Vietnam

1- L'iniziativa La Pira fu comunicata al Segretario Generale dell'ONU? Fanfani rispose "Questo governo sostiene il governo italiano". Cioè: Fanfani che egli non agì come Ministro degli Esteri (che in tal caso avrebbe dovuto informarlo) ma agì come Presidente dell'Assemblea dell'ONU. Non altro vuol dire che l'iniziativa La Pira non sarebbe stata tra l'altro opportuna se V. Thant, tanto più che l'iniziativa La Pira era suscettibile di interferire con le iniziative del Segretario Generale dell'ONU? Ma V. Thant ha ritenuto di non dover affatto intervenire.

2- Il governo degli Stati Uniti ha preso atto del rifiuto di Hanoi e della Cina di partecipare alla conferenza di Ginevra, ma ha ripetutamente dichiarato che il governo americano si è sempre rifiutato di accettare il ③ ② ed in modo affermativo non vi viene meno mai dichiarando tale rifiuto al governo italiano come giustificazione per il rifiuto di Hanoi? ✓

PARTITO LIBERALE ITALIANO

DIREZIONE PROVINCIALE DI MESSINA
VIA G. VENEZIAN, 55 - TEL. 210.909

UFFICIO ASSISTENZA

Il Sig. .....

nato a ..... *il* .....

domiciliato a .....

in via .....

professione .....

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

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Segnalato il .....

dal Sig. .....

domiciliato a .....

via .....

3- Perché tutta questa fretta da parte dell'ispettore La Pira
fare notare, si era rifiutato di ~~di~~ un'offerta
di mediazione del governo degli Stati Uniti italiano il rifiuto
venuto di Stato aveva offerto spesse volte, considerando
tale eventuale mediazione inopportuna e nociva. Come
allora spiegare perché il governo francese non chiese
l'astensione del dipartimento di Stato anche per la mozione
La Pira? E perché, se l'ispettore La Pira
aveva avuto luogo a sua disposizione, egli fu costretto
a leggere la lettera a Johnson?

4- L'attività del governo degli Stati a tale riguardo
evidenzia successivamente la responsabilità del governo
italiano, anche nel caso in cui effettivamente il
governo francese si sia astenuto dall'informare uf-
ficialmente il Presidente dell'Assemblea dell'ONU.
Infatti il governo non era all'oscuro della questio-
ne, sia perché l'ispettore della Farnesina collabora-
va nella stesura della lettera a Johnson, sia perché
il nostro ambasciatore a Washington era stato in-
formato dalla Farnesina che l'indirizzo del
governo degli Stati Uniti deplorando l'impatto ~~+~~ [illegible]

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

Alvaro mi fa il Partito luogo di
momento delle Elezioni di Giugno di cui
si pubblicamente atto di andare aperto in
armonia col programma e alla linea politica
del governo. Ciò che l'onorevole Saragat si
è giustamente affrettato a rilevare nella sua
offerta di Reggente nel Comizio - L'affare
La Pira Sturzo (cioè la mediazione a Roma)
coinvolge la responsabilità del governo
nel suo insieme. Va rilevato che
proprio nel mese di Dicembre il Segretario di
Stato Americano a Roma la necessità degli alleati per
la pace nel Vietnam. Questo dovrebbe essere manifestato?

Segnalato il .....

dal Sig. .....

domiciliato a .....

via .....

5. [illegible] è stata manifestata (come in tempo
N fatto affermare), come si conviene di un fatto
che ha indegnito la Pace ed il cuore di ogni
Nato nel mondo, Italiani e Nati' altri con la
vote [illegible] del P.S.I.?

Nel mio diario del 1962 . . . . .

Volere o non volere le cose, dove sollentia . . .

(1); ~~una lettera~~ Affare La Pira

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Intervento Discussione = non ragioni d'inerzia

Times = non sono assenteste per una ragione politica

E noi non vogliamo esaminare ragioni personali .. ~~Anche se = difficile~~

Unico aspetto politico = rifiuto stravaganti idee .. Di questo = degli atti

Nemmeno discussione sulla delegazione arbitrale : interim !

Ciò che invece importa discutere = politica del governo in riferim. mediazione

Questo argomento = (oggetto interpellanza e richieste comunisti) Contraffare !!

Mediaz. La Pira = interpretazione politica che investe non solo M.E. ma governo..

~~E giusto che ciò venga denunciato e non già per le intenzioni con cui tale strumento~~

~~Nella politica le intenzioni non contano, contano i fatti~~

Fanfani = "senza informare il governo" = Presidente ONU ?

Ma anche in tal caso se coinvolge la responsab. (era Ministro, collega giunta.)

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

Si dice che L. P. = di sua iniziat. Ma F. avallò L.P. e Moro avallò F.

E' vero che quest'ultimo avallò = dimissioni. Per cui F. = Pretestuosi

Ma, anche se in quel momento, egli mutò il atteggiamento = soddisfazione nella replica

Questo = avvenim. molto critico. nella polit. est. Mondo guardiamo = creato la

Se l'ha creata = i respons. nella pol. est. si sono lasciati coinvolgere / società della p.c.

Ricco a Napoli = in carcere. Non muore. Ma perché muore ? = nel senso

Egli stesso l'ha confessato : Voglio che mi perdonino nel senso

Se L. P. cercava notorietà, gli l'ha avuta : da dilettantesco a gravissimo ...

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Questi ebrei ~~infelici~~ vanno solo a La Pira, ma agli atti confusi dei responsab.:
l'on. F. per difendersi da queste accuse = atteggiam. Rusk. Mac Stampe; Johnson
Ringrazz. = forum. Nixon. ; anche antic. vacanze = forum. Nixon.
D'altra parte, se è vero che già prima = offerta media e riserve D. S. =
= invito alla meditazione (prima delle' avvio) ?
~~Ecco~~ L'accusa di infantil. politica rivolta alla media d. P. = ~~ecc~~
= in armonia col carattere dell'uomo ~~che parte subito~~.

Wilson = starry-eyed and unreliable
Noi diremmo più semplicemente = ~~ingenuo~~ fantasticone e leggero
In un mio discorso = Fra Firenze & Quinto è La Pira
Segno della grossolanità e leggerezza = Primicerio (tutto La Pira)
Dieci anni addietro = Bogomolov
Ciò che mi rincresce è che c'entra in questo il potere?
Se la polit. è un'arte, a maggior ragione politica internazionale
Ordine, è stato giust. Fatto che in arte il dilettant. è cosa nemica dell'arte
Lo stesso vale per la politica: Vanità di ogni fomento. Il dilett. in pol.; asin. e paz.
Venendo al merito delle quest. = 2 appunti a F. | Confortano la politica vera
Non vorrei aver l'aria di insegnare ...: al contrario, vorrei ... "non fa ..."
Due appunti = 1°) Se rivendo a F. senza informare. = quale Presidente, ~~presidente~~
2°) Se ministro degli esteri, dal non potrei non essere al corrente (4 punti) | ... ?
Perché gli USA non li hanno mai voluti accettare come interlocutori ?

