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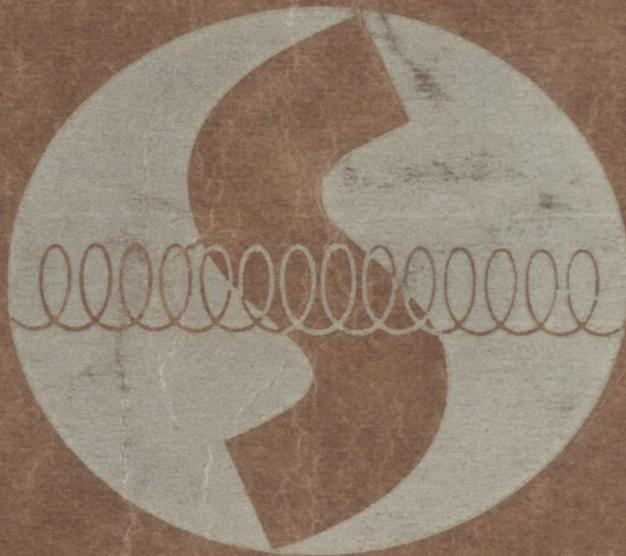
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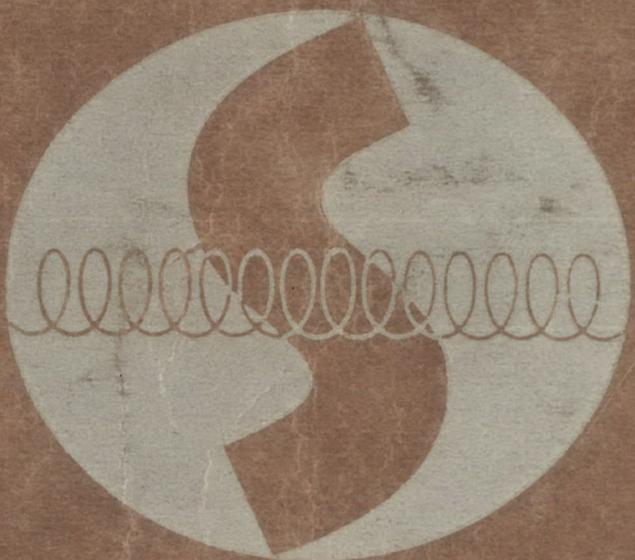
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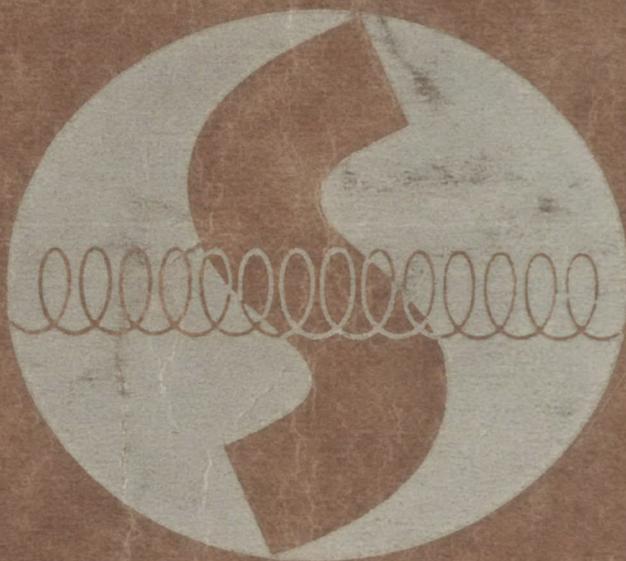
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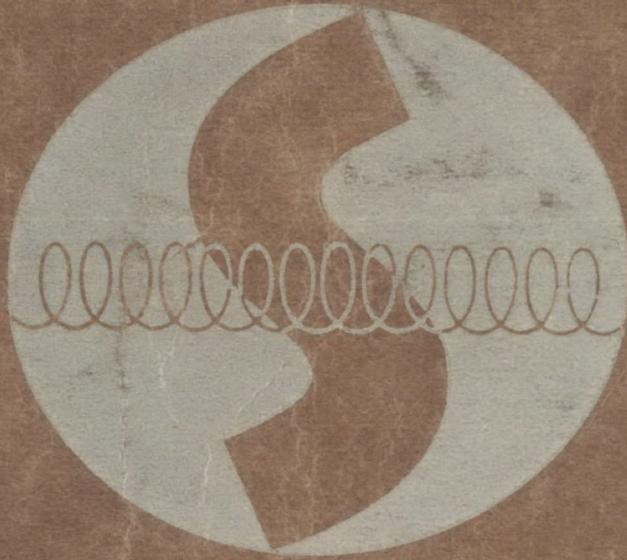
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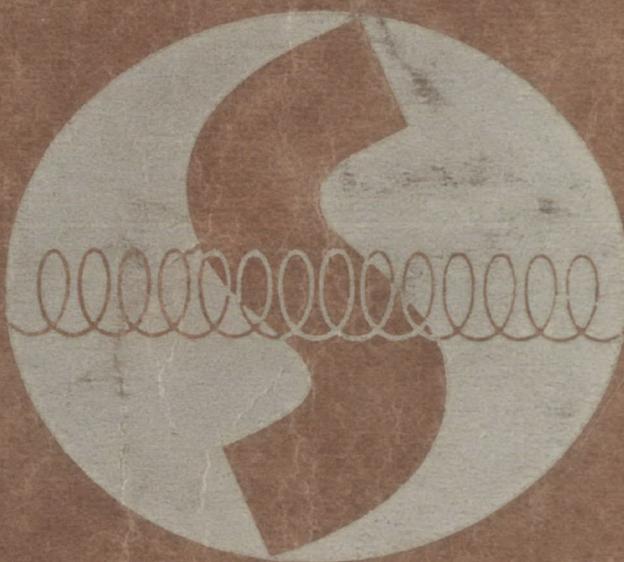
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62-587-1214

