Washington, break his army and bring parliament to its knees. Now he is up against a working class that has moved from social opposition to political, with a 107-nation international organization behind it, as well as American labor's warchest. In effect, the forces that supported de Gaulle while he was duping the country and breaking his army and parliament, to please UN, America, the Afro-Asiatics and the communist bloc, are now using the inflation that was fanned "to halt America's gold outflow" to bring down their former servant.

The spectre of bloody battles between army and strikers, such as tore France apart before 1914, may give pause to officials and local labor leaders who remember them. There is no indication at all that "Labor's Foreign Aid Providers" (WALL STREET JOURNAL, Feb. 4, 1963) are appalled by the prospect.

This crisis is grave. The men behind it are merciless, and what we are watching is no mere showdown between worker and management. It is an attempt to bring down a government, prevent its center and right-of-center opposition from closing ranks, and then, while confusion reigns, bring in a socialist regime.

In his "Technique of a Coup d'Etat", written in 1931, (H. du B. REPORTS, May, 1962) Malaparte holds up the socialist take-over in Germany in 1920 as the perfect example of the use of Marxism's heavy artillery, the political strike, to break a government. In the German case only native unions were involved. De Gaulle is the first Western leader to clash head-on with the giant international organization backed by a huge solidarity fund provided from abroad. The outcome will decide the future of Western Europe and perhaps the world.

In America, where labor has never lost a battle and government (the power being challenged now in France) has never come to the aid of management, the public has been told nothing of the forces involved and the prizes at stake. Weighed against the greater implications, de Gaulle, per se, is unimportant. It is conceivable that an American president, having performed "Operation Salami" for his enemies (lopped off their counter-balance in thin slices) may some day fall under the same conditions.

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