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

21 luglio 1954 dichiarazione di fiducia e divisione (170)
Attesa con dichiarazione separata USA: gravi preoccup., senza minacce..
In virtù di esse = assistenza milit. richiesta da Saigon
I quattro punti di Phan van Dong includono il ritiro
Americani = 14 punti = difficili a trattare (ma non basi!)
Si aggiunga che definiz. ingerenza straniera secondo Hanoi = unica negoz.
Possibile che Ministro Esteri non sapesse ciò? E se lo sapeva = ...?
Infatti primo effetto = impressione (errata) = Hanoi vuole trattare e Wash.
Del resto, il vero significato dei 14 punti = onestamente Ho Chi Minh (smentito)
Successivo Felix Frenz = 2 condizioni poste: ritiro e sicurezza F.d.N. = solo...
Ora, ci siamo allertati agli USA e non possiamo dimenticare gravità delle quest.
(morti a migliaia e una sconfitta di Hitler all'anno; due milioni di cinesi)
Ciò da caratterizza questo episodio, come tutta la pol. est. = contraddiz.
Nel 1962 (Viaggio 1° gr. C.S.) = contraddizioni PSI e Governo
Altre elenco precedenti questioni: Algeria, Berlino, Rapacki, Cina, F.M.d.
Oltre entrano ancora in altre se ne sono aggiunte e sempre = contrad.
Nessun Tentativo di risolverle: soli sforzi = nascondere dietro formule verb.
Nell'affare da Pian le contraddizioni esplodono:
Riunione Co Atl. 14 dic. e solidarietà (Rusk)
Tra alleati = costante direttiva u/ pol. est. = al di là estens. territ.
La pace = una ed indivisibile; quando è turbata in Asia è minac. l'Europa

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Orbene: la solidarietà richiesta è stata promessa?
Attendiamo una risposta: in questa cosa non è lecito tacere (avremo e vita
1) Se è stata promessa. Come si concilia Ustica a Johnson? (notti fogli)
Risposta = accettazione implicita da parte nel tri 4 punto
In tal caso solidarietà promessa agli USA ma manifestata al Vietnam
Inoltre: come si concilia atteggiam. uffic. PSI (parole dirigenti e documenti)?
Sallustio: volere o non volere. (17 dic.)
Su questa cosa impossibile sorvolare. Delle due l'una:
a) o i socialisti si erano ad una polit. offerta alle loro, ed allora
b) o si attese il governo a fare una polit. offerta a quella (Hyeamano
annunziata da Pol. ed altre...

2) Se non è stata promessa. Come si concilia con la pol. atl. avuta
d'affare d.P. ha gettato il più grave (subito dal Capo dello St. nel viaggio?
fondamentale discredito sul governo ital.
Io sono il 1° a ricordare che l'on. Moro non lo meritasse
Ma questo discredito è il frutto delle contraddizioni esistenti: non si
Io lo seguito alla cerimonia del Presidente del Consiglio (allontana se...
Egli sa assai meglio di me che ciò che riferite.....

Non è possibile, parlando di politica estera, trascurare un altro...
Sull'argomento. dimenticare che tra pochi giorni (Lussemburgo) = crisi

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Tutti sanno che finanziam. pol. agr. = occasione di non pretend
Ragioni più profonde: a) Corse 20 stiche versione d'insieme
b) esportaz tendiz inoltre stiche e silenzio (agric.)
c) sedia vuota 3 Comunità
Verità = astrazione a misure al solo fatto economico
De Gaulle (S. Carlo di Cervino) (T.V.) = rifiuto il comun. ma a condiz. oggi...
Tra francesi: anche il C.C. del PCI nei medesimi termini !!
Sulla conferenza di Lussemburgo = grande riserbo, com'è giusto
Ma noi = grave preoccupazione: ~~proposta Spaak = errore~~
Tre richieste di Couve de Murville a Fanfani
Una accolta = Lussemburgo: Scaramazza
E le altre? a) Inoffensiva allontan. chi ha bene operato
b) Problema delle votazioni a maggioranza
Occorre ricordare che il comunic. finale confer. a 5 di novembre = formula
Inoltre: affievolimento comportam. oggi e canto on. Colombo
Impossibile altre richieste modifica formale o de facto (gentlemen's...)
La struttura del trattato = sola garanzia che il fine ultimo...
D'altra parte, ridotto al solo fatto econom. = inefficacia operativa.
Crisi ricorrenti (1962, 63, 64, 65) = colosso dai piedi d'argilla
Se Presidente de Gaulle sembra aver dimenticato quanto egli stesso!...
Vostro conforto è salvare il MEC. Non possiamo dimenticare...
Fine ultimo = ragione della sua esistenza: finalità vitale...?

Affare La Pira

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

1. Questa dichiarazione = non segna divisione fondamentale = interessa
di tutti i cittadini dal momento fino a un certo punto
perché se mai riflette due diverse concezioni
del fatto politico più che a tale riguardo interessa = difficile
Il governo = spiegare ~~politica~~ estera (politica
2. Ma la dichiarazione = argomento principale = delegazione | a La Pira
Questi = difficoltà politica da risolvere in cui persone non possono

Fatti:

a) Vero è che fanfani = "spesso informare il governo"
ma = non c'è stata alla delegazione fanfani
e poi = telegramma fanfani ("raccomanda ...")

b) Vuol dire che fanfani ha agito nella convinzione...

Perciò, anche se veramente non riferì, difficile = assenza responsabilità

3. Mediazione La Pira. Evidentemente molto criticabile della m/ politica estera
non riferire se fanfani = è sua iniziativa e ad insaputa...
Ma fatto ha fondamento = meglio fu con lunghi viaggi (rotta di fiducia)
non riferito = a) fanfani ha avallato La Pira colla lettera a Johnson
b) Vuol ha avallato fanfani con il suo telegramma.
(v. fogli allegati: 4) Capisco che = fossero Presidente: Mio tu valut

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Del N° della lista " (cioè del giu
sulla morte")

4. Quella medaglione = [illegible] politico : avevo detto
stato morto non a La Pira ma alla nostra politica estera
Ciò che è stato per La Pira : stranezza e mirabilia (Matteo)
= vale per Fanfani e per [illegible] il governo italiano
~~Le migrazioni Politiche = lettera di Bonaccorsi di non essere. Ma = complotto non~~
5. L'on. Fanfani = grave per il ringraziamento di Rusk [illegible]
Non, a parte ciò che tutta la stampa avevano ben scritto =
= non gli dice niente che Johnson non ha scritto direttamente . . . ;
~~che Rusk alla stessa [illegible] italiano alla stessa . . . ~~
che Johnson abbia autografato la sua vecchia fotografia quando Fanfano . . . ?
Ringraziamento = formula diplomatica

6 - (v. foglio allegato : 3). Risposta di Rusk alla medaglia italiana

7 - La Pira = fa' Giorgio (v. mio diario . .)

Leggenda e gondolette = medaglia formula matematica Bourbaki
La festa medaglia = tutto La Pira
Dieci anni addietro = Bogomolov

Ciò che mente critica = la festa nel dilettantismo [illegible]
Stravagante. Rivoluzione = in calzoni di una mucca. Ma [illegible] mucca è [illegible] politica ? Perché fare di sesso
La politica è un'arte . Ciò è stato scritto per la politica Rivoluzione
Ordine in arte - è stato detto - Il dilettantismo è con mancanza
dell'arte . La Verità [illegible] dilettantismo, come mente e pagina

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

confutare l'"atto vera".

9. L'on. Fanfani mi perdonerà se insisterò sulla critica del suo operato a proposito dell'ingiustizia di Pisa = influenza di che influisce conto di lui. Vorrei sapere che il mio dramma non "fa razza di fatto ognuno".

Ora: a) Se egli come Presidente dell'ONU .... (v. foglio allg. 1)

b) Conosce i motivi fatti .. ? (v. foglio allg. 2)

9- Ciò che in quanto effettivo = Quindi la richiesta della sua inizio nel 1954 (21 luglio) = cartolarizzazione (come in tutti i fatti interni del C.S.) = cartolarizzazione (come in tutti i fatti interni del C.S.)

nel 1962, parlando del premio Fanfani ...

(Volere o non volere le stesse cose ....

Orbene: a) come si concilia la vicinanza fra Pisa con la solidarietà

b) come si concilia la solidarietà con la frazione del PSI?

(v. foglio allg. 5)

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Affare La Pira

Ciò che conferisce interesse a questa Visura. = non ragioni personali
Le dichiarazioni non sono assunte per una ragione politica (Tiney)
Questioni personali : se mai, potrebbe disfarsene = confessione implicita
Del punto di vista politico ciò che può aver interesse = ripudio idee..
Di questo = punto di vista politico
Il veramente grande interesse discussione su soluzione artificiosa: interim!