BOSTON, THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1968

FOCUS on Africa What's ahead . . .

Opponents of President Tubman are railing Liberia's relative calm. But so far there is no sign that his hold on the government as an elected official—dating back to 1945—is slipping.

One of his opponents, Henry Fahuhullah, is said to have circulated anti-Tubman tracts while he was Ambassador to Nairobi, Kenya.

This naturally rubbed Mr. Tubman the wrong way. Mr. Fahuhullah goes on trial next month, charged with treason and plotting with the Chinese Communists to overthrow the President.

Mr. Fahuhullah is not a member of Liberia's ruling class of families—freed slaves who came from America to found the nation in the early 1800's.

His position is that Liberia should be ruled by the now more populous Liberians whose ancestors came as a slave ship.

Tubman opponents criticize his close ties with Washington.

But two American Peace Corps workers who are said to have made anti-Tubman remarks in a classroom have been ordered to leave the country.

Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks are taking advantage of Moscow's preoccupation with the East-bloc ferment to tighten their own ties with Africa.

Trade specialists and diplomats from Yugoslavia are following up visits earlier this year by President Tito to nearly a dozen African nations.

Result: A wave of new trade and cultural pacts, plus new trade to Belgrade by Africans.

Yugoslavia, Moscow's old invariance would like to emerge as the main champion of "democratic" socialists, which appeals to many African states.

Czechoslovakia, Moscow's new invariance, is one of the few socialist countries with genuinely commercial (as opposed to political) interests in Africa. As far as Africa is concerned, Prague is playing cautiously its new independence from the Soviet Union.

But Prague Radio's big-powered African short-wave service assures its listeners that a "critical examination" of its foreign policy means no great change in its relations with third-world countries.

