

Vietnam

- 1- L'initiative de la Poinc fut communiquee a Legation France de l'ONU? J'ai vu une note de Johnson sans mentionner le gouvernement italien. C'est-à-dire que cet acte n'est pas un acte officiel (ce qui en tel cas aurait été mentionné) mais agit comme Président de l'Assemblée de l'ONU. Une autre note aurait été envoyée au Directeur Information U-Thant, tentant plus de l'initiative de la Poinc en montrant de l'interférence en la initiative de Legation France de l'ONU? Mc U-Thant ne s'est pas occupé de cette affaire de France.
③
- 2- Le mandat des forces italiennes en la Corée du Sud respectivement de la partie de Pusan vers Dong et dans les régions pour les services américains ne sont toujours répétitifs d'accidents? ② Et in ces affirmations non est venue mentalement de transmettre tels messages au Président Johnson le gouvernement italien venir à prendre possession de la partie de la côte d'Hanoï? %

Il vero significato dei quattro punti è
stato, del resto, onestamente riconosciuto
dallo stesso Ho Chi Minh nella sua
sentenza del tribunale di Poin

Via 2

domiciliato a

del Sig.

Segnalato il

①

desidera (scrivere chiaramente l'oggetto della raccomandazione che si richiede)

professione

in via

domiciliato a

nato a

il

Il Sig.

UFFICIO ASSISTENZA

VIA G. VENEZIAN, 55 - TEL. 240.909

DIREZIONE PROVINCIALE DI MESSINA

PARTITO LIBERALE ITALIANO

3. Perché tanto prima che l'immigrazione in Cina
fosse nota, si era risaputo che ad un'offerta
di mediazione del governo degli Stati italiani il rifiuto
veniva di fatto avere offerta presso nuove, contenute
tali esentate immigrazione inoffensiva ed inutile. Dove
dove documentare perché il governo francese non chiese
l'autorizzazione del dipartimento di Stato anche per la sua
via in Cina? E perché, se l'immigrazione in Cina
aveva avuto luogo a suo rifiuto, egli fu la svolta
in la lettera a Johnson?

4. L'attività del governo degli Stati a tale riguardo
comunque necessariamente la responsabilità del governo
italiano, anche nel caso di cui effettivamente il
governo francese si sia astenuto dal fare nulla
quando egli quale presidente dell'Assemblea dell'ONU.
Dopo il governo non era all'ordine della giustizia
né, né perché passava delle funzioni collettive
né nelle redazioni delle lettere a Johnson, né perché
il nostro ambasciatore a Washington era un suo tale
prima delle funzioni che dissolse il
governo degli Stati deplorando l'immigrazione e il suo

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Chiedo infine che il Presidente della Commissione di
momento delle dimissioni di Giuseppe P. ha
un pubblico atto di aver agito in
armonia col programma e colle linee politiche
del governo. Ciò che l'onorevole Giuseppe P.
è giustamente affrettato a rilevare nella sua
relazione al Senato del Consiglio - L'affare
La Pira Duque (con le medaglie on Honor)

Segnalato il coinvolge la responsabilità del governo
dal Sig.

domiciliato a
via proprio nel mese di dicembre il Legato di

Stato chieder a Parigi le solite sup. allate per
le firme nel Vietnam. L'altro obdovato è stato manifestato?

5. L'ee è stata annunciata (come un tempo
si poteva affermare), come si conviene da un lato
con la medesima la Pma ed il credito ad essa
data nel primo volume e dall'altro con la
nota bionzini del P.S.I.?

Del mio lavoro del 1962

Volere o non volere la stessa cosa, dove Sallustia . . .



CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

(1); ~~vedi lista aff. - più spalti d'alto espert~~
Affare La Pira (lett. a d. p. n. v.)

Interne discussioni = non ragioni d'urto

Times = non sono avvenute per una ragione politica

È noi non vogliamo esaminare ragioni personali. Anche se - disprezz

Unico aspetto politico = ripudio travolgente idee... Di questo = dagli atto

Nemmeno discussioni sulla soluzione politica: interim!

Cio che invece importa creare = politica del governo in rapporto medesimo

Questo argomento = (aspetto interpellanza e richiesta comuni). Puntiglio!!

Un'altra La Pira = interpellanza politica che investe non solo M. I. ma governo...

È giusto che qui venga discussa, e non già per le intenzioni cui tutti si riferiscono

Nella politica le intenzioni non contano, contano i fatti

Fanfani = "senza informare il governo" - presente ONU?

Ma anche in tal caso ne coinvolge la responsabilità (ex Ministri, colpevole funzione)

Così è stato infatti giudicato dal nostro Ambasciatore a Wash. = dissoluta

Si dice che L. P. = di sola iniziativa. Ma F. avverte L. P. e Moro avverte F.

È vero che quest'ultimo avverte = dimissioni. Per cui F. = Prati

Ma, anche a quel momento, egli merita di apprezzarlo = solidità nella replica

Questo = avvenim. molto criticati. n. polit. est. March. Guardian = creatore

Se l'ha creata = i respons. della pol. est. si non ha coinvolto senza della p. e.

Ricordo a Napoli = in condiz. di non muovere. Ma perché muove? = sul serio

Egli stesso l'ha confessato: voleva che mi presentassi sul serio

Se L. P. cercava notorietà, gli l'ha avuta: da Altanero a governo...



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Questi epiteti ^{infatti} vanno solo a La Pira, ma agli atti compiuti dai respondenti.
 L'on. F. per difendersi da queste accuse = Ringraz. Russk. Ma: Stampe; Johnson
 Ringraz. = form. diplom. ; anche anticipo vacanze = form. diplom.
 D'altra parte se è vero che già prima = offerta medag. e riserve D. S. =
 = invito alla meditazione (forma dell'avviso)?
~~La Pira~~ l'accusa di infantil. politico rivolta alla medag. d. P. = ~~La Pira~~
 = in armonia col carattere dell'uomo risposta alla Pira

Wilson = stary-eyed and unreliable
 Noi diremmo più semplicemente = ^{particciola} ~~grandioso~~ e leggero
 In un mio discorso = Fra fireproof: questo è da Pira
 Segno della grandanità e leggerezza = Primicerio (tutto da Pira)
 Dieci anni addietro = Bogomolov
 Ciò che noi ^{che c'entra in quanto il sistema?} ~~rispondiamo~~ al ~~forbicus~~ = ingenuità fatta nel dibattito. Neppure
 Se la polit. è un'arte, a maggior ragione politica internazionale
 Orbene, è stato giust. tutto che in arte il dibattito è con nuova dell'arte
 Lo sta vale per la politica; Vanità è oggi forment. il dett. in pol.; suor. e pag.
 Venendo al merito della quest. = 2 appunti a F. confortano la politica vera
 Non vorrei aver l'aria di insinuare...: al contrario, vorrei... "non fa..."
 I due appunti = 1°) Se venendo a F. senza informare... = quale Presidente, perché
 2°) Il ministro degli esteri ital. non poteva non essere al corrente (4 punti) (...?)
 Perché gli USA non li hanno mai voluti accettare come interpreti?



CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

21 luglio 1954 Dichiarazione 8 potenze e divisione (1950)

Adesione con Dichiaraz. separate USA: grave preoccup., seria minacce..

In vista di cosa = assistenza milit. richiesta da Saigon

I quattro punti di Pham van Dong includono il ritiro

Americani = 14 punti = depositi a dicembre (ma non base!)

Si aggiunga che definiz. ingerenza straniera secondo Hanoi = unica negoziata

Possibile che Ministro Ester non sapeva ciò? E se lo sapeva = ...?

Infatti prima ^{effetto =} impressione (errata) = Hanoi vuole trattare a Wash.

Del resto, il vero signif. dei 4 punti = esattamente Ho Chi Minh (mentite)

Intesa Felix pieu = 2 condizioni: ritiro e ricambio F.d.N. = solo...

Ora, noi siamo alleati degli USA e non possiamo dissentire: questa delle quest.

monti a un'ora e due miliardi di lire, al giorno?

Ciò che caratterizza questo episodio, come tutta la pol. est. = contradiz.

Nel 1962 (dizionario I-gr. C.S.) = contraddizioni PSI e governo

Alcuni elementi parecchie questioni: Vietnam, Berlino, Rapacki, Cina, F.M.d.

Alcune entrano ancora in altre se ne sono aggiunte e sempre = contrad.

nessun tentativo di risoluzione: soli sforzi = nascondere dietro form. verb.

Nei affari da Pim le contraddizioni esplodono:

~~Riunione~~ Riunione C. Atl. H. de. e solidarietà (Russe)

Tra parentesi = costante direttiva w/ polit. est. = al di là estens. territor.

La pace = una w. indivisibile: quando è turbata in Asia è minacciata l'Europa



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Orbene: la solidarietà richiesta è stata promessa?

Attendiamo una risposta: in queste cose non è lecito tacere (avvenire e vite)

1) Se è stata promessa, come si concilia lettera a Johnson? (noti fogli)

Nota = accettazione implicita da parte di lei 4 punti

In tal caso solidarietà promessa agli USA ma manifestata al Vietnam

Inoltre: come si concilia atteggiamento uff. PSI (parole dirigenti e documenti)? (17 Dec.)

Sallustio: volere o non volere.

Su queste cose impossibile sorvolare. Tollerare due l'una:

a) o i socialisti si adatti ad una polit. offerta alle loro, ed allora

b) o si adatti il governo a fare una polit. offerta a quella (invece di...)