Ciò che può conferire vero interesse politico = avvenire. precedente
Però = giusta soddisfazione per abbinamento intercettazione
Mediazione La Pira = importanza politica che investe non solo F.. ma forse
F. ci ha fatto sapere = nella qualità ONU. Dubbi = senza informare il Gov.
Ma anche in Tal caso ne coinvolge la responsabilità :

a) egli conservava l'ufficio di membro degli Esteri

b) si valse della celebrazione di funzioni della Fanfani

Ciò è tanto vero che ambasciatore a Washington = dissolidarizzare
Inoltre Presente Moro = Fatto atto di aver agito in armonia col programma..
Pertanto, anche se non saputo prima, sapendolo dopo = assunzione respon.
Precisazione La Pira = avvenimento critico della politica di governo.
Non importa se fosse La Pira = di sua iniziat. o di ispirazione altrui
Tra presenti : e i mezzi finanziari = voto di fiducia ecc.
Ciò che importa = a) Fanfani avallò La Pira
b) Moro avallò Fanfani

(X) Il mondo intero : = Dichiarazione = (2)
governo = tutte una persona . . . .

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

È vero che quest'ultimo appello = dimissioni = fanfani potrebbe venire
Giov. Prati : Dio ti guardi dal dì della lode" (giorno della morte)

On F. ha ragione di rilevare questo appello la neutr. la sicurezza della politica est. italiana
Manchester Guardian : a. P. ha ragione l'on ragione = il rafforzam. della pol. est. lo avevamo preso sul serio.
Ciò che è stato detto per d. P. (Wilson) vale per Fanfani e di riflette sul governo.
Se d. P. aveva ragione d'un appello. Ma anche F. e il governo - tutti i giornali (X)
Fanfani = dimissioni di Rusk. Una = stampa; Johnson
Ringraziamento = formula diplomatica, come dichiarazione è l'antitesi della Vaticana.
Si è detto che aveva ragione .. = offerta mediazione e ritirata dichiarazione di stato
Perché allora non fu chiesta l'autorizz. anche per la mediaz. da Pisa?
Perché, se ad insaputa = appello senza controllo?
Questa mediazione = accusa d'infantilismo politico ~~= non da statista~~
Atteggiamento di chiusura L. P. per Berlino = in armonia col suo carattere
In un mio discorso = fra parentesi
Segno della grossolanità e leggerezza = formula Primicerio
Io credo che egli questo abbia detto (~~dichiarato~~ = ~~espresso~~ a lui) = è tutto la sua
Circa dieci anni addietro = Bogomolov
Sottosegr. Riccio (discorso di Napoli) = in condizioni di non ricevere.
Una perché nuova ? = fuori del senso
Poco la nostra critica di effettiva sul governo = (per ingenua) per il dilettantismo lapidario
Se la polit. è un'arte, ciò vale soprattutto per la polit. internazion.

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Ottone, è stato giudicato. Letto che "in arte il Natale è cosa vecchia dell'arte"
"Vanità ed orgio fomentano il Natale" (come sopra e prec. confut. Natale vero)

L'on. Fanfani mi perdonerà se insistendo ...= impress. l'inferiore ...
Vorrei, al contrario, che "il suo discorso" non fosse sordo a' forte agrume"
Ma è impossibile non porsi i seguenti quesiti:

a) Se F. scrive a G. "senza informaz. il gov. it." = egli come Presid. ONU?
E allora non avrebbe dovuto .. U Thant (interferenza indebita ONU)?
Ma U. Thant = solo dai giornali (dichiarazioni ai giornalisti)

b) Il Ministro degli Esteri italiano era al corrente = di punti Pham Van Dong?
Perchè gli S. U. non l'hanno mai voluto ascoltare come interlocutore...?

21 luglio 1954 = Dichiarazione otto nazioni e 17° parallelo
Astenne S.U. con dichiarazione unilaterale (v. testo)
In virtù di Tale Dichiarazione = assistenza milit. a richiesta Governo
Ora questo punto = ritiro / definizione influenza straniera = non Hanoi
Possibile che Ministro Esteri non sappia questo / e se lo sapeva ...?
Infatti, influenza straniera = Hanoi sede direttive e 'Washington ritirata!
Del resto Vero significato operazione diversione. Ho Chi Minh = smentita!
(Intervista a Felix Greene) Ritiro truppe americane e reazione. Punto Ginevra.
Guerra per l'America costa con: 11.000 morti e 1700 mutilati al giorno

Neg. cosa il solo genuino ...

(φ) o i sondati di adesione e una fult. offert
i loro seguaci; b) o di atto di governo e fult
il Parlamento ed il Paese.

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Ciò che in questo episodio come in tutta la fult. estera ... = contradd.
Nel 1962, Nenni 1° gov. C.S. = contraddizioni PSI e governo
Io elencai allora parecchie questioni: Nenni, Reale, Rapacci, Cine, F.M.
Alcune di queste erano state in atto se ne sono aggiunte
Ma sempre su tutte = medesimo contrasto

Nessun tentativo risolvere i contrasti: tali sforzi = nascondere:
In questo affare La Pira esplodono le contraddizioni: formula verbale
a) Reinvidare C° Atlant. di amicizia e solidarietà (Rusk)
Sia detto tra parentesi: costante fult. estera ital. =
Comunque: la solidarietà è stata promessa / manifestata? = (estensione territ.
Ulteriori rilievi: in quale cosa si riferisce l'apprezzamento alla
1) Come si concilia la lettera a Johnson con la solidarietà?
La lettera a Johnson = accettazione di fronte Rusk van Dorp
Questa solidarietà non è stata promessa agli USA, ma al Vietminh
2) se la solidarietà è stata promessa, come si concilia
attegg. PSI: fatto singolo e dramma ufficiale
Volere o non volere (Sallustio)
Su quale cosa è responsabile maggioranza: a) se è stata promessa =
= come si concilia con la politica atlantica ancora vigente
Crede il Presidente del Consiglio che sia così? Nel Cielo della Stato il 1°?
Che in queste cose nascondere detto non sia?

5

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

L'affare Lima ha gettato il più profondo discredito sul governo
Io sono il primo a riconoscere che l'on. Lima non è mentalmente italiano
Ma questo discredito è il frutto delle contraddizioni esistenti: non si
allontana il discredito se non si eliminano le contraddiz.
Io lo seguo alla coerenza del Presidente del Consiglio
Egli sa meglio di me che ciò che importa non è
sopravvivere. È vivere: Vivere secondo principi.

Il Presidente ha ragione = di là dell'interruzione, altro importante problema
Impossibile rinviare di tre (sei) giorni = Lussemburgo = soluzione non
Tutti sanno che problema grande = occasione di non protesto
a quel momento occorre un rappresentante aver maturato...
Infatti: a) Non è troppo lungo
b) fare chiarezza e leggerezza
Ma in realtà = temperamento di F. e non deliberato proposito
L'articolo non va rinviato....
Probabilmente F. non ignora San Just.
E Fanfani = interesse ad evitare; tanto più che i suoi più intimi
Ma l'articolo che è in lui è più forte di lui
In realtà = ragioni più profonde

amici = tendenza autonomista

CAMERA DEI DEPUTATI

Infatti: a) Corse Annuale Leg. Lo storbo (revisione d'impianto)
b) risposta tardiva all'invito e nessuna alla proposta agricola
c) Idee vaste non solo CEE
Verità = aspirazione a ritorno al solo fatto economico
Dieci anni fa a Messina = viaggio e non fine
Questo il governo francese non ha mai potuto tollerare
Conferenza televisiva 4 novembre De Gaulle = Londra non ...
Il Consiglio dei Ministri all'~~Assemblea Nazionale~~ ambasciatore francese = 3 decisioni
Una sembra sia stata accolta: Lussemburgo = agricoltura?
Le altre saranno accolte?
Inoltre allontanamento di chi ha con-bene operato
Problema delle ristrutturazioni a maggioranza
Il commissario fisso nella conferenza a gruppi d'interessi = Affievolimento dell'operato di Colombo = speranza di fumo
Non è possibile cedere alla richiesta di modifica o di gentlemen's agr.
La struttura del trattato = garantisce che il fine non sia d'altra parte scritto nel fatto economico, il MEC... = Trattato
= colono dei fondi di aprile
Numerose crisi: ~~Lo~~ 1962, 63, 64, 65
Perfino De Gaulle, ad un certo momento ...
~~Il fine ultimo = ragione stessa della vita del MEC~~
Non possiamo dimenticare: quel fine è molto di meno!
Fine ultimo = ragione della vita Profeti siamo ...? = Il senso = Apostoli

V I E T N A M

Il seguito di allarmanti avvenimenti iniziatosi 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 prevedavano 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

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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 sottolieava 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 premsse 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.