South Africa is seeking a new air route with South African Airlines forbidden to overfly a number of black-African countries, it is currently obliged to skirt West Africa's hump, stopping at Portuguese airports in Angola and Cape Verde Islands.

The new route would be via Tervise, Rhodesia, Botswana, Malawi, and Mozambique to the Indian Ocean.

These countries can be expected to ignore any sanctions against South Africa. They need all the business they can get.

For South Africans, the route would represent added security in a world increasing its pressures against their nation.

How and why . . .

Federal government opponents in Nigeria have accused Biafra of delaying agreement on the peace talks now under way in Kampala, Uganda.

As for choosing a site, it might have been true. But when it came to setting a date for the peace talks on the Nigerian civil war, both sides jockeyed for a date they hoped would give them a stronger position at the conference table.

The federal government in Lagos proposed May 27 to give Col. Benjamin Adekunle as much time as possible to take Biafra's major city, Port Harcourt.

Biafra, knowing the fall of its city was imminent, wanted a week earlier so the city would still be in its hands when the talks began.

As it turned out, Nigeria's Colonel Adekunle took the city before Biafra's deadline of May 20, with a day to spare.

As peace talks begin, the city is occupied by federal troops.

Algeria opposes a negotiated Arab-Israeli peace. So does Syria.

The mistrust United Nations special envoy Gunnar Jarreng's peace moves.

This was the main reason behind Syrian Foreign Minister Ibrahim Maklouf's bitter, angry tirade last week.

Algeria's tirade was of the Palestine Arab guerrillas earlier trained in Syria and operating from bases on Jerusalem's western wall.

It is now likely that Algeria will join Syria and try to force its ally both the regular Arab military commands and the Palestinian commandment groups.

Whether these efforts are successful depends in part on Egypt's President Nasser's opinion on the matter.

They feel both Syria and Algeria—where President Boumedienne recently narrowly escaped assassination—ought to deal first with urgent internal problems.

Where to look

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Peace bid coming? Kremlin discussion with Britain hints effort to pave Viet path

By Saville R. Davis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

The ripples of the Paris talks are spreading wider as the two parties continue with their disagreements here.

In Moscow a meeting of the co-chairmen of the 1964 Geneva conference—the Soviet Union and Great Britain—could have important repercussions here.

In Peking the Maoist leaders, who have officially ignored the Paris talks although they publicly advised the North Vietnamese not to negotiate, have begun to throw adjectives in this direction. The publication in Hanoi of news from the conference is noted here.

By initiating the visit of British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart, the Soviet leaders appear to have made their first modest but open move toward the West in recent weeks.

It comes at a time when the United States is urgently pressing Hanoi for some form of military "restraint" so that President

Johnson could end the bombing of North Vietnam.

(Ambassador W. Averell Harriman of the United States and Xuan Thuy of North Vietnam met Wednesday for the fourth full-scale session of the Vietnam preliminary peace talks.)

The United States is known to have sought Soviet assistance privately on at least one occasion since President Johnson's March 31 speech, but without visible result. Among other things the timing was probably inappropriate.

However, the following statement from Mr. Johnson's March 21 speech has remained an open invitation and some a plea: I call upon the United Kingdom and I call upon the Soviet Union, as co-chairmen of the Geneva conference and its permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, to do all we can to move from the unilateral act of destruction that I have just announced toward genuine peace in Southeast Asia.

The Moscow talks, which surely will include Vietnam, are on this background. The Soviet Union has an especially

★ Please turn to Page 5



W. Averell Harriman
U.S. negotiator keeps trying



Some concentrating on holding on, some obviously enjoying their skill and stamina, these members of the university gymnastic club work out at Ladbroke Sports Center in Ladbroke, London.

Six real swingers

Inside today

Public employees develop strong bargaining power

By John C. Waugh
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Covallis, Ore.

Wayne Morse sat on a pale bale of hay in the warm Oregon sun and listened intently to a constituent's complaint.