2) Se non è stata promessa, come si concilia con la pol. att. avvertita dal Capo dello St. nel messaggio?

d'affare d.P. ha gettato il più ~~grave~~ ^{grave} discredito sul governo ital.

Lo sono il P.C. a ricorrono che l'on. Moro non lo meriterebbe

Ma questo discredito è il frutto delle contraddizioni esistenti; non è

Lo lo segnalo alla coscienza del Presidente del Consiglio (allontanare il...)

Egli sa assai meglio di me che ciò che stupisce...

Non è possibile, parlando di politica estera, trascurare un atto...
Impensabile diment. che tra pochi giorni (Lussemburgo) = crisi



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Tutti sanno che finanziam. pol. agr. = occasione se non pretesto
Ragioni più profonde: a) Come 2o stroke revisione d'insieme

b) risposta tardiva invito stroke e dialogo (agric.)

c) sedia vuota 3 Comunità

Verità = aspirazione a ritorne al solo fatto economico

De Gaulle ^(S. Carlo) ~~novembre~~ (T.V.) = riprend. il camm. ma a condiz. egue. . .

Tra parentesi: anche il C.C. del PCI nei medesimi termini !!

Sulla conferenza di Lussemburgo = grande osato, com'è giusto

ma noi = grave preoccupazione: ~~proposito Spies~~ = ~~avanz~~

Tre richieste di Cowe de Murole a Formari

Una accolta = Lussemburgo: Scaramanzia?

E le altre? a) Inoffortum. allontani. chi ha bene operato

b) Problema delle votazioni a maggioranza

Oceano riconosce che il comunic. finale confer. a 5 di novembre = ferruggine

Inoltre: affievolimento comportam. seggio e cento on. Colombo

Impossibile altre richieste modifiche formale o de facto (gentleman's...)

La struttura di trattato = sola garanzia che il fine ultimo . . .

D'altra parte, ridotto al solo fatto econom. = inaffidabil. sopravv.

Crisi ricorrenti (1962, 63, 64, 65) = Colosso dai piedi d'argilla

Il Presidente de Gaulle sembra aver dimenticato quanto egli stesso . . .

Questo conflitto è salone il MEC. Non possiamo dimenticare . . .

Finis ultimus = ragione della sua esistenza: propter vitam . . . ?



Affare La Pira

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1. Questa denuncia = non segue discussioni fuffanti = interrotta
 Si tratta di una formula che staccano fino a un certo punto
 Potrebbe se non si facesse caso che staccano l'on-fuffanti = confessione!
 Del punto di vista politico non da a tal riguardo interruzione = confusione
 2. Ma la denuncia = ^{giudizio} ~~avanzamento~~ proceduto = ^{collegamento} ~~relazione~~ } a la Pira
 Questi = reputazione politica da investire non solo persona ma governo

Fatti:

- a) Uno è che fuffanti = "senza riformare il governo"
 due = non si è visto della collaborazione programata
 e poi = telegrammi fuffanti (Dordicizza...)

b) Uno ha detto che fuffanti ha operato nella attenzione...
 Petato, anche se veramente non si sono ^{mai} ~~mai~~ ^{mai} ~~mai~~ (= assunzione respinta)

3. Mediaset La Pira. Avvenimenti molto criticabile della n/ politica estera
 Non si parte se davvero = di una negazione e ad insaputa...
 Die fatto tra fuffanti = mezzo per via lungo viaggio (voto di fuffanti)
 Non si parte = a) fuffanti ha avvertito La Pira colle lettere a Johnson
 b) Uno ha avvertito fuffanti con il suo telegramma
 (v. fogli allegati: 4) Caputo che = governo Petri: Dio to solo



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confessione d' "cete vera"

8. L' on. Jofani mi presentava se insistendo sulle certezze
dizini del suo agente a proposito dell' ingiustizia da Pira = ingiustizia di
che riferire conto di lui. Vana: proprio che il mio denaro
non "fa scov" di forte agguame"

ma : a) Se ag- come presento dai ONU ... (v. fogli alleg. 1)

b) Conoscere i punti punti ... ? (v. fogli alleg. 2)

9. Cio' che in questo episodio ha ^{adesso} ^{nel 1954 (21 luglio)} ^{contingente} ^{polit. estero} =
= contraddizioni (come in tutte le folie estere del C.S.)

nel 1962, parlando sul premio Jofani ...

(Volevo o non volevo le stesse cose ...)

Orbene : a) come si conclude la medesima fra Pira con la solidarietà

b) come si conclude la solidarietà con la prigionia del PSI?
(v. fogli alleg. 5)



Affare La Pira

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Ciò che conferisce interesse a questa Tircus. = non ragioni Murstoni
 Le discussioni non sono assai per una ragione politica (Times)
 Questioni personali: se mai, potrebbe dispiacere = confessione moglie
 Del punto di vista politico ciò che può aver interesse = affidato ite...
 Di gusto = punto di vista
 E nemmeno grande interesse discussione su soluzione adottata: interim!

Ciò che può conferire vero interesse politico = avvenire. precedenti
 Perciò = giusta soddisfazione per abbinamento interculturale
 Mediazione da Pira = importanza politica che investe non solo F... ma forse
 F. ci ha fatto sapere = nella qualità ONU. Infatti = senza informare il Gov.
 ma anche in tal caso ne coinvolge la responsabilità:

a) egli conservava l'ufficio di ministro degli Esteri

b) si vede dalla collaborazione di funzionari della Fanfani

Ciò è tanto vero che ambasciatore a Washington è di desiderare
 Inoltre Presente Moro = fatto atto di aver agito in armonia col programma...

Pertanto, anche se non sapeva prima, sapendolo dopo = assunzione responsabilità

Mediazione La Pira = avvenire. molto criticato della politica di governo.

Non importa se lavoro La Pira = di sua iniziativa e ad iniziativa di tutti

Tra parentesi: e i mezzi finanziari = voto di governo ecc.

Ciò che importa = a) Fanfani accolse La Pira

b) Moro accolse Fanfani



(D) del mondo intero: di delittuoso e 2
governo = tutto una panna...

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È vero che quest'ultimo avallo = dimissioni = Fanfani potrebbe andare
| Gio. Prati: Dio ti guardi dal di' della lode (giorno della morte)

Ma F. ha meritato di appoggiare questo avallo
Mancato prater: d. P. ha merit. la rivista della politica est. italiana
Ma anche l'ha meritata = i responsab. della pol. est. lo avremo preso sul serio.

Ciò che è stato detto per d. P. (Wilson) vale per Fanfani e di riflette nel governo.
Se d. P. aveva notato che d'una parte. Ma anche F. e il governo - ~~gli altri i giorni~~ (D)
Fanfani = ringraziare di ~~giorno~~ Rusk, ma = stasera Johnson

Ringraziamento = formula diplomatica, come diplomatico e l'antifora delle Vesp.

Si è detto che aveva prima .. = offerta mediazione e ricerca disp. di Stato
Perché allora non fu chiesta l'autorizz. anche per la medy. de Pir?

Perché, se ad insaputa = avallo senza controllo?

Questa mediazione = accusa di infantilismo politico ~~non è altro~~

Altre parti di cosa l. P. per come = in armonia col suo carattere
In un mio discorso = fra i nostri

Segno della grandanità e leggerezza = formula primierio

Io credo che egli questo abbia fatto ~~la dimissioni di dimissioni da lui~~
= che tutto se tira

Circa dieci anni addietro = Bogomolov

Sottoger. Riccio (discorso di Napoli) = in condizioni di non nuocere.

Ma perché nuoce? = fuoro sul serio

Però la nostra critica di offesa sul governo = ~~per~~ ^{ingenuo} nel delittuoso capiriano

Se la polit. è un'arte, ciò vale soprattutto per la polit. internazionale.



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Ordine, è stato giudicare. Tutto che "in arte il dilettante è cosa venuta dall'arte"
"Vanità ed ozio fomentano il dilettantismo ^{in politica} come sever. e paz. confort. ^{infant-vecchi} ~~la vita vera~~

L'on. Fanfani mi perdona se insistendo ... = impens. di riferire ...
Forse, al contrario, che "il mio discorso" non fa sapor n' forte agrume"
Ma è impossibile non porsi i seguenti quesiti:

a) Se F. scrive a J. senza inform. il gov. it. " = agi" come Presid. ONU?
E allora non avrebbe dovuto... U-Thant (interferenze negative ONU)?

Ma U-Thant = solo dai giornali (dichiaraz. ai giornalisti)

b) Il ministro degli Esteri italiano era al corrente = La Pointe Pham van Dong?
Perché gli S. U. non lo hanno mai voluto accettare. come interpretaz. ...?

21 luglio 1954 = Dichiarazione otto regioni e 17° parallelo

Adesione S. U. con dichiaraz. unilaterale (v. testo)

In virtù di tale dichiarazione = assistenza milit. a richiesta Saigon

Ora questo punto = ritiro ^{Inghilterra} di truppe americane e ^{di} definizione ingerenza straniera = non Hanoi

Possibile che Ministro Esteri non sapesse questo? E se lo sapeva ...?

Infatti, impensabile ^{erata} = Hanoi include truppe e "Washington si ripinta"
del resto vero significa. onestà. vicinose. Da Ho Chi Minh = smantellata

(Intervista a Felix Greene) Ritiro truppe americane e vicinose. Fronte Liberty.