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Tra il 31 luglio e il 4 agosto 1964 formazioni navali americane, in servizio di pattugliamento nelle acque internazionali del Golfo del Tonkino 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 annunziò 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 guerigglieri 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 giorhi 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-

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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 mediatorio nella questione del Sud-Est Asiatico, pressione mediatoria 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 Min e dal capo del governo — indirizzava al Presidente Johnson la seguente lettera:

« Signor Presidente, nel colloquio che gentilmente accordaste alla fine di maggio mi confermaste 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. Questi, 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:

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
Page 4—Saturday-Sunday, December 18-19, 1965 **

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 thesis, the hard core, of their thesis is that Red Chinese hegemony in Asia must be of deep concern to 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 baleful, 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 probability of any direct Chinese military threat to any Western European country. But political alliances and antagonisms can change with great speed in the superheated climate of our day. The stark facts are that China is strong; that she is growing stronger, and that she is impelled by a heady 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 grab at India—which had seemed 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 missile, 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 not 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 acting 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 resolve the issue—either by bringing down the Smith government or by inducing it to come to terms with London and spokesmen for the African majority in [illegible] of supplying neighboring Zambia with coal for its copper mines and food for its people in the event—not unlikely—that Rhodesia responds to the oil embargo by cutting railway services to Zambia. The airlift would be an airlift, which Washington is ready to [illegible].

Then there is the likelihood that Rhodesia will seek to circumvent the oil embargo by calling on South Africa and Portuguese Mozambique. This, of course, would put South Africa and Portugal on a spot; but unless they wanted to run the risk of UN sanctions being applied against them too, they would have to refrain from defeating the intent of a measure supported by the overwhelming majority of UN members.

Finally, there is the possibility that Rhodesia will cut off its supply of electric power to Zambia. This would be an act of [illegible] because it would certainly force [illegible] British intervention.

Whichever 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 Alsop

WASHINGTON—The talk about negotiations over Vietnam, at home and abroad, among politicians and in the press, ought to stop now. For the would-be negotiators have had their answer straight from the mouth of Ho Chi Minh, which in this case is better than the horse's mouth.


Mr. Alsop

The answer was given in a remarkably important interview the boss of the North Vietnamese government recently gave to Felix Greene, a journalist known [illegible] have the justification of [illegible] and honesty. But Ho has now displayed to the whole world the wishful dishonesty of those who dare not mention surrender, but endlessly speak of "negotiations now."

That [illegible] than negotiations [illegible] ruled out [illegible] The present [illegible] the period [illegible] the Korean war prior to the summer of 1951. In all those long [illegible] Communist [illegible] endlessly [illegible] posed that there could be no trace of peace negotiations without prior withdrawal of all American troops from the Korean [illegible].

The Communists [illegible] their position [illegible] and with great spirit, when a powerful offensive mounted by the American [illegible] the narrow neck of North Korea [illegible] an imminent likelihood, the call for negotiations was promptly forthcoming. Panmunjom followed.

In the same fashion, it can be predicted with almost confidence that Ho Chi Minh will talk about negotiations in very different terms when he is persuaded by hard experience that his side is losing the war. 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 illusion will also be dispelled in the end.

When Ho and his colleagues seriously wish to negotiate, negotiations must of course begin. When negotiations are requested, however, this must not cause the Vietnamese action to be broken off at [illegible]

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 his increased individualism, partly as a reaction of today's liberalism.

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

The New Student feels that the government interferes with his rights, becoming "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." He shudders at the arm-twisting 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 Intellectuals.

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

LOUIS ALTARESCU
(The American University)
Washington, D.C.

Keep Smiling

To the Herald Tribune:

Your editorial "Help For Hungry India" of Dec. 14 makes curious reading. It invokes some very ominous accusations made by the Indians against President Johnson for having suggested that their country should divert more resources toward agriculture but says that it is not "likely to interfere with the favorable response by the President" for India's request for emergency food shipments. Why this? Just because India has said that she is going to fight the Chinese? Is that reason enough to get all the kicks with a smiling face? How does [illegible] the American gratitude to Indians who have just to say the Chinese have attacked across the frontier (who verifies such things?) to make the tails wag in Washington. After that the hardest kicks seem to be gentle caresses.

JACQUES YELOTTE.

Paris.

Noteworthy?

To the Herald Tribune:

One can follow Roscoe Drummond's unswerving defense of our policy in Vietnam with admiration or with reservations. What is not pardonable is the simplicity that produces the sort of statement that appeared in the Herald Tribune (Dec. 13):

"It is worth noting that, while Hanoi applauds the Americans who protest the Vietnamese war, it treats its own people who protest the war as counterrevolutionaries."

[illegible]

the North, the United States must now withdraw its troops.

We also heard that the United States failed in its duty when France was attacked in 1914 and 1939 by not intervening [illegible]. And the United States only fulfilled its duty in keeping troops in Western Europe after World War II to be ready to intervene immediately in case of an attack from the East. But now it is immoral to continue to keep an armed forces in Europe.

The explanation for all of this was very simple. France, through the use of its great powers of [illegible] persuasion, has convinced all [illegible] except the United States, to mind their own business and stay at home.

Why do we [illegible] of it? [illegible] all governments would [illegible] from [illegible] and would concentrate on learning how to take care of their own internal affairs.

R. KNAPP.

Paris.

Humiliating?

To the Herald Tribune:

Never in my 38 years of following American and international sports have I seen a sportswriter the likes of your "Red" Smith dedicate an entire column to humiliating beyond all proportion a talented young football player like Gary [illegible]—whose only fault in the game with the tough Green Bay Packers was being unseasoned.

I have seen such tactics before on the part of our good friend Red, in the name of sports reporting. It seems to be especially odious whenever a sportsman happens to have an Italo-American name. Red Smith, practice what you preach. Be fair and objective, which is a cardinal principle in sports no matter what the [illegible] color or creed happens to be.

ANTHONY M. ALBERT.

Rome.

Buy Vietnam?

To the Herald Tribune:

The $5 billion a year the Associated Press says we are spending on the war in Vietnam would pay the interest on $100 billion with which we could buy the whole country [illegible], stock and barrel, from the French, Chinese and [illegible] and [illegible] up among the people who work [illegible] Paternalism? Socialism? Not at all. Just a cooperative like the TVA. We might gain a [illegible] of capitalists and lose a [illegible].

F. C. HENRY.

Malaga.

'The Best Usage'

To the Herald Tribune:

Re the letter from D. Jon Grossman, Dec. 13, [illegible]

which could resolve the issue—either by bringing down the Smith government or by [illegible] to come to terms with London and sponsorship for the African majority in Rhodesia.

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

Whichever way the Rhodesian regime might turn, 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 cliche, quite uncommercial, 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 modernizing and cutting commitments to fit vital interests and capabilities. Ironically, Mr. Wilson's most vexing 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 think of no stronger argument for a U.S. [illegible] of Red China's nuclear facilities [illegible] or bases of our own, or members of the strategic 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 closer that approach seems to come, the more menacingly China behaves, the more likely she is to provoke them. The Chinese (and those include the Russians) into striking a pre-emptive blow against her nuclear installations.