Bob Duncan, half a state away, bounded down the long runway. Senate primary next week will undoubtedly be the senator from the green-eyed state. Public employees are expected to lead Republican Robert Packwood this fall.

The Morse-Duncan race is a classic, close struggle of an aspiring new generation politician against what is virtually an Oregon political institution. And the issue clearly is the institution himself—Senator Morse.

A controversial figure

Bush-browed and blunt, Wayne Morse openly possesses the Oregon political spirit. He is independent, controversial, maverick, and a steady to presidents. And that is both his strength and his weakness.

He was one of the first doves to go against the Johnson administration's Vietnam policy. He has been perhaps the war's most flame-tinged critic ever since.

Robert B. Duncan, 30 years younger than Mr. Morse, is a political pragmatist—and a good one. He was an Oregon congressman for two terms. In his first, the Capitol press corps voted him one of the four "outstanding freshmen congressmen."

In 1966 he threw that over to run for the Senate against Republican Mark Hatfield. He narrowly lost—by only 24,000 votes. He carried the lance of administration.

★ Please turn to Page 18

Can nations achieve self-rule quickly enough?

The "Committee of 24" has the power to do: to seek independence for all 26 countries and peoples still without self-rule.

Just how quickly this should be done is a divisive issue within the committee.

In addition, there is the problem which the newly created multilateral will pose to the United Nations.

First page, second section

Oregon Senate race Morse seen in lead

By John C. Waugh
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

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★ Please turn to Page 18

Crime election issue

By Richard L. Street
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Sen. John McClellan (D) of Arkansas stood in the middle aisle of the Senate chamber, calling his arms and speaking with a voice hoarse with passion as he assailed the Supreme Court of the United States.

A few minutes later, trim, young Sen. Joseph P. Tydings (D) of Maryland walked down the aisle aisle genuflecting with the high glances he in his hand to defend the high court.

The issue they debated was the right of criminal suspects to certain safeguards in the American judicial system.

By expansion, the issue also involves the position of state courts vis-a-vis federal courts; whether the present Supreme Court is "robbing" criminals; the ancient doctrine of Chief Justice John Marshall in *Cole v. Maryland* (separation of powers), and the red-hot political issue of crime in the 1968 presidential election.

The average age of the present Supreme Court is 64. Of the four seniors of the court two are 69, one is 71, and one is 85. The high court is delicately balanced in its view of the controversial issue of protecting suspects' rights.

Nixon raises issue

A key case—Miranda—was decided in 1966.

Normally a president names two judges in a four-year term, though this does not always happen.

It was one of the reasons that the fall election, by his choice of president, may well decide the course of the Supreme Court by the addition of new members.

Richard M. Nixon has already raised the crime issue. In his 5,000 word statement on crime law, he criticized the present majority may charge that "a majority of one" has erected a "barbed wire of legalism" which has "effectively shielded hundreds of criminals."

Mr. Nixon said significantly that future presidents should "include in their appointments to the United States Supreme Court men who are thoroughly experienced and versed in the criminal law of the land."

Mr. Nixon's support of Title II in the pending anti-crime bill, undulating recent Supreme Court decision, which was the subject of the McClellan-Tydings clash, is warmly and even reasonably opposed by some legal scholars.

Factions cross party lines

Before the vote Mr. Tydings put into the record a list of opponents of Title II—two Democratic presidential candidates, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York and Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, were paired against controversial Title II. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey has stated that he opposes it.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts charged Sen. McClellan had "painted against crime." Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) of Illinois, a possible vice-presidential candidate, voted "aye" to postpone.

But a bipartisan group of angry senators including Everett McKinley Dirksen (R) of Illinois and leaders of the Southern conservatives vigorously disagreed.

Provision knocked out

In a voice debate with senator Mr. McClellan's cried:

"It is this effort to deal with this enormous court decision is defeated every gangster and overlord of the underworld; every yakuza chief, racketeer, captain, hoodlum, sergeant, private, punk, and hoodlum in organized crime; every murderer, rapist, robber, burglar, arsonist, thief, and con man will have cause to rejoice and celebrate!"