Quanti per l'America della con: 112 morti e 17000 militari / Neg. come il solo gemino...
al fine



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(Φ) o i involti di Adriano e una Volt. offit
i loro rapporti politici e quelli amministrativi ed il Paese
i loro rapporti politici e quelli amministrativi ed il Paese

Cio che in questo episodio come in tutta la Volt. estera... = contraddiz.
Nel 1962, dicono 1° gov. C.S. = contraddizioni PSI e governo
So elencare allora parecchie questioni: Diano, Berlino, Rapaci, Cine, F.H.
Alcuni di queste esistono ancora ed altre se ne sono aggiunte
Una sempre su tutte = medesimo contatto

Nessun tentativo risolvere i contatti: soli sforzi = nascondere:
In questo affare la Cina esplodono ~~contradizioni~~ ^{le contraddizioni} formule verbali

a) riunione C: Atlant. dicembre e solidarietà (Rusk)
Sia fatto tra parentesi: costante ~~polit.~~ ^{polit.} estera ital. =

La pace è una ~~indivisibile~~ ^{indivisibile}
Comunque: la solidarietà è stata promessa (manifesto) = ^{al 1°} estensione territor.
Unica risposta: in quale caso si ~~risponde~~ ^{risponde} il presidente? la lettera a Johnson con la solidarietà?

La lettera a Johnson = accettazione di fronte Phau van Dong
Questa solidarietà ~~non~~ ^{promessa agli USA e stata manifestata} USA, ma ~~no~~ al Vietnam

E se la solidarietà ~~non~~ ^è stata promessa, come si concilia
Atteggiamento. PSI: parole d'ordine e documento ufficiali

Volere o non volere (Salustiano) | PSI?
Su quale caso è responsabile in ordine, perché: a) (Φ) è stata concessa =
2) Se per la solidarietà richiesta non ~~fosse~~ stata concessa =

= come si concilia con la politica atlantica ancora esistente
Credo il Presidente del Consiglio che n'ia fuori | del Cefo dello Stato il 1°?

Ma in queste cose nascondere detto un dato?



CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

5

L'affare ha una ha pettato il più profondo diritto nel forum
Lo sono il primo a riconoscere che l'on. Moro non lo merita italiano
Ma questo diritto è il frutto delle contraddizioni esistenti: non si
allontana il diritto se non si eliminano le

contradiz.

Lo lo seguito alle cose del Presidente del Consiglio
Egli se avrà meglio di me che ciò che disputa non è
) sopravvenire. E vivere: vivere secondo principi.

Il Presidente incassatore = al di là dell'interfollaga, altro importante problema
Impossibile rinviare da tre (tre) giorni = Lussemburgo = soluzione con
Tutti sanno che problema agrod = occasione se non pretesto.

A quel momento accusa di rappresentante aver manomato...

Infatti: a) dare troppo tempo

b) fare scherzosa a mezzanotte

Ma in realtà = temperamento di F. e non deliberato proposito

L'articolo non va recitare...

Probabilmente F. non ignora San Just.

E dunque = interesse ad evitare; tanto più che i suoi più intimi
che l'articolo che è in lui è più forte di lui causa = tendenza autoritaria

In realtà = ragioni più profonde



6

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Infatti: a) Come Annuller by. Lo strabe (revisione d'insieme)
b) risposta tardiva all'invito e nessuna alle profete agricole
c) sed è vuoto non solo CEE

Verità = aspirazione a ridurre al solo fatto economico
Dici anni fa a Messine = meglio e non fine

Questo il governo francese non ha mai voluto tollerare
Conferenza televisiva 4 novembre De Gaulle = l'androgam equo ...

Il Come le burocrazie all' ^{ambasciatore francese} ~~ambasciatore francese~~ = 3 richieste
Una sembra sia stata accolta: Lussenburg = scarcerazione?
Le altre saranno accolta?

Infortunio all'annuncio di ciò che con bene aperto
Problema delle votazioni a maggioranza

Il comunicato finale della conferenza a cinque d'ottobre =
Apprezzamento dell'aperta di Colombo } = speranza di progresso

Non è possibile cedere alla richiesta di modifica o di gentilezza agr.
La struttura del trattato = garanzia che il fine non sia
d'altra parte ridotto al fatto economico, il MEC... = } trattato

Numero anni: ~~1962~~ 1962, 63, 64, 65

Parla De Gaulle, ad un certo momento ...

~~Il fine ultimo = regione delle nati del MEC~~
Non possiamo dimenticare: quel fine o molto d'unità? segno
Fine ultimo = regione delle nati Profeta ritardare ... ? | l'uso = Diplomatico

V I E T N A M

Il seguito di allarmanti avvenimenti iniziatisi in Vietnam con l'attacco contro la base americana di Pleiku nella notte fra il 7 e l'8 corr., non rappresenta che una nuova e più pericolosa fase della grave situazione che si protrae ormai da anni in quel settore.

Per valutare tale situazione, occorre rifare una breve sintesi dei precedenti che l'hanno determinata.

Gli accordi di Ginevra del 21 luglio 1954, che posero fine alla guerra francese in Indocina, divisero il Vietnam in due zone all'altezza del 17° parallelo. Il Vietminh, o Vietnam del nord con capitale Hanoi, adottò un regime comunista sotto la guida di Ho Chi Minh; il Vietnam del Sud, con capitale Saigon, si costituì in una repubblica di carattere democratico occidentale. La dichiarazione finale della Conferenza di Ginevra fu firmata il 21 luglio 1954 da 8 Stati ("eight Nation Declaration"): Francia, Gran Bretagna, URSS, Cina Comunista, Cambogia, Laos, Vietnam e Governo del Vietminh. Gli Stati Uniti aderirono in linee di massima con una dichiarazione unilaterale, con le riserve che "It would view any renewal of aggression in violation of the aforesaid agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security".

Per la vigilanza sul mantenimento della situazione stabilita dagli accordi fu costituita una "Commissione internazionale di controllo" composta da Polonia, India e Canada (presieduta dall'India) che iniziò le sue funzioni il 16 agosto 1954.

Gli accordi prevedevano una successiva riunificazione dell'intero Vietnam dopo libere elezioni da tenersi entro il 20 luglio 1956. Tali elezioni, tuttavia, non poterono essere tenute, e invece sotto l'influenza di Pechino, il Vietnam del Nord ^{iniziò} una pressione tale da provocare la richiesta del Governo di Saigon agli Stati

Uniti di assistenza per difendere il proprio territorio dalle infiltrazioni di elementi sovversivi addestrati nel Nord e provvisti di materiale militare di provenienza comunista.

In data 13 maggio 1961, il Governo americano e il Governo di Saigon emanarono una "dichiarazione congiunta" che sottolineava come l'indipendenza e l'integrità territoriale del Sud Vietnam fossero state "brutalmente e sistematicamente" violate da agenti comunisti e da forze affluite dal Nord Vietnam, e dichiarava l'impegno dei due Governi di far rispettare i legittimi diritti del popolo del Vietnam libero per la scelta del suo sistema di vita. A tal fine veniva annunciata l'impostazione di programmi di assistenza militare e di un vasto piano di programmazione economica, per "rendere il Vietnam capace di provvedere con le proprie forze al suo sviluppo economico".

La dichiarazione congiunta americano-sudvietnamita era stata preceduta - merita di essere rilevato - da ripetute analoghe dichiarazioni da parte di Pechino e di Mosca a favore del Governo di Hanoi e dalla fornitura di mezzi militari al Vietnam del Nord da parte delle sue predette capitali comuniste.

Queste sono le premesse sulle quali si basano la presenza americana nel Vietnam Meridionale e l'assistenza economica e militare fornita da Washington a richiesta del Governo di Saigon.

Senza descrivere dettagliatamente gli eventi svoltisi negli ultimi anni, è tuttavia opportuno far cenno all'episodio che in certo qual modo ha preceduto quello verificatosi con l'attacco contro installazioni militari americane verificatosi nella notte tra il 7 e l'8 febbraio 1965.

Tra il 31 luglio e il 4 agosto 1964 formazioni navali americane, in servizio di pattugliamento nelle acque internazionali del Golfo del Tonchino furono attaccate per due volte da motosiluranti nordvietnamiti. Dopo il secondo attacco, il Governo americano ordinò una rappresaglia aerea contro le basi di partenza degli attaccanti in territorio nordvietnamita. In quella circostanza Washington annunciò molto chiaramente che ogni attacco contro forze americane avrebbe ricevuto una analoga risposta. L'avvertimento fu solennemente pronunciato dal Presidente Johnson il 10 agosto 1964. Fu anche rinnovato il 1° dicembre 1964 dopo un attacco dei guerriglieri Vietcong contro mezzi e personale americani situati nelle basi aeree sudvietnamite. Il monito, formulato in termini molto decisi, confermò che gli Stati Uniti avrebbero risposto con rappresaglie a qualsiasi attacco contro le loro forze armate da parte degli elementi Vietcong appoggiati da Hanoi.

Da parte americana, tuttavia, si è sempre avuto cura di precisare che le reazioni agli attacchi dei nordvietnamiti avrebbero assunto la forma di rappresaglie "limitate e proporzionate", non suscettibile di essere interpretata come una estensione del conflitto al Vietnam del Nord.

Ora di fronte all'aggravamento della crisi portata dagli avvenimenti dei giorni scorsi, quale interpretazione può essere data al fatto che i Vietcong abbiano lanciato un attacco destinato a produrre serie conseguenze sul piano militare e psicologico, proprio nel momento in cui ad Hanoi aveva luogo una visita ufficiale del Premier Sovietico?