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

—From the Daily Telegraph (London).

African Walkout

By an act of discourtesy toward the British prime minister and people, the African delegates at the United Nations General Assembly must have made the defeat of the Smith regime even harder than it already was.

No country, however understanding it tries to be toward others, can be indifferent to such a deliberate, seemingly unprovoked, and Mr. Smith's [illegible] will unfortunately have risen in many a household which shared the prime minister's humiliation.

—From the Guardian (Britain).

Seventy-Five Years Ago
In the European Edition

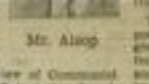
Dec. 18, 1890

WASHINGTON—At last Alaska is to be systematically explored—that is, 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 cautioned to report the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, regarding the Alaskan territory.

Fifty Years Ago

Dec. 18, 1915

SALONICA—Our retreat is terminated. The Allies have not a single man on Servian territory. When it is known what the situation of our army was three weeks ago, owing to the lack of reinforcements, this long retiring movement will be considered in the light of a triumph. From Nov. 20, the day on which I witnessed a strong Bulgarian attack on the left bank of the Cerna, it became evident that we could no longer hold the river positions to which we had returned in order to relieve the pressure on the hard-pressed Servians. On the morning of the next day we began to evacuate enormous quantities of material at Gradsko which had been accumulated for the contemplated advance. It took us nine days to complete these and several which we distributed, some towards the direction of Gradsko, and which comprised two divisions, including a large quantity of artillery, an automobile park, and an aeroplane squadron. We had accumulated in Servia, with a view to an offensive, eight days' provisions for 700,000 men, and the railway for each common. To remove these stores we had at our disposal the single-track railway, frequently blocked and being used, moreover, for the strategical movements of the mobilized Greek Army. Slowly, after encountering unexpected difficulties we have finally retired to Greek territory, with bitterness in our hearts at having lost an opportunity.



Mr. Alsop

[illegible] new of Communist Cuba. The [illegible] text was broadcast to the world over the North Vietnamese official radio, but for reasons that are not quite clear, the Washington [illegible] to put the information [illegible] significance.

The [illegible]'s key passage was [illegible] answer to a question about [illegible] for rejecting President [illegible] offer of "unconditional negotiations." He [illegible] by removing what the Johnson Administration has long insisted was the only genuine 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."

This sounds dismal, for good and all, any surviving illusions about the possible fruitfulness of "peaces" in the northern bombing, about the desirability of further discreet overtures to Hanoi, and so on and on.

Inside the administration, a minority group of policy-makers has been pressing for another bombing pause, really to reaffirm the president's well-publicized passion for peace before another upsurge of the American effort in South Vietnam. But if such a [illegible] is ordered after the Ho Chi Minh [illegible] it will be nothing more than the cruelest sort of [illegible].

For the [illegible] lives by his [illegible] will [illegible] as [illegible] until American troops have [illegible] withdrawn from South Vietnam [illegible] circumstances. On this [illegible] it will not negotiate until the United States has [illegible] South Vietnam, and Laos as well, to the tender mercies of the Communist government in Hanoi.

The amount of wishful self-deception of Ho's language can [illegible] those hard facts. There is no excuse any longer for the highly [illegible] persons in the newspaper business and in politics who keep whispering: "The North Vietnamese really don't seem to want to negotiate, but if we just try harder, make more gestures, even from about the sandals, maybe they will change their minds."

Wishful 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 abject American surrender. The frank advocates of surrender, much as most Americans may disagree with them, at

Sprung by Illinois Bourbons

Trap Snaps Shut on Percy

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

CHICAGO — Even with open Charles H. Percy has walked into a fiendishly clever trap prepared by his arch-enemies, the Bourbons of Illinois.

We reported last [illegible] that the state party's Goldwater-minded leaders, like the Bourbon kings of France, remember everything and learn nothing. Although Percy ran an eye-popping 600,000 votes ahead of Barry Goldwater in his unsuccessful race for governor, the party [illegible] still view Bell and Howell's [illegible] the wonder of the century [illegible] as the devil incarnate. [illegible] Percy's new-found [illegible].

It is [illegible] that the Bourbons have been preparing [illegible] to run for the Senate in [illegible] against three-term Democrat Sen. Paul Douglas. And it is stranger still that, by the time these words appear in print, Percy will have announced his [illegible] candidacy—following the [illegible] pleading of [illegible] and against the counsel of friends.

Purity Vs. Victory

The explanation is found in the political trap Percy perceived but could not avoid. It is a story of a political party more interested in ideological purity than victory.

Shortly after losing last November, Percy sent up signals that he was still concentrating on state politics. He organized his New Illinois Committee to study state issues. Private polls revealed the axis, highly respected Percy would win handily today against colorless Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner (who probably would have lost to Percy in 1964 had Goldwater not headed the Republican ticket). In short, Percy was dreaming of the Governor's Mansion in 1968.

But to the Bourbons, Percy in Springfield would be worse than one Democrat. As governor, he would mold the state party in a more progressive image, perhaps taking leverage on downstate county chairmen who trolled him during the 1964 campaign. The [illegible] beat Percy, now one of the best known figures in Illinois, in the primary election.

What to do with Percy? Why, manoeuver him into a Senate race against Douglas, the most formidable [illegible] in Illinois history.

Should Percy win, as Douglas, that would [illegible] the end of Percy. Should Percy win, as most Washington [illegible] the national affairs [illegible] the Republican party. It would [illegible] Democrats [illegible] for the Bourbons.

Furthermore, [illegible] was an instant threat. Percy could have the Senate nomination for the asking. But if he held off in 1968 to run for governor in 1972, the Bourbons would [illegible] the Senate candidate. [illegible] a safer conservative [illegible] more who ran for governor last year.

Moreover, it was drummed home to Percy that if he didn't run for senator, he'd spend the next two years explaining why he was [illegible] "do his duty."

Shortly afterward, the right wing of the Illinois party whipped up a Percy-for-Senator campaign. Chairman Charles Barr, a Chicago oil company executive and a most skilful political tactician. Barr, a national founder of the Goldwater-for-president movement, led the fight to dump Percy the governor's nomination in 1964. Now he suddenly became a Percy man—Percy for Senator, that is.

Pulling the other way were some of Percy's closest advisers. Harry O. (Skinner) Taylor of Decatur, one of the few county chairmen in Percy's corner, told him to wait until 1968. So did key staffers from his 1964 campaign.

No Tears

But the longer Percy delayed his decision, the harder it became to avoid the trap. By mid-November, his freedom of choice had dwindled away. He had been mentioned as often for the [illegible] without a Percy disclaimer, and he could scarcely [illegible] run without being accused of running away from Douglas.

Although private [illegible] Percy increasingly [illegible] against Douglas in [illegible] will be a [illegible] it is [illegible] wise. It was [illegible] hard to find an issue against Douglas aside from the senator's age (72)—and Percy insists he won't bring that up.

Only a [illegible] Percy and [illegible] could [illegible] the Democratic incumbent. And [illegible] has come, there [illegible] be tears from the Bourbons.

The Mail welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published, but all letters are subject to condensation for space reasons.

Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication; writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials, but preference will be given to those fully signed.

'Stay at Home'

To the Herald Tribune:

Tuesday evening, De Gaulle laid down guidelines for the conduct of American foreign policy. It is an unusual act for the United States to intervene in any war from now on. Even though the United States was committed by treaty to intervene in South Vietnam to assist [illegible] defense against attacks from

'The Best Usage'

To the Herald Tribune:

Re the letter from D. Jon Crittenden, Dec. 15. May I contend that the use of the words "approximative," "proximative," "approximativeness" and "proximativeness" which appeared on your editorial page Dec. 7, is perfectly proper and in accordance with the best usage in both America and England? In fact, I believe that Mr. Alsop better expressed his feeling that something dire might happen in the future, by using "approximativeness" rather than "apprehensiveness" the latter can easily be used to denote an expectation of some good happening.