The Senate knocked out the criminal control bill a provision that would have stripped the Supreme Court authority to reverse state-court rulings accepting confession as voluntarily given.

The vote was 50-32 followed votes making the voluntariness of confessions the only test of their admissibility in criminal trials.

The 50-32 Miranda decision requires that a defendant be warned by police on arrest that he has a right to remain silent; that anything he says can be used against him; that he has the right to the presence of counsel while being interrogated, and if he cannot afford a lawyer one will be provided if he is financially unable to retain one. It calls for procedures similar to those adopted voluntarily earlier by the FBI.

The Miranda case is only one of a series of rulings adopted by a reform-minded Supreme Court majority in the politically hazardous move to liberate the right of counsel.

The present high court has two members appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, four by Dwight D. Eisenhower, one by John F. Kennedy, and two by President Johnson.

Whatever Congress does with the pending crime bill—possibly dividing it with the pending veto of it remains to be seen—the ultimate trend of the closely divided court may depend on the fall election.

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The news briefly

International . . .

United Nations, N.Y. Israel defied the United Nations Security Council Tuesday night, saying it would not comply with a new demand that it restrict the admission of the Arab sector of Jerusalem. The demand, proposed by Pakistan and adopted by a 13-to-0 vote in the Security Council earlier in the night, was the latest in a series of resolutions passed by the United States and the Soviet Union voting for it.

West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt said today that Warsaw pact troops have moved 10,000 to 12,000 miles east to Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia, he said. The information was reported by chief government spokesman Johannes Dohl at a press conference on the cabinet meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Minister Martin Dzur said in a television interview that several far-right Warsaw pact military units are patrolling Czechoslovakia's border with Poland with large contingents of troops.

United Nations, N.Y. The Security Council today rejected appropriate measures to be taken to ease tensions following what it called an armed attack on the country by small-scale guerrillas. The Security Council said that the Dominican Republic had been the victim of aggression, and that the Dominican Republic had been the victim of aggression. The Security Council said that the Dominican Republic had been the victim of aggression.

U.S. Air Force F-105 and Warsaw Pact bombers landed on Wednesday to pound enemy positions in demilitarized zones along the North Vietnamese border and that U.S. warships had been alerted in the Caribbean.

Two Israeli kibbutz farmers were killed and five injured — three seriously — when their jeep hit a mine near the Gaza Strip Tuesday night, an Israeli army spokesman said.

The chief of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, told newsmen in Amman, Jordan, that a new Palestine national assembly will be set up shortly.

The Algerian government announced it has nationalized 27 private companies making mechanical and electrical equipment, fertilizers, and construction materials. The companies together employ about 4,000 workers.

Washington Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman argued with Congressmen over his department's handling of farm programs to boost the nation's poultry supply.

After reading a statement calling on Congress to give him more and authority to bring to the nation's attention the progress of questions on Education and Labor, House Committee on Education and Labor.

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African leaders at 'summit'

Continued

Smiles and handshaking of five African leaders reflect the spirit of a mid-May "good neighbor" summit conference of 14 African countries in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Conference members discussed economic cooperation and changes of parliaments, frequent travel, and trade-union officials between West Germany and the Soviet Union.

Peking courts Eastern Europe

By Paul Wahl
Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Communist China looms big in the Soviet Union's now tenuous relations with Eastern Europe.

It is well known in Moscow that Warsaw and Bucharest cultivate contacts with Peking. But in the rest of Eastern Europe, too, China casts a shadow.

Moscow is disturbed about subtle Chinese intrusions, through broadcasts and diplomatic channels that the Soviet Union not only fears with the United States (which only fears with the United States) but that it actually seeks to embrace the West.