La coincidenza non può essere casuale, e si possono fare varie ipotesi. Se l'iniziativa è partita dai guerriglieri del Vietnam del Nord, si può pensare che in tal modo il Governo di Hanoi abbia voluto costringere i sovietici a fornire quell'assi-

stenza di cui ha bisogno. Potrebbe darsi invece che quel Governo avesse pensato che una presenza sovietica nel Nord Vietnam potesse rappresentare una forma di pressione per un indirizzo mediatore nella questione del Sud-Est Asiatico, pressione mediatore certamente non gradita da Pechino.

Se poi, come sembra più probabile, le file dell'azione sono in gran parte tenute dai comunisti cinesi, occorre tener conto di problemi di strategia molto più generale. Sono infatti chiare due cose: la prima è che i cinesi non possono vedere con favore la ripresa di un'attività sovietica in un settore che Pechino considera come zona di sua diretta influenza; la seconda è che questa presenza potrebbe essere tollerata soltanto nel caso in cui essa significasse modificazione sostanziale della politica sovietica nei rapporti tra Mosca e Pechino. Si può giungere a pensare che con l'aggravare, anzi con il drammatizzare calorosamente, la situazione in quel settore, vi possa essere da parte cinese il recondito obiettivo di compromettere la politica distensiva dell'Unione Sovietica, creando quel confronto diretto, sia pure in un settore marginale, fra Mosca e Washington che americani e sovietici avevano finora cercato di evitare.

Il Centro
26/12/65

La lettera di Fanfani

In data 20 novembre scorso, l'on. Fanfani, nella sua qualità di Presidente dell'ONU, a seguito di un rapporto inviatogli dal Prof. La Pira, reduce da Hanoi — ove era stato ricevuto dal Presidente della Repubblica del Vietnam del Nord, Ho Chi Minh e dal capo del governo — indirizzava al Presidente Johnson la seguente lettera:

« Signor Presidente, nel colloquio che gentilmente accordaste alla fine di maggio mi confermate nuovamente la intenzione di ricercare assiduamente una soluzione negoziata per il conflitto nel Vietnam. Nella speranza di poter assistere alla realizzazione di questo nobile intento, porto alla vostra conoscenza quanto segue: martedì scorso ad Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh e il Presidente del Consiglio Van Dong, hanno espresso a due persone (conosciute da me) il fermo desiderio di trovare una soluzione pacifica al conflitto nel Vietnam e, in riassunto, hanno dichiarato — secondo quanto mi è stato riferito — che al fine di intavolare trattative di pace, è necessario:

a) una tregua (nell'aria, nel mare ed in terra in tutto il territorio del Vietnam Nord e Sud), la cessazione, cioè, di ogni operazione bellica (inclusi quindi ulteriori sbarchi di truppe americane);

b) una dichiarazione secondo la quale gli accordi di Ginevra del 1954 verrebbero riconosciuti come base per i negoziati: una dichiarazione composta dei quattro punti formulati da Hanoi, punti che in realtà sono la spiegazione del Testo di Ginevra e che quindi possono essere ridotti ad un solo punto: applicazione, in altre parole, degli accordi di Ginevra.

« Il testo della comunicazione da me ricevuta prosegue affermando che "il Governo di Hanoi è pronto ad iniziare trattative senza la condizione pregiudiziale del ritiro delle truppe americane". Agli stessi interlocutori Ho Chi Minh ha detto: "Sono pronto a recarmi in qualsiasi posto, ad incontrarmi con chiunque".

« Questi sono i punti essenziali che uno dei due interlocutori di Ho Chi Minh e Van Dong mi ha fatto pervenire ieri sera e che io, in questa mia lettera — che ho affidato

al signor A. Goldberg, rappresentante degli Stati Uniti presso le Nazioni Unite, affinché la recapiti prontamente e in via confidenziale — porto parola per parola a vostra conoscenza.

« Sicuramente voi avrete altri elementi con cui giudicare l'importanza di quanto vi ho esposto. In qualità di Presidente della XX Assemblea, e come alto esponente (politico e di governo) italiano, come sincero amico degli Stati Uniti e vostro, spero che questo contributo per la ricerca di una soluzione pacifica, sempre più necessaria ed urgente, possa essere utile. Io rimango a vostra disposizione per qualsiasi passo voi possiate ritenere opportuno di intraprendere ».

Il Presidente Johnson faceva rispondere all'on. Fanfani dal Segretario di Stato Dean Rusk. Quest'ultimo, nella sua risposta, faceva osservare che nel rapporto La Pira non c'era nulla che potesse autorizzare a pensare che il governo di Hanoi avesse modificato il proprio punto di vista, sulle condizioni per una sospensione delle ostilità, che il governo statunitense aveva già respinto. Incaricava perciò l'on. Fanfani di continuare i sondaggi, per accertare in particolare se l'impegno — a cessato fuoco avvenuto — di non alimentare il fronte di guerra, doveva essere bilaterale o limitato solo agli Stati Uniti.

Nel frattempo, altra copia del rapporto La Pira, già trasmesso da Fanfani, perveniva al Dipartimento di Stato, da un certo Avv. Weiss, al quale lo stesso La Pira l'aveva consegnato con il compito proprio di farlo pervenire allo stesso Dipartimento di Stato. La notizia del rapporto era anche giunta alla stampa. Di fronte al rischio di una pubblicazione giornalistica del rapporto La Pira, con speculazioni a danno della politica statunitense, il Dipartimento di Stato decideva di pubblicare la lettera di Fanfani con la risposta di Rusk.

I chiarimenti desiderati venivano dati da Hanoi con una recisa dichiarazione che smentiva il rapporto La Pira. Ed ecco la:

China and Europe

What Secretary of State Rusk and Secretary of Defense McNamara told the NATO ministers was, in fact, that Europe is a peninsula of the Asian continent. Their specific points were that Red China will soon have the capability of posing a direct military threat to Western Europe, and that the Vietnam war is being fought in Europe's interest. But the main theme, the hard core, of their thesis is that Red Chinese hegemony in Asia must be done over in Europe.

This would not have needed saying a generation or so ago, when every European power had footholds in China, and when the Boxer Rebellion produced what was perhaps the most nearly international army history has known. True, after a succession of Chinese defeats (especially that inflicted by Japan) there was a good deal of contempt for Chinese power. But few doubted that if China could be unified, could be given a national spirit and an effective administration, it would be able to speak with tremendous authority in the world's councils.

Now China has been unified, perforce; it has been given a new, if halting, spirit, and it does have a more effective administration than it has known in centuries. But except for the British and Portuguese in Hong Kong and Macao, Western Europe has few immediate concerns in China proper, and

not very much in the surrounding area.

There is a tendency, therefore, for Europeans to regard the Far East as out of their sphere. It is probably true that the danger of an open clash between the Soviet Union and Red China is greater, now, than is the possibility of any direct Chinese military threat to any Western European country. But political alliances and arrangements can change with great speed in the overheated climate of our day. The stark facts are that China is strong; that she is growing stronger, and that she is impelled by a healthy mixture of national and ideological fervor.

At present, Red China holds up the United States as its chief enemy, with the Soviet Union not very far behind. But the Chinese grip at India—which had stemmed one of Peking's closest friends—indicates that no tempting target is immune from the Chinese threat, while the range of possible Chinese action, by subversion and by attack, is growing.

An Asia in which Red China was unchallenged would be a continent closed to European trade, except on Chinese terms; it would be a reservoir of strong poison for Africa and South America; it would challenge Western Europe at every point. This calls for European concern, now, while the extent of the peril is still contingent on the failure of the rest of the world to meet it.

The Rhodesian Oil Trigger

The crisis over Rhodesia appears to be coming to a head. The African states have so far prevailed on Britain to use force to break the rebellious white minority regime of Rhodesia, but they seem to have secured the next best thing—a decision by the British government to embargo oil supplies.

That has not satisfied the most extreme African states, such as Guinea and Tanzania, which have proceeded to break diplomatic relations with Britain. But the majority have shown good sense in refraining from action on the recommendation of the Organization of African Unity. There is no point in making empty gestures when Britain is making it clear that it means business about Rhodesia.

The oil sanctions—certain of support by the United States and the United Nations—may trigger a series of events which could render the issue—either by bringing down the South government or inducing it to come to terms with London and spokesmen for the African majority in

supplying neighboring Zambia with coal for its copper mines and food for its people in the event—no victory—that Rhodesia responds to the oil embargo by cutting railway services to Zambia. The answer would be an aerial assault, which is ready to mount.

Then there is the likelihood that Rhodesia will seek to circumvent the oil embargo by selling on South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique. This, of course, would put both Africa and Portugal in a spot; but unless they wanted to run the risk of UN sanctions being applied against them too, they would have to remain firm. Defeating the intent of a embargo imposed by the overwhelming majority of UN members.

Finally, there is the possibility that Rhodesia will cut off its supply of electricity to Zambia. This would be an act of war because it would certainly force upon British intervention.

Whatever way the Rhodesian regime might turn, it would face disaster. The small remaining hope is that it will still see reason.



Spending More Time in the Huddle

Straight From Ho's Mouth

By Joseph Alop

WASHINGTON—The talk about negotiations over Vietnam, at home and abroad, among politicians and in the press, ought to stop now. For the month-long negotiations have had their answer—straight from the mouth of Ho Chi Minh, which is the new and better word for the former North.

The answer was given in a remarkably important interview the boss of the North Vietnamese government recently gave to Peter Dreier, a journalist from the New York Times.

The Communist changed that position, now, in all, and with great speed. With a powerful objective mission by the American

press have the justification of foreignness and honesty. But Ho has now declared to the whole world, the whole distribution of lines who dare not mention a word, but actually speak of "negotiation" in his own

words. He has said that negotiations are necessary, but that he will not accept any negotiations which are not preceded by hard experience that his side is being the one. He thinks now, as he indicated in this interview, that his side will not lose because the Americans will eventually get tired and go away. But, that situation will also be depicted in the end.