"Periphrasity" is probably more popular than "periphrastic[illegible]" but they are fully interchangeable. "Eruditeness" and "erudition" are also interchangeable, as are "wordiness" and "verbosity," the former might be used to refer to the process of obtaining higher education, whereas "erudition" refers more strictly to the [illegible] fact.

JOSEPH W. [illegible]

Paris.

Heavy's Pay

To the Herald Tribune:

In an editorial "The New Class" (Dec. 10), while commenting on George Meany's $70,000 salary, you say that "there is something distasteful in the contrast between Mr. Meany's eloquent pleas in behalf of an increase in the legal minimum wage and this substantial token of AFL-CIO regard."

What is distasteful about 16 million workers, through their elected representatives, giving their top executive a raise in salary as an expression of thanks for his lifelong labors in their behalf?

And what about the heads of many corporations earning ten to 20 times Mr. Meany's salary and paying a lot less in taxes because of various stock-option, capital gains and depletion loopholes?

AARON S. BLASBALG.

New York.

'Stay at Home'

To the Herald Tribune:

Tuesday evening, De Gaulle laid down guidelines for the conduct of American foreign policy. It is an unusual act for the United States to intervene in any war from now on. Even though the United States was committed by treaty to intervene in South Vietnam to assist [illegible] defense against attacks from

Plain Song

[illegible] more, Not Bill's [illegible] winter, [illegible] Turn [illegible] its quiet [illegible] Compressing vapor as more [illegible] For [illegible] [illegible] line, which will [illegible]

With [illegible] and light, longer days
In this one brick courtyard, cold
And without [illegible] the year's stuff
Leans me close to buds—when I'll go
Like a gallard and sing-open windows
To an ordinary girl named Ida.

MARTIN BOMBINO.

NEW YORK Herald Tribune

[illegible]

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune

Page 4—Monday, December 20, 1965

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 two Italian professors, in an interview with Ho 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 belligerent operations—including bombing—also the cessation of debarkation of further American troops." There was no mention of any end to North Vietnamese infiltration. Ho also called for a prior declaration that "the Geneva agreements of 1954—a declaration made up of the four points formulated by Hanoi," should be the basis for negotiations. Since these four points include the withdrawal of American forces and arrangement of the internal affairs of South Vietnam in accordance with the program 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. Fanfani to seek clarification from Hanoi, and proposed further discussions.

It is difficult to see how he could have gone any further—especially in the light of certain other events. 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. Fanfani was on Dec. 6. On Dec. 5, Radio Hanoi broadcast an interview between Felix Greene and Ho Chi Minh which appeared to be as uncompromising as anything that had come out of North Vietnam.

He called upon the United States "to declare 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, now, with the plain implication that the references in the four points to "foreign interference" would not apply to Hanoi.

Is this the clarification for which Mr. Rusk asked? If so, it offers little grounds for hope. Clearly, the United States has tried to keep the tenuous lines 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 surrender, and was counting on antiwar sentiment in the United States to help him get it.

Views on the Way

"Taboris," W. Somerset Maugham once wrote, "cannot reach the utmost heights, but it can show you many an unexpected and delicious view, an unfrequented dell, a babbling brook or a romantic ravine, on the way that leads to them." Few would hold that Maugham himself had ever scaled the heights—he least of all. But he has given many pleasant and moving views on the way. Some, indeed, have become clichés in his long lifetime. The anguished poetlessness in "Of Human Bondage" has survival value. More, it is probable, knew Cronshaw by intellect, so to speak, from "Mrs. Dot Hopetoun" than from his paintings. And at least two generations are likely, when they hear rain drumming on a tin roof, or clothes flying through the palm leaves, to look about for Sadie Thompson.

Considering the many plays, novels and short stories that came from Mr. Maugham's swift, skilled pen, these may seem sparse

England through two world wars there have been at most shifts in literary fashion as there have been changes in human experience. To have made so much of a mark on the likes of letters as Maugham has done is no small accomplishment. And as well in the passage his writing gave to its readers is those who were of its time, evanescent, that emotion retains a kind of greatness.

Bourbon Benchmarks

Some Chicago judges recently decided to test the drunkenness test used in their courtrooms (and in measuring the alcohol content of a suspect's breath). Try as they would, they couldn't reach the specified .15 reading. Enough one measured six double bourbons (reading .08), while another downed six doubles followed by three triples (all hasty and registered only .06). What-



'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 terrible at any season. It seems more so whatever Christmas may afford, and the puzzled discussion over its proper conduct is more than usually confused. As in many times in the world's past, the choice in Vietnam is clouded by a very human sort. Some are not really certain in the war is good (or bad); some are discouraged by the twisted problems of a quick or easy victory; some are embarrassed by our friends; some are shocked and saddened at the cruelties our own side is as often guilty of. And some find the widening into a major war, with a massive manpower commitment, unthinkable.

Certainly the blame for the public disenchantment rests heavily on past efforts of the administration to paint a false picture of our prospects, on President Johnson's 1964 campaign strategy, and on a frequent failure of candor about just what the nature and extent of our operations have been.

But there also is a spreading uncertainty over what our national role ought to be in an age that feels the surge of revolution on every continent, even in our own country; an age of impatience, of contempt not only for the existing order, but even for the means by which order is maintained.

The Inevitable

But now it can be argued—and is—that to give up South Vietnam would only lead a tiny corner to one of the areas of armed anarchies, and that would not necessarily whet the appetites of the others.

The Division

What this argument ignores is that the "enemy" today is not simply Communism per se. There are Communist regimes with which we could quite well live in peace. There also are non-Communist regimes which threaten the peace quite as much as if they flew the hammer and sickle.

The essential division is not between Communist and non-Communist, but between aggressor and non-aggressor. And if there is to be any stability in the world, there is to be any hope of orderly advance and genuinely fruitful development, the non-aggressors have simply got to hold the aggressors in check—however painful or costly the exercise.

On the international scene, there has to be a clear and unequivocal demonstration of the old maxim that crime doesn't pay.

The Red Chinese have to be taught this lesson, not because they are Communist, but because they still cherish a doctrinal determination to win the world by war. And the credibility of the lesson, for better or for worse, is now being tested in Vietnam.

The Grabbers

Peking is not alone in having to be taught this, in simply in the way in which, because of the vast population it commands, the size of its armies, its burning nationalism and its limitless ambitions, it has the potential to be a far more dangerous aggressor than, say, Hitler's Germany was in the years before the war against it. Indeed, the greatest danger, from the long-term standpoint, is that the Communist world will be fragmented into competing national empires, each one grabbing for what it can get.

That is why the Soviet Union, for all its present quarrels with Peking, has a common interest with the West in the use of power and consequently often finds itself on the same side in an emergency as in Vietnam today with the West.

The essential task of those who want international order is to combine firmness with efforts to seek things by force, whatever odds the aggressor offers us. This task is complicated by the common practice of Communists—slipping under borders, as in Vietnam, rather than moving over them, as in China, Eastern Europe, after centuries of accepting the use of aggressiveness as common practice. We finally emerged from the isolationist cultivation of World War II into what seems a lasting responsibility of it.

The nation is not true of the public United, of Red China, or of a large proportion of the hastily forged new nations. These present the danger; these are the ones that have to be curbed, if ever the Christmas message of "Peace on Earth toward men of good will" is to find its fulfillment. And there is, unfortunately, no easy, cheap or sure way of doing it.

Why Republican Liberals Yielded

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON—The major aggression for the gentle Republican top s[ ] John Rhett Bonnett would be written right out of the party.

The Rhodes-Laird threat was to [ ] the subsequences of this surrender. A footnote: Coordinating conservative conservatives specifically against Gov. [ ]

The Court Rules for Atheism

By David Lawrence

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court of the United States may not have intended to [ ] a "religion" which could be taught in the public schools, but it has given an involuntary [ ] to the cause of non-belief in God.