When Ho said his colleagues actually want to negotiate, negotiations must of course begin. When negotiations are requested, however, this must not mean the Vietnamese will be broken off by

the same side of their. When Ho said he would not accept any negotiations which are not preceded by hard experience that his side is being the one, that the hardest blow will be to people's interests.

In the same fashion, it can be predicted with almost confidence that the Ho Chi Minh will talk about negotiations in very different terms when he is surrounded by hard experience that his side is being the one. He thinks now, as he indicated in this interview, that his side will not lose because the Americans will eventually get tired and go away. But, that situation will also be depicted in the end.

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Letters From the Mailbag

Eruditeness?

The New Student

To the Herald Tribune:
In the light of continuing student marches and movements, it is relevant to examine the New Student. One characteristic is the increased individualism, partly as a reaction of today's liberation.

The New Student is against the multi-university, against the becoming part of the military-industrial complex, against the publishing (as opposed to the teaching) profession.

The New Student feels that the government together with its rights, becoming "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." He demands that the anti-establishment tactics of the president, not only in securing the passage of legislation but also in his dealings with the business community.

The New Student is also an integral part of what is called the New Intellectualism.

The New Student feels that, as a popular song proclaims, "society's goal is to be part of the whole" and the New Student does not plan to accept this status quo.

LOUIS ALTABECK
(The American Democrat)
Washington, D.C.

Keep Smiling

To the Herald Tribune:
Your editorial "Keep the Hungry Hungry for Dinner" makes a fine reading. It makes some very reasonable suggestions which if the Indians against President Johnson to "bring attention to their country should direct most resources toward agriculture, but why limit it to just "dinner to live" with the available resources of the program? For India's request for emergency food shipments, why limit just because India has said that she is going to "fight the Chinese" in Viet Nam, a similar level. How does the American probably to Indians who have just to see the Chinese have attacked across the frontier (who would not thought) to make the fight end in Washington.

After that, the hardest blow will be to people's interests. JACQUES YULOFF, Paris.

Noteworthy?

To the Herald Tribune:
One of the Indian, Boston Dismal's university debate of our play in Vietnam with admiration or with reservations. What is not noteworthy is the implicitly that produces the sort of statement that appeared in the Herald Tribune (Dec. 12).

It is worth noting that, while Hoed applauds the Americans who protest the Vietnamese war, it breaks to our people who protest the war as "un-Americanism." This is not wrong, but it is

the North, the United States must not withdraw its troops.

We also found that the United States failed to do their share. France was attacked in 1954 and 1956 to not intervening. And the United States only fulfilled its duty in keeping troops in Western Europe. The World War II is to be ready to intervene immediately in case of an attack from the East. But now it is normal to continue to keep a second force in Europe.

The explanation for all of this was very simple. France, through the use of the great powers of international relations, has continued all countries, except the United States, to send their own troops and keep all troops.

Why do we suddenly jump from World War II to the Vietnam War? All governments would be less than America. Don't let us see that we could communicate an learning how to take care of their own internal affairs.

R. KHAPP, Paris.

Humbling?

To the Herald Tribune:
Never in my 38 years of following American and international sports have I seen a sportsman dedicate an entire column to humiliating beyond all proportion a defeated strong opponent. Like the Gary Cooper—who only took in the game with the tough Owen Ray fighter who was being attacked.

I have seen many tactics before on the part of our good friend God, in the name of sports reporting. It seems to be especially odious whenever a sportsman happens to have an Afro-American name. Red Sox, practice that you preach. Be fair and objective, which is a cardinal principle in sports. No matter what the result or creed happens to be. ANTHONY M. ALBERT, Rome.

Buy Vietnam?

To the Herald Tribune:
The 200 billion a year for the continued Press war is six thousand on the way to Vietnam would pay the interest on \$10 billion of it, which we must pay the end of every day, stack and burn. From the French, Chinese come to the United States, it is not clear if it is going to be the end of the world. The American government has not yet said at the TV. We could give a policy of explicit and see a country. P. O. HENRY, Malaga.

'The Best Usage'

To the Herald Tribune:
In the letter from Dr. Green, Dec. 12, May I suggest that

Mr. Alop

would receive the same—either by bringing the Smith government or by refusing to do so—by terms which London and opposition for the African majority in South Africa.

There is, however, a number of difficulties and dangers ahead. The first is the problem

of South Africa. Whoever sees the Rhodesian position might have it would face disaster. The small remaining hope is that it will still see reason, and come to a negotiated settlement on terms which would be far better than those resulting from total defeat.

Other American Editorial Comment

Cocktail Talk

On the Washington cocktail front it has become a sort of whispered cliché, quite uncommemorial, that President Johnson is bored by foreign affairs and wishes they would just go away. This is a shallow assessment of the man. True enough, he may prefer to deal with domestic problems, but the record shows that he has played an active international role for a long time past.

—From the Washington Star.

Bagful of Problems

In his 14 months in office, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson has demonstrated an impressive political mastery that should promote understanding with President Johnson. He is a pragmatist, not an ideologue. With a paper-thin majority, his Labor government has been trying diligently to chart a course out of Britain's perennial economic woes by moderating and cutting expenditures to fit vital interests and capabilities. Ideally, Mr. Wilson's most weary trials have been in the foreign field, and here he has a bagful of problems. . .

—From the Washington Post.

'Give Them 5 Minutes More'

We can make of no stronger argument for a U.S. invasion of Red China's nuclear facilities now, by means of our own or proxies of the surrogate Air Command, or both, after a few hours' warning to people in the target areas to get out of the way. . .

—From the New York Daily News.

Other Opinion

Perspective?

However far China's nuclear armament may already have gone, it is nowhere near approaching the balance of terror that now exists between the United States and Russia. The chess that approach seems to come, the more menacing China behaves, the more likely she is to provoke their air-breathes that these include the Russians who striking a pre-emptive blow against her nuclear installations.

As a nuclear nuclear power, China is infinitely more vulnerable than she is threatening.

—From the Daily Telegraph (London).

African Walkout

By an act of disrespect toward the British prime minister and people, the African delegates to the United Nations General Assembly have now called the defeat of the Smith regime even harder than it already was. No country, however understanding it tried to be toward Africa, can be indifferent to such a defiance, arrogantly unprovoked, and Mr. Smith's army will unfortunately have been in many a household which shared the prime minister's homeland.

—From the Observer (Britain).

Serenty-Five Years Ago In the European Edition

Dec. 18, 1939

WASHINGTON—All had thought it to be eminently expedient that if Congress approves of the bill providing that the Secretary of War shall send a party of Army officers there, at an expense of \$100,000. The explorers are to remain there three years, and, in view of the many conflicting stories, they will be authorized to report the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, regarding the Alaskan territory.

Fifty Years Ago

Dec. 18, 1912

SALONICA—Our retreat is terminated. The Allies have not a single man on Serbian territory. Where it is known what the situation of our army was three weeks ago owing to the lack of transportation, this was being permitted will be considered the light of a miracle. From Nov. 20, the day on which I witnessed a strong Bulgarian attack on the left bank of the Cer, I became convinced that we could no longer hold the entire positions to which we had retired in order to reform the remains of the harassed Serbian. On the morning of the 18th day we began to evacuate enormous quantities of material at Dimitri which had been accumulated for our contemplated advance. It had to be done in a desperate hurry and without the usual precautions of transport, with all the dangers of Gradina, and which compelled the division, following a large quantity of articles, an automobile park, and an airplane squadron. We had accumulated 10,000 men, with a view to an effective night attack provisions for 200,000 men, and the means for their retreat.

To arrive there alone, we had to cut through a coal-trench railway, frequently blocked and being used moreover for the strategic movements of the mobilized Greek Army. However, after encountering enormous difficulties we have been returned to Greek territory, with assistance in our hearts at having had an opportunity.

Mr. Altop

The speaker's last passage was Mr. Altop's answer to a question asked by the speaker regarding President Johnson's offer of a "conditional proposition." He began by remarking that the Johnson-Roosevelt negotiations which the United States will lead troops in South Vietnam, and still "to have to recognize the National Administrative Front the Viet Cong in the only possible representative of the people of South Vietnam."

Ho's Conditions

"On this basis, said Ho, he would 'never' negotiate. He then laid down his own conditions for negotiations. The United States, he said, "must stop its air attacks on the North, put an end to its aggression in the South, withdraw its troops from South Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle by themselves their own affairs."

The speaker stated, for good and all, any surviving Vietnam should be possible finalizations of "peace" in the northern bombing, against the possibility of further discovery systems in Hanoi, and so on.

While the administration, a minority group of politicians has been pressing for another bombing phase, ready to realize the president's well-publicized position for peace before another year is up by the time these words are in South Vietnam. But if such a peace is achieved after the Ho Chi Minh initiative, it will be nothing more than the smallest part of what's ahead.

The speaker stated by its is more important than what it has to say. Ho said he will not negotiate until American troops have withdrawn from South Vietnam. In regard to conditions, the speaker stated that the United States has already abandoned South Vietnam, and Laos as well, in the hands of the Communist government in Hanoi.

The speaker of which (Vietnam) speaking. He's language and things those bad facts. There is no chance and hope for the highly educated persons in the newspaper business and in politics who were whooping. "The French (Vietnam) will not be able to be negotiated, but if we just by force, we will have peace, come from about the speaker, come they will change their minds."

Winkful Dishonesty

The truth of the matter is that Ho has told us in plain words that the only basis for negotiations at the present time is complete and unqualified withdrawal of the French advisers of surrender, much as most Americans may disagree with them, at

Continuity changed them from peace to war, and when they were in a position of force, they were by the American and South Korean threatened to break through both the Chinese and South Korean armies in the early morning of 1950. When a French adviser, General, who is American-South Korean march to

Spring by Illinois Bourbons

Trap Snaps Shut on Percy

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

CHICAGO—Even with optimum conditions, Charles M. Percy has walked into a trap that may trap him for the remainder of his term as governor of Illinois.

As reported last week, the Chicago Tribune's disclosure revealed that the Illinois House of Representatives, by a vote of 100-77, has passed a resolution that would strip Percy of his office if he is found to have committed a crime.

The resolution, which was introduced by Rep. Paul Douglas, and is stronger than any other resolution of the kind in the history of the state, would strip Percy of his office if he is found to have committed a crime. The resolution would strip Percy of his office if he is found to have committed a crime.

Party Vs. Victory

The resolution is found in the political trap Percy entered but he did not see it. It is a story of a political party more interested in ideological purity than victory.

Shortly after losing last November, Percy set up a task force to study the situation in the state. He organized his new Illinois Commission for Study State Issues. Percy's policy revealed the state, highly respected Percy would have handled better some other Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner who probably would have led to Percy's resignation. He was a member of the Republican Party. In short, Percy was dreaming of the Governor's Mansion in 1966.

But to the Bourbons, Percy is a political model to be used as a warning. An agreement or would would the state party is a more progressive stage, without taking revenge on domestic county chairman who tried to kill during the 1964 campaign. So much for the Bourbons. The Bourbons are the Bourbons in Illinois, at the primary election.

What to do with Percy? Who, however, has lost a Senate seat against Douglas in Illinois. Percy's resignation is a political move. Percy's resignation is a political move. Percy's resignation is a political move.

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But to the Bourbons, Percy is a political model to be used as a warning. An agreement or would would the state party is a more progressive stage, without taking revenge on domestic county chairman who tried to kill during the 1964 campaign. So much for the Bourbons. The Bourbons are the Bourbons in Illinois, at the primary election.

What to do with Percy? Who, however, has lost a Senate seat against Douglas in Illinois. Percy's resignation is a political move. Percy's resignation is a political move. Percy's resignation is a political move.

Continuity changed them from peace to war, and when they were in a position of force, they were by the American and South Korean threatened to break through both the Chinese and South Korean armies in the early morning of 1950. When a French adviser, General, who is American-South Korean march to

Spring by Illinois Bourbons

Trap Snaps Shut on Percy

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

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The Fog of Diplomacy

The "fog of war" is an established cliché; that there can be an equally dense "fog of diplomacy" is demonstrated by attempts to open the way to a negotiated settlement of the Vietnamese War.

The president of the UN General Assembly Informed Secretary of State Rusk that the Italian professor, in an interview with the Chi Minh in Hanoi, had learned that Ho was willing to negotiate and was prepared to initiate discussions "without first requiring actual withdrawal of American troops."

What Hanoi did require was an end to all helicopter operations—including rescue operations also the cessation of airdropping of further American troops. There was no mention of any end to North Vietnamese infiltration. He also called for a joint declaration that "the Geneva agreements of 1954—a declaration made up of the five points formulated by Hanoi" should be the basis for negotiations. Since these four points include the withdrawal of American forces and arrangements of the internal affairs of North Vietnam in accordance with the progress of the Viet Cong, it is clear enough that a settlement on these terms would be a complete surrender to Hanoi. But the United States has never refused to consider these terms in a conference—although naturally it refuses to bind itself to accept them.

Consequently while entering a caveat on both of these conditions, Mr. Rusk asked Mr. Fucini to seek clarification from Hanoi, and proposed further discussions.

It is difficult to see how he could have given any further—especially in the light of certain crucial words. For the Italian talks with Ho took place on Nov. 11 and were transmitted to the State Department on Nov. 20. Mr. Rusk's answer to Mr. Fucini was on Dec. 4. On Dec. 5, Radio Hanoi broadcast an interview between Felix Grone and Ho Chi Minh which appeared to be an uncompromising ascription that had come out of North Vietnam.

He called upon the United States to "retract and prove by actual deeds its acceptance" of the four points. He denied that President Johnson wanted to negotiate and that the American offer of unconditional negotiations meant anything more than the imposition of American terms. He also made it clear that he considers North and South Vietnam to be a single nation, with the plain implication that the interests in the four points to "foreign interests" would not apply to Hanoi.

In this declaration for which Mr. Rusk asked if an, it offers little grounds for hope. Clearly, the United States has tried to keep the tension alive of communication open—but with scant help from Ho. For whatever the ruler of North Vietnam may have said in private to the two Italians, the statement which Radio Hanoi broadcast to the world seemed to demonstrate that Ho still called for an American withdrawal, and was content on a surface statement in the United States to help him get it.

Views on the Way

"Tiberia," W. Somerset Maugham once wrote, "cannot reach the utmost heights, but it can show you many an unexpected and delicious view, an unexplored dell, a bubbling brook or a romantic covey, on the way that leads to them." Few would hold that Maugham himself had ever reached the heights—at least of Mt. But he has given many pleasant and moving views on the way. Some, indeed, have become clichés in his long lifetime. The anguished pathos in "Of Human Bondage" has become verse. More, it is probable, know Douglas Houghton, as he speaks from "Man and Woman" than from his paintings. And at least two generations are likely, when they hear rain drumming on a tin roof, or driving through the pine trees, to look back to Boris Thompson.

Considering the many plays, novels and short stories that came from Mr. Maugham's pen, it is not surprising that there may seem space

England through two world wars, there have been at least eight in history (and as there have been changes in human experience). To have made a mark on the side of letters as Maugham has done is no mean accomplishment. And since all in the passage he writing now in the tradition is there who work of the time. However, whatever that emotion retains a kind of greatness.

Bourbon Benchmarks

Some Chicago judges recently decided to test the "bourbon" test used in their courts by measuring the alcohol content of a "apple" brandy. Try as they would, they couldn't reach the specified 33 reading. Lately one consumed six double bourbons (reading 30), while another downed six double followed by three triplets (total barely met registered six 30). What



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"I Have the Door Wide Open But That's All That's Coming Through"

Illusions, Realities and the War

By Raymond K. Price Jr.

NEW YORK—War is neither an art nor a science. It is a messy, bloody, chaotic, and often senseless struggle. The past few days have seen the United States in a very serious way. Some call it a "war" in the war is just begun, some are discouraged by the twisted progress of a week or two victory, some are unimpressed by the news, some are shocked and saddened at the carnage and death that is so often a part of it. And some find the winning line a masterpiece, even a masterpiece of art.

The Division

What the argument ignores is that the "war" today is not simply Communism per se. There are Communist regimes with which we must deal and live in peace. There are also non-Communist regimes which threaten the possibility of such as if they fall the hammer and sickle.

The essential division is not between Communist and non-Communist, but between aggressive and non-aggressive. And if there is to be any stability in the world, it is there to be in any form of aggressive and genuine truthfulness. The non-aggressive have always got to hold the aggressors in check, to keep peaceful or ready for war.

On the Communist issue, there are two main points. First, the aggressors would be written right out of the party. The non-Communist would be written right out of the party. The non-Communist would be written right out of the party.

But now it can be argued—and so that to give up South Vietnam would only lead a tiny corner to one of the many of armed forces, and there would not necessarily what the aggressors of the world.

The Grabbers

Being in the state of having to be fought this, it is simply by the way of which, because of the nature of the world, the division is not between Communist and non-Communist, but between aggressive and non-aggressive. And if there is to be any stability in the world, it is there to be in any form of aggressive and genuine truthfulness. The non-aggressive have always got to hold the aggressors in check, to keep peaceful or ready for war.

It is a clear and unambiguous demonstration of the old principle that crime doesn't pay. The Red Chinese have to be fought this season, but because they are Communists, but because they still cherish a political ideal, solution to try the way of by war. And the possibility of the lesson, for better or for worse, is not being lost in Vietnam.

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The Court Rules for Atheism

By David Lawrence

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court of the United States may not have been asked to pronounce a "religious" which would be taught in the public schools, but it has given an extraordinary answer to the issue of religion in class.

The high court has just rejected the plea of a group of parents of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and American apostate faiths who would, through their children, keep their children in public schools be allowed voluntarily to engage in a prayer that included the word "God." As a result of last week's ruling, the Supreme Court is now in the process for all time that there is something wrong with a belief in God. This is a really very effective statement, which is probably to come under as a kind of "religion" in itself.

The high court's decision here before has been based on the idea that the government must remain "neutral" as between religions. But not only is this neutral, especially because voluntary prayer requested by the parents of children of virtually all faiths, but the Supreme Court placed itself squarely in an overall agreement to give the State a victory as between the facts. The Constitution says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This would appear to mean that neither can the Supreme Court help to establish one religion, whether it is atheism or anything else.

Snack Prayer

The conference has been getting more and more heated ever since the Supreme Court in 1962 settled the question of prayer in the schools. The high court ruled that the educational officials of a state or local government may neither compel a prayer, nor direct that it be uttered in public school classes of any school. Nothing was said by the court about the right of children to engage in silent prayer, or to be invited to engage in prayer, or to be asked by a group of persons of all faiths.