The high court has just [ ] the plea of a group of parents, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and American agnostics (who were not, through court action, that their children in public schools be allowed [ ] to engage in a prayer that mentioned the word "god." In a series of [ ] ruling, the impression is [ ] to the people for all [ ] that there is something wrong with a belief in God. This is exactly what atheism claims. Atheism is [ ] by some people as a kind of "religion" in itself.

The high court's decisions have before been based on the idea that the government must remain "neutral" as between religions. But not until the latest ruling, specifically banning voluntary prayer requested by the parents of children of virtually all faiths, has the Supreme Court placed itself apparently on record against even a prayer that is neutral as between the sects.

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 any religion, whether it is atheism or anything else.

Search Prayer

The controversy has been getting more and more tangled ever since the Supreme Court in 1962 tackled the question of prayer in the schools. The high court ruled then that the educational officials of a state or local government may not lawfully compose a prayer and direct that it be uttered by pupils in public school classes or assemblies. Nothing was said by the court about the right of students to engage in silent prayer or to recite silent prayers prepared not by a group of parents of all faiths.

The latest case involves a request by the parents in the principal and teachers in the public city, during the [ ] periods when they are served milk and crackers or cocoa, one of two familiar prayers "that have no sectarian connection. One prayer was simply: "Our heavenly Father, we thank Thee for the food we eat, and we bless Thee for our blessed Americ[a]." The other reads:

"Thank [ ] for the food we eat,
"Thank [ ] for the milk that
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
"Thank you for the food we eat,
"Thank you for the milk that

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(Telefoto ANSA)

LE SPERANZE DI PACE NEL SUD-EST ASIATICO

3

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. E' 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 metodo 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 distensive 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, sui 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 relativa ad essa da parte del dipartimento di Stato. E' 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—Nikolai V. Podgorny, the new Soviet chief of state, has given up his high administrative functions in the secretariat of the Communist party, according to qualified sources.

Although he was removed from the daily management of party affairs, there is evidence that he will continue to play an influential role in the collective leadership.

Taking over some of his former responsibilities according to these sources, is the powerful member of the 12-man party presidium, Alexander N. Shelepin, who was relieved of his Government posts in last week's Kremlin shuffle.

A readjustment of port folios in the highest ranks of the party hierarchy is apparently taking place.

The management of party cadres and personnel, the task Mr. Podgorny took over after the downfall 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. Kapitonov. This suggested that Mr. Brezhnev will take over more operational responsibilities, working through Mr. Kapitonov, than has been the case previously.

Though the sources differ in statements in detail, it was understood Mr. Shelepin's particular task would be to supervise preparations for the 23d Party Congress, scheduled to begin March 29.

In announcements of the shuffle last week, when Mr. Podgorny took over from the retiring Anastas Mikoyan, it was reported that Mr. Shelepin would relinquish his activities in the party bureaucracy. He was—and is—a Secretary of both the party and the party's policy-making body and chief executive, the administrative agency of the party.

News of his being dropped from his Government post aroused intense speculation among observers about whether his star was still rising or whether he had to offset, have descended.

Soviet sources who can usually be relied on to proceed with discretion, if vague, guidance to diplomats and newsmen on [illegible]



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 Vietcong

Continued From Page 1

[illegible] Vietnam.

The United States has been proposing that troops from [illegible] be stationed in Vientiane, but officials in Vientiane have become aware of the [illegible] hate within the United States [illegible] stability, as the [illegible] a neo-colonist. Soviet, French and other diplomats have asked Laotian Government officials if such action is contemplated.

In Saigon, Vietcong, as the war grows in intensity and [illegible] some American officers have advocated an attempt to cut the Ho Chi Minh Trail. According to Saigon analysts, North Vietnamese troops are infiltrating 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 many as 4,000 during the dry season, which extends from November to April.

The possibility of committing a highly mobile American force such as the First Cavalry [illegible] with superior firepower.

[illegible] American military circles have also given some thought to the possibility of a Chinese Communist intervention.

Chinese Communist engineer battalions are improving the network of military roads leading from Yunnan Province of Peking Rely and in the Manzhou area of the adjoining province of Hunan. Kheng administration of a self-styled Laotian neutralist, Gen. Khamsouane Boupha, who commands about 1,500 troops, cooperates with Chinese Communists and has declared his independence of Vientiane.

In Vientiane, estimates of Communist infiltration over the Ho Chi Minh Trail are substantially lower than those issued in Saigon and Washington. It is thought that the infiltration of North Vietnamese troops is at present proceeding at the rate of about 1,000 a month and that the transport of supplies [illegible] much lower tonnage than [illegible] in Saigon and Washington.

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 brought against him by Robert Edward Hill, former chairman of the Hardy Spicer car [illegible] firm.

Philippine Winners Proclaimed

special to The New York Times

MANILA, Dec. 17—A joint session of the Philippine Congress proclaimed today President Diosdado Macapagal and Vice President Fernando Lopez winners in the Nov. 9 election.

The proclamation followed three days of partisan wrangling sparked by a close fight in the two presidential race. Congress, after canvassing the votes, gave Mr. Marcos 3,861,324 votes and Mr. Lopez 3,553,550 votes.

They will take the oath of office Dec. 30.

Maugham Estate Problems

LONDON, Dec. 17 (AP)—Lawyers in four countries are expected to start work next week on the task of unraveling W. Somerset Maugham's complicated financial affairs.

Even allowing for the large sums Maugham gave away in literary estate of over 40 years is estimated to have brought him an estate of more than $3.2 million.

Mr. Maugham, who died in his villa near Nice yesterday at the age of 91, had [illegible] and Russia were not revealed.

Debate, America, Switzerland and Free

Typhoid in Paris Suburb

PARIS, Dec. 17 (AP)—Nineteen cases of typhoid fever have been diagnosed in the Paris suburb of Courbevoie-Asnières-Bourcine, health authorities said today.

All the cases were said to be mild and the patients were recovering normally. Eleven children and eight adults were stricken. A statement from the mayor said that the water supply might have been polluted by a break in a main.

Germans Arouse Russia

KARLSRUHE, Germany, Dec. 17 (AP)—The Federal Intelligence Office announced today that it had caught a member of the Soviet Embassy staff trying to get information about [illegible] of the German Army and North Atlantic Treaty Organization troops.

The office said the Russian was [illegible] a German [illegible] and Russia were not revealed.

TERRORIST WAVE GROWS IN SAIGON

Continued From Page 1

[illegible] threw the grenade.

The incident took place only a few blocks from the residence of Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, chief of state. Two days ago, four Vietcong terrorists were injured yesterday by another Vietcong grenade.

Last night, in the Chinese suburb of Cholon, five South Vietnamese were hurt in other terrorist attacks. At a street corner, a Vietcong threw a grenade at a policeman, injuring him and four civilian bystanders. At a post office, a terrorist shot a policeman in the abdomen.

HANOI SENDS U.S. A PEACE FEELER

Continued From Page 1

make himself available to Washington at any time in the future for the purpose of continuing the exchange of views on possible peace negotiations."

United States officials reflected the skepticism expressed by Mr. Rusk in assessing possibilities that the exchange might lead to peace talks. They were particularly concerned about the condition concerning the North Vietnamese four-point plan.

Wording of Report

The wording on this, as reported to Mr. Johnson by Mr. Fenton, said that peace negotiations should be [illegible]

JAKARTA REBELS FACE EXECUTION

Sukarno Announces Death Penalty for Dissenters

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Dec. 17 (Saturday)—President Sukarno announced today that the death penalty would be imposed 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, Perwari.

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 [illegible]

The official Antara press agency reported today that 30,000 supporters of the coup had been arrested in south Borneo. In north Celebes, a local Communist leader, Nani Van Chiet, 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 [illegible] the government's new economic measures.