The latest case involves a request by the parents of the plaintiffs and teachers of the defendant, who are the majority people when they are asked to read and recite or engage in the familiar prayer "Give thanks to the Lord your God." The court ruled that "God" is not a word, and we know that for the last 100 years. "God" is not a word. "Thank you for the work of God" is not a word. "Thank you for the work of God" is not a word. "Thank you for the work of God" is not a word.

Why Republican Liberals Yielded

By Lowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON—The major reason for the Republican Liberal's yielding to the Communist aggressors would be written right out of the party. The non-Communist would be written right out of the party.

The consequences of this surrender, a Liberal's Coordinating committee conservatives, especially those who are the most liberal of the liberal.

The Inevitable

WASHINGTON—The major reason for the Republican Liberal's yielding to the Communist aggressors would be written right out of the party. The non-Communist would be written right out of the party.

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LE SPERANZE DI PACE NEL SUD-EST ASIATICO

La tregua natalizia nel Vietnam forse preludio di nuovi sondaggi

Il tramite dei contatti potrebbe essere il segretario generale delle Nazioni Unite, Thant - Sempre cautissimo l'atteggiamento del governo americano che aspetta da Hanoi un segno tangibile di distensione

DAL NOSTRO CORRISPONDENTE

Nuova York, 23 dicembre.

Esiste la possibilità che la tregua natalizia nelle operazioni militari nel Vietnam venga prolungata oltre la scadenza delle trenta ore fissate attualmente, e trasformi così un gesto in origine solo simbolico in una posizione più concretamente politica? Questo è l'interrogativo che viene dibattuto oggi negli ambienti diplomatici di Washington e su cui le fonti della Casa Bianca e del dipartimento di Stato mantengono il più assoluto e deliberato riserbo. Tuttavia al congresso una delle personalità più importanti del partito democratico, il senatore Mike Mansfield, rientrato recentemente da una missione esplorativa in Asia sud-orientale per conto del presidente Johnson, ha auspicato una estensione della tregua fino al 20 gennaio. E il vice-presidente Hubert Humphrey, pur senza impegnare apertamente il governo, ha a sua volta espresso la speranza che la tregua natalizia possa servire da punto di partenza per una trattativa ed indurre il governo di Hanoi a cogliere l'occasione per iniziare negoziati con gli Stati Uniti.

Sinora la posizione di Washington nell'intero problema della tregua di Natale è stata di estrema cautela. È significativa a tale riguardo la formula adottata da Johnson nel decidere la sospensione dei combattimenti per trenta ore: il presidente ha evitato ogni annuncio diretto da parte della Casa Bianca ed ha insistito per fare apparire la tregua come una decisione del comando militare americano nel Sud-Est asiatico. Con la scelta di tale meto-

do Johnson ha voluto raggiungere tre obiettivi: rispondere positivamente all'appello di papa Paolo VI, fare un gesto psicologico per sondare se esistono prospettive di impostare, sulla base di esso, un negoziato, e al tempo stesso lasciarsi la massima libertà di manovra al termine della scadenza delle trenta ore, ove Hanoi non mostri di voler raccogliere le possibilità di distensione implicite nella sia pur temporanea cessazione del fuoco. La chiave di ogni futuro sviluppo, si ripete alla Casa Bianca, rimane nelle mani di Hanoi. E in questo contesto vengono discussi a Washington adesso due elementi interessanti, sul cui tuttavia si è in grado di raccogliere soltanto poche informazioni sicure.

Il primo elemento è la possibilità che l'offerta iniziale del Vietcong per una tregua natalizia di dodici ore costituisce già di per se stessa non un gesto simbolico di omaggio ad una festa religiosa, ma la trasmissione di una cauta apertura di natura politica. E la risposta americana di accettare la tregua e anzi di estenderla da dodici a trenta ore rappresenterebbe la risposta «positiva» al «segnale» trasmesso da Hanoi.

A questo primo elemento se ne aggiunge un secondo. Il segretario generale dell'ONU Thant ha già qualche tempo fa preannunciato, in un tono che talvolta è apparso sibillino e misterioso, l'intenzione di fare una dichiarazione importante sul Vietnam nella conferenza stampa che egli terrà in gennaio al palazzo di vetro. Vi è chi ritiene che esista un collegamento tra questi due elementi. Secondo i fautori di

tale interpretazione, Thant sarebbe il «canale» attraverso cui sono già in corso alcuni prudenti sondaggi tra Hanoi e Washington per una operazione diplomatica in tre tempi. Il primo tempo sarebbe stato la tregua natalizia, il secondo sarebbe una estensione *de facto* della tregua stessa oltre la scadenza originariamente fissata, e il terzo una esplorazione diplomatica esplicita circa le modalità di una trattativa per risolvere il conflitto.

Sempre secondo i fautori di tali tesi, Thant avrebbe operato in cooperazione con Papa Paolo VI e l'attività del segretario generale dell'ONU non sarebbe stata estranea alla decisione del Pontefice di appoggiare col suo appello la proposta d'una tregua natalizia. Questo lavoro di sondaggio attraverso Thant non sarebbe tuttavia in nessun modo collegato con l'iniziativa La Pira-Fanfani, di cui Thant non era mai stato informato sino al momento della pubblicazione del carteggio relativo ad essa da parte del dipartimento di Stato. È assai difficile chiarire se le ipotesi e le interpretazioni che circolano a Washington e che abbiamo riferito abbiano una solidità effettiva.

La posizione americana ad ogni modo è quella di attendere che Hanoi, sulla base della tregua di Natale dia qualche segno esplicito o implicito di una sua volontà di agganciare una trattativa. Ove si avesse tale impressione, è chiaro che non si porrebbe alcun ostacolo a una estensione della tregua oltre la scadenza fissata e a una sua trasformazione in un armistizio *de facto*.

Ugo Stille

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PODGORNY YIELDS DUTIES IN PARTY

Retains an Influential Role — Shelepin Status Vague

By PETER GROSE
Special to The New York Times
MOSCOW, Dec. 17—(AP)—Vladimir V. Podgorny, the new Soviet chief of state, has given up his high administrative functions in the secretariat of the Communist party, according to published accounts.

Although he was removed from the daily management of party affairs, there is evidence that he continues to play an influential role in the collective decision-making.

Taking over most of his former responsibilities, according to those sources, is the personal number 4 of the 12-man party presidium, Aleksandr N. Sholepov, who was relieved of his Government posts in last week's Kremlin shuffling.

A reshuffling of party posts to the highest ranks of the party hierarchy is apparently taking place.

The management of party affairs and personnel, the task Mr. Podgorny took over after the dismissal of Nikita S. Khrushchev, has traditionally been considered the No. 2 job of the secretariat, just below First Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev.

This function is now expected to go to a new member of the secretariat, Ivan V. Kaprizov. This suggests that Mr. Sholepov will take over more operational responsibilities, working through Mr. Kaprizov, than he has in the past.

Through the secretariat, his statements in detail, it was understood Mr. Sholepov's particular task would be to concentrate on preparation for the 23d Party Congress, scheduled to begin March 25.

In announcements of the shuffling last week, when Mr. Podgorny took over from the retiring Anastas Mikoyan, it was reported that Mr. Sholepov would concentrate his activities in the party secretariat. He was said to be a member of both the party presidium and the party politburo, the chief policy-making body and the executive, respectively, of the party.

News of his being dropped from his Government post stirred debate whether his status was still that of a premier or had in effect been demoted.

Several sources who can speak authoritatively on the subject in diplomatic and Government circles said they would not say whether he had in effect been demoted.



THE CHILDREN'S HOUR: Mrs. John F. Kennedy holds a boy on her lap during a holiday party at a Bronx, N.Y., community center. The cast of the Broadway musical, "On a Clear Day You Can See Forever," entertained.

Laos Opposes U.S. Bid to Block Trail Used to Support Vietnam

Continued From Page 1
of North Vietnamese infiltration.

The United States has proposed to block strategic links, but officials in Yenching have become aware of the attitude within the United States military establishment, an official source said. French and other Europeans have asked Laotian Government officials if such action is contemplated.

In North Vietnam, as the war grows in intensity and more American officers have been evacuated an attempt to end the Ho Chi Minh Trail. According to Saigon analysts, North Vietnamese troops are withdrawing to the south at the rate of more than 1,500 a month. With the recent improvement of jungle tracks and roads that make up the trail, it is feared that the infiltration rate may rise to as much as 4,500 during the dry season, which extends from November to April.

International Scene

Wilson Apologizes to Industrialist Who Sued Him for Libel

LONDON, Dec. 17 (AP)—Prime Minister Wilson apologized through counsel in court today to a British industrialist who had sued him for libel.

Mr. Wilson, who was in Washington today, agreed to pay the costs of the court action, although, against him by Herbert Edward Hill, former chairman of the Hardy Spicer car company.

Philippine Winners Praised

MANILA, Dec. 17—A joint message of the Philippine Congress commended today President Ferdinand E. Marcos and Vice President Fernando Lopez winners in the Nov. 3 election.

The congratulatory message stressed their "courageous and dignified stand in the Nov. 3 presidential election, Congress, after canvassing the votes, gave Mr. Marcos 1,061, 325 votes and Mr. Lopez 1,051, 500 votes.

They will take the oath of office Dec. 30.

Maughan Estate Problems

LONDON, Dec. 17 (AP)—Lauryns is four months arrears in the task of settling the late Maughan's estate. Financial problems are being investigated.

Even allowing for the large sums Maughan gave away in literary prizes over 40 years, it is estimated to have brought him an estate of more than \$12 million.

Mr. Maughan, who died in 1954, was 81, had a wife and six children.

TERRORIST WAVE HANOI SENDS U.S. A PEACE FEELER

Continued From Page 1
The Communist Party of North Vietnam has sent a message to the United States through the North Vietnamese Government, expressing its willingness to negotiate a peace settlement.

United States officials reflected the skepticism expressed by Mr. Bush in answering questions that the message might lead to peace talks. They were particularly concerned about the condition concerning the North Vietnamese two-point plan.

JAKARTA REBELS FACE EXECUTION

Sukarno Announces Death Penalty for Dissenters

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Dec. 17 (Reuters)—President Sukarno announced today that 100 rebels would be hanged for those who deviated from the course of the Indonesian revolution.

"The Indonesian revolution is the basis of struggle of the Indonesian people to achieve their ideal," he said. "If there are people who deviate from the course of the revolution, they will be shot." He addressed the Indonesian women's association.

An extraordinary military tribunal will not only try those directly involved in the abortive Oct. 1 coup, but also those who deliberately deviated from the official order.

The official order gave 25,000 supporters of the coup had been arrested in south Sumatra. In north Celebes, a local Communist leader, Nasir Van Oetari, who was to have been appointed governor of the province if the coup had succeeded, was arrested, it said.

It was also announced that an extraordinary court would be set up to try people who started with the Government's new Indonesian revolution.

BERNARD TO ASK NUCLEAR PLEDGE

Continued From Page 1

Mr. Bernard plans to discuss with Mr. Johnson his conception of a "forward" or "advancing" society, alongside Mr. Johnson's goal of a "great society."

Other topics are expected to be the Common Market and West German relations with Eastern Europe, despite recent Soviet attacks on West Germany. Bernheim is considered ready to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn, however. West Germany does not intend to do so because such action would be misinterpreted in Asia and Africa countries.

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Russian sources who are usually being asked to present evidence, if vague, guidance is diplomatically and somewhat hesitantly after the shuttle. This case is with strikingly contradictory analysis.

There were Communist sources who insisted that Mr. Stolya's wings had been clipped that he was being put in a position where the other leaders could keep a closer eye on him. At the same time other Communist contacts were warning that foreign friends not to consider the staff as a diversion for Mr. Stolya and that he remained one of the most penetrating of the cutting generation of Soviet leaders.

With confirmation of the Padgugny withdrawal from party management, it is considered unlikely that this situation will change.

Mr. Stolya has lost out because of the government's need to maintain order in the country and the fact that the party is being watched over by all aspects of Soviet society.

The subject, however, is a potentially unlimited pool in the party hierarchy, one in which he stands in good or bad stead in the eyes of the party.

Questions of Stolya's entry into the party is the worst Communist movement are considered certain to be in the hands of the forthcoming party congress. According to the interpretation, if it is handled so that Moscow emerges in a strong position, Mr. Stolya may himself be in a strong position. If it is handled, there would be a ready response.

Church of England Asks Change in Prayer Book

LONDON, Dec. 17—Parliament was asked today to approve the first step toward major revision of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England in more than 200 years.

A Labor Member, E. L. Maitland, said the change would allow the young church to get the benefit of the research of scholars and to understand passages in the scriptures which, otherwise, there had been little or no meaning which could be extracted from them.

AMERICAN CATHEDRAL
 4th SUN. IN ADVENT 1945
 11 AVENUE GEORGE V

The possibility of constituting a highly mobile American division such as the First Cavalry, which can be moved by helicopter to strikes at the front, is being discussed.

In Vietnam, where detailed studies have been made of the feasibility of an American ground operation in the highland, military experts are highly doubtful that such operations could be carried out successfully.

It is estimated that about three American divisions would be needed to control and maintain a line across the highland plateau of extremely difficult terrain. The American units would be vulnerable to North Vietnamese attack. About 100,000 North Vietnamese troops have been brought in by 40,000.

The situation here is that it would be better for available American divisions to be committed in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam. Under present strategic conditions, if the North Vietnamese see the disadvantage of being compelled to make an advancing march through Laos to South Vietnam, where they encounter American units.

Religious Services in Paris

First Church of Christ, Scientist, 20 Bd. Saint-Jacques, Sunday, French service, 10 A.M.; English service, 11:30 A.M.; Wednesday, French service, 8 P.M.; Sunday School, French, 10 A.M.; English, 11:30 A.M.

Second Church of Christ, Scientist, 58 Boulevard Flandre, Sunday, French service, 10 A.M.; English service, 11:30 A.M.; Wednesday, French and English services, 10 P.M.

American Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity (Episcopal), 29 Avenue George V, Sunday, Holy Communion, 8:45 A.M.; Morning Prayer, 10 A.M.; Holy Communion, 10:30 A.M.

AMERICAN CHURCH IN PARIS
 44 QUAI VOISARD, 14
 Morning Worship 11 A.M.
 11 AVENUE GEORGE V

These areas are mentioned here because the bulk of supplies for Communist forces in South Vietnam today by sea. Despite United States Navy claims of a tight blockade, the amount of supplies is a steady stream. Communist forces are still active in the highland areas.

Information on Communist movements along the trail is generally limited, although there is probably some information available in Vietnam that somewhere Long-range patrol and observation posts manned by Laotian Army and American advisers keep some portion of the route of routes under surveillance. Aerial reconnaissance is conducted both by American and Laotian Air Force planes.

Two and a half hours before the companies reported that it had been abandoned. The radio went silent. Artillery barrages were placed in the path of an effort to force the Vietcong to retreat.

When enemy planes and ground troops received the word of the fighting some time later they failed to carry out orders to carry out the Vietcong had captured.

Ground units elsewhere in light, with 18 Vietcong killed in addition to the Making Delta south of Saigon and in Quang Tin province near Da Nang. The casualties in Quang Tin were reported by United States Marines engaged in Operation Harvest Moon, one in its tenth day.

In the air war, the United States lost three planes yesterday and early today. One of them was a Northrop F-86 Sabre fighter, the first of this type to be brought down in Vietnam.

Last night an A-4 Skyhawk attempting to land in the dark of the Kelly Hook crashed into the trailing edge of the ramp and plunged into the sea. The pilot was killed, apparently by the collision.

The morning an A-1H observation plane was shot while crawling on air cover near Saigon and crashed. The pilot was not wearing a parachute and was killed.

WHEN IS Confucius' Birthday?
 Any Chinese from Taiwan could tell you it's September 28th but about the international holiday for whom? We special (charge advertising supplement) THE SCA WORLD HOLIDAYS CALENDAR
 MONDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL EDITION

The National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong, was established on Dec. 20, 1960. The anniversary is to be observed by a hour of silence on Monday during the daily news, when most people are off the streets on a matter of course.

Meanwhile, reports trickling into Saigon indicated that a South Vietnamese Army company, ambushed yesterday morning in Hanoi province, had suffered heavy casualties. The Vietcong built dirt roads on the highway between Tay and Truongkhang. The companies of about 120 men each were sent to occupy the road.

When enemy planes and ground troops received the word of the fighting some time later they failed to carry out orders to carry out the Vietcong had captured.

Ground units elsewhere in light, with 18 Vietcong killed in addition to the Making Delta south of Saigon and in Quang Tin province near Da Nang. The casualties in Quang Tin were reported by United States Marines engaged in Operation Harvest Moon, one in its tenth day.

In the air war, the United States lost three planes yesterday and early today. One of them was a Northrop F-86 Sabre fighter, the first of this type to be brought down in Vietnam.

Last night an A-4 Skyhawk attempting to land in the dark of the Kelly Hook crashed into the trailing edge of the ramp and plunged into the sea. The pilot was killed, apparently by the collision.

The morning an A-1H observation plane was shot while crawling on air cover near Saigon and crashed. The pilot was not wearing a parachute and was killed.

The wording on this, as reported by Mr. Johnson by Mr. Ford, said that some negotiations should be provided for. "A declaration according to which the Geneva agreement of 1954 will be taken as the basis for the negotiations—a declaration made by the four points formulated by French, points that are in reality the expression of the Geneva text and which, therefore, can be reduced to a single point, applied, in other words, of the Geneva formula."

United States officials read this to mean that the United States would have to accept the four points in order to negotiate.

These points mean among other things that the settlement of South Vietnamese affairs by the people of South Vietnam themselves, in accordance with the program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, without any foreign interference.

Other provisions included United States withdrawal of all arms and dismantling of bases, withdrawal of North and South Vietnamese units, no foreign military assistance for either and unification of the country peacefully "without any foreign interference."

PARIS, Dec. 17 (AP)—Two bandits wearing carnival masks roared away with a truck-load of gold bars today in a daring daylight heist in a Paris suburb.

The 187 gold bars from a treasury were valued at more than \$300,000 (130,000,000 francs).

The driver and his helper were pulled out of the truck after it was forced to the curb.

The bandits, who apparently had been well aware of the daily flow of the truck load from a previous heist, were waiting for this morning's run. They were in a green van with a license plate number 12-12-12 from the treasury in suburban Paris-15th.

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INTERPELLANZA

I sottoscritti interpellano il Presidente del Consiglio e il Ministro degli Affari Esteri per sapere se i criteri a cui il Governo intende attener^{si} nel rispondere all'appello rivolto dagli Stati Uniti agli alleati nel recente Consiglio Atlantico per una loro maggiore solidarietà coincidano o si diversifichino da quelli espressi nella deliberazione della direzione del Partito Socialista Italiano del 17 dicembre corrente ove tale solidarietà è espressamente negata e nella seconda ipotesi se il Governo non intende di dover trarne le conseguenze per ovvie ragioni di coerenza morale e politica.

Gaetano Martino

Giovanni Malagodi

Roberto Cantalupo

18/12/1965