ERHARD TO ASK NUCLEAR PLEDGE

Continued From Page 1

sources, Dr. Erhard 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, Romania is considered ready to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn. However, West Germany does not intend to do so because such action would be misunderstood in Arab and African countries.

PARIS

MICHEL SWISS

Paris respect wants gift that are tax-free making useful

PERFUMES

GLOVES-[illegible]

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2nd floor. Elevator — OPE. 44-87

A PERSONAL [illegible]

MICHEL SWISS

CANOE



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PARIS

Established in 1919

CHUNN

Roman ALEXANDER, President

PERFUMES

[...] was still ruling or whether he had in effect been demoted.

Soviet sources who can usually be relied on to present authorized, if vague, guidance to diplomats and newsmen on party affairs, seemed uncertain immediately after the shuffle. They came up with strikingly contradictory analyses.

There were Communist sources who insisted that Mr. Shelepin'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 Soviet contacts were warning their foreign friends not to consider the shift as a demotion for Mr. Shelepin and that he remained one of the most promising of the coming generation of Soviet leaders.

With confirmation of the Podgorny withdrawal from party management, [illegible] analysts drew this conclusion:

Mr. Shelepin has had [illegible] of power, the government [illegible] mechanism which gave him direct supervision over a [illegible] citizens who kept watch over all aspects of Soviet society.

He [illegible], however, a potentially [illegible] post in the party hierarchy, [illegible] which he stands to gain [illegible] chance of [illegible] Mr. [illegible] as party leader.

Questions of Moscow's rivalry with Peking in the world Communist movement are considered certain to [illegible]. South of the forthcoming party congress. According to this interpretation, if it is handled so that Moscow emerges in a strong position, Mr. Shelepin may himself be in a strong position. If it is bungled, there would be a ready scapegoat.

[...] as 4,500 during the dry season, which extends from November to April.

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

In Vientiane, where detailed studies have been made of the feasibility of an American ground operation to block the trail, military experts are highly dubious that such an operation could be carried out successfully.

It is estimated that about three American divisions would be needed to secure and maintain a line across the trail. Because of extremely difficult broken jungle terrain, American units would be vulnerable to North Vietnamese attacks and [illegible] would have to be brought in by air.

The consensus here is that it would be better for available American divisions to be committed in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam. Under present [illegible] deployment of opposing forces, the North Vietnamese are at the disadvantage of being compelled to make an exhausting march through Laos to South Vietnam, where they encounter American units.

[...] at present proceeding at the rate of about 1,000 a month and that the transport of supplies is of much lower tonnage than projected in Saigon and Washington.

[illegible] are convinced here that the bulk of supplies for Communist forces in South Vietnam enter by sea. Despite United States Navy efforts [illegible] the coast is [illegible] to be a [illegible] Communist [illegible] [illegible] Hanoi and other [illegible].

[illegible] of transport on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which must be accomplished largely by porters rather than vehicles, are so enormous that loads usually are restricted to "low weight-high value" items such as small weapons and radios. Porters carry loads of about 70 pounds plus their food and travel 10 to 12 miles in a day.

Information on Communist movements along the trail is generally limited, although there is probably more information available in Vientiane than elsewhere. Long-range patrols and observation posts manned by Laotian Army and American advisers keep some sections of the maze of routes under surveillance. Aerial reconnaissance is constant both by American and Laotian Air Force planes.

[...] terrorist attacks. At a street corner, a Vietcong threw a grenade at a policeman, injuring him and four civilian bystanders. At a post office, a terrorist shot a policeman in the abdomen.

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

Meanwhile, reports trickling into Saigon indicated that a South Vietnamese Army company, ambushed yesterday morning in Haunghia province, had suffered heavy casualties.

The Vietcong built dirt mounds on the highway between Cuchi and Trangbang yesterday. Two companies of about 150 men each were sent to reopen the road.

Two and a half hours after one of the companies reported that it had been ambushed, [illegible] its radio went silent. Artillery barrages were placed on the position in an effort to force the Vietcong to retreat.

When [illegible] planes and ground troops reached the scene of the fighting some time later, they found no enemy soldiers dead by enemy fire. The Vietcong had vanished.

Ground action elsewhere was light, with 70 Vietcong killed in skirmishes in the Mekong Delta south of Saigon and in Quangtin Province near Danang. The casualties in Quangtin were reported by United States Marines engaged in Operation Harvest Moon, now 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-5 Freedom Fighter, the first of this type to be brought down in Vietnam.

Last night an A-4 Skyhawk attempting to land on the deck of the Kitty Hawk smashed into the trailing edge of the ramp and plunged into the sea. The pilot was killed, apparently by the collision.

This morning an Air Force observation plane was hit while directing an air strike near Saigon and crashed. The pilot was not wearing a parachute and was killed.

[...] plan.

Wording of Report

The wording on this, as reported to Mr. Johnson by Mr. Fanfani, said that peace negotiations should be preceded by:

"A declaration according to which the Geneva agreements of 1954 will be taken as the basis for the negotiations — a declaration made by [illegible] of the four points formulated by Hanoi, points that are in reality the explanation of the Geneva text and which, therefore, can be reduced to a single point: application, in other words, of the Geneva accords."

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

These points insist among other things for the settlement of South Vietnam's 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 forces and dismantling of bases, neutralization of North and South Vietnam with no foreign military alliances for either and unification of the country peacefully "without any foreign interference."

Religious Services in Paris

First Church of Christ, Scientist, 36 Bd. Saint-Jacques. Sunday, French service, 10 A.M.; English service, 11:15 A.M. Wednesday, French service, [illegible] P.M.; English service, 8:15 P.M. Sunday School, French, 10 A.M.; English, 11:15 A.M.

Second Church of Christ, Scientist, 58 Boulevard Flandrin. Sunday, French service, 10 A.M.; English service, 11:15 A.M.; Wednesday, French and English services, [illegible] P.M.

Third Church of Christ, Scientist, [illegible] rue La Boetie. Sunday, French service, 10 A.M.; English service, 11 A.M.; Wednesday, French and English services, [illegible] P.M.

American Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity (Episcopal), 23 avenue George V. Sunday Holy Communion, 8:30 A.M.; Morning Prayer, 10:45 A.M.; Nursery and Sunday School, 10:30 A.M.

American Church in Paris, Sunday, Church School (nursery through adults), 10:15, Worship Service, 11; Coffee Hour, noon; Junior Choir Rehearsal, noon; Saturday, Christmas Candlelight Carol Service, [illegible] P.M.

[illegible] Orthodox Church, 7 rue [illegible]. Sunday services, 10 A.M.

[illegible] Baptist [illegible] rue [illegible]. [illegible] Saturday, [illegible] A.M.

Synagogue [illegible] (Ashkenazi Rite), 44 rue de la Victoire, services Saturday, 9 A.M.

[illegible] Canadian Church, 27 [illegible] services Sunday, 11 A.M.

Saint Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, 50 Avenue Hoche. Sunday Masses, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11:45 A.M. 5:30 P.M. English Services.

English Services at Saint John's Lutheran Church 147 rue de Grenelle, Paris. 7e 11:45 A.M. Sundays—Sunday School 10:30 A.M.

Church of England Asks Change in Prayer Book

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Dec. 17—Parliament was asked today to approve the first step toward major revisions of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England in more than 300 years.

A Labor Member, E. L. Mallalieu, said the changes would "allow the living church to get the benefit of the research of scholars and to understand passages in the scriptures whose [illegible] there had been little or no meaning which could be extracted from them."

Masked Bandits Grab Gold Bars Near Paris

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

The 167 gold bars from a foundry were valued at more than 800,000 francs ($160,000).

The armed 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 trips the truck took from a precious metals foundry, were waiting for this morning's run. They were in a green sedan with a driver, [illegible] out for from the foundry in suburban [illegible]-Seine.



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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 attenersi 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 intenda di dover trarne le conseguenze per ovvie ragioni di coerenza morale e politica.

Gaetano Martino

Giovanni Malagodi

Roberto Cantalupo

18/12/1965