For some time, Chinese Communist spokesmen have urged policymakers in Warsaw, East Berlin, Prague, and Budapest to take seriously Soviet warnings of West German revanchism and imperialism.

To buttress their argument, the Chinese point to secret talks between West German Communist Willy Brandt and the Soviet Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, Semyon T. viet Ambassador in Bonn, Semyon T.

Taraskin, to conversations between West Berlin Mayor Klaus Schott and the Soviet Ambassador in East Berlin, Peter A. Abramov, and to the increasing frequent exchange of parliamentarians, journalists, and trade-union officials between West Germany and the Soviet Union.

Influence assessed
China plays a greater role in the thinking of East European Communists than generally assumed. East European Communist leaders in 1958 Chinese Premier Chou En-lai toured their capitals as a mediator between rival East European factions and the Soviet Union.

China still is considered to East European capitals as a possible counterweight against Soviet efforts to reestablish leadership in international communism. Even the Yugoslavs, who are regularly denounced by Communist China, always de-stress their right to independence from Moscow.

The Chinese, who do not know East Marx, question from him to stress China's in-

portance for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Marx once wrote: "One can confidently predict that the Chinese revolution will set the spark to the overthrowing powder barrel of the great industrial system and bring the long ripening general crisis to a climax."

Later, Marx restated his opinion "that the Chinese revolution is destined to exert a much greater influence on Europe than all Russian wars, Italian manifestos, and secret societies of the Continent."

Counterattack launched
Earlier East European Marxists such as the long ripening general crisis to a climax.

The Soviets have taken these Chinese arguments seriously enough to open a counterattack which was set in motion in January of March 28 dealing with the alleged rapprochement between Peking and Bonn.

Both countries, according to Ivestia, seek a revision of existing borders and zones in Europe; both object to a treaty against the spread of nuclear weapons.

Ivestia's reasoning may have up to Soviet also point out that Bonn, contrary to Bonn and several other European capitals, permits the glorification of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and of the Red Guards, and that West German radio stations are allowed to broadcast Chinese propaganda.

With an eye to East German critics, Moscow stresses that Communist China refuses to recognize formally the existence of two German states and refers to the Communist-ruled German Democratic Republic as "East Germany." Such terminological distinctions may appear especially subtle to Westerners, but to Communists, especially German Communists, they make sense.

Trade figures compared
Then there is the argument that West Germany's China's second largest trade partner after Japan, leaving Britain and France far behind. Last year Bonn's trade with Peking increased by 27.5 percent.

U.S. lays Peru aid cut to arms opposition

By James Nelson Goodwell
Latin American correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Times City

The cutoff of United States development loans to Peru is evidence that Washington wants to head off a possible arms race in Latin America—and at the same time is prepared to take sufficient measures to back up its desire.

An estimated 200 million the nation is spending to purchase 12 French supersonic Mirage jet fighters is more than the economically depressed country should spend.

Peru made the decision to buy jet fighters in December after the U.S. put external pressure on the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry to forgo the purchase. The Mirages, when delivered, will become the first supersonic fighters in Latin America.

The State Department action last week was in accordance with the amendment to the 1968 foreign-aid appropriations bill. The amendment required reduced economic aid to an amount at least equal to the money spent by a developing nation on advanced weapons such as jets or missiles.

Step serves as warning
The action against Peru was the first action of the amendment. It served as a warning that Washington will look with disfavor on any major military purchase by hard-powder developing nations, unless it is a part of a development plan.

involved in the study. Plans for Development Agency for International Development (AID) had originally requested \$1 million for Peru for the 1968 fiscal year, beginning last July. Congress cut this figure to \$87 million in a delayed aid measure for the fiscal year.

The figure involved is for both general budgetary support and specific economic development projects.

A resumption of aid to Peru in fiscal 1969, which begins next July, is still undecided by Washington—and apparently will depend upon the size of Peru's defense budget then.

That budget is currently under debate in Peru's Legislature. The 1968 budget allocated 15.3 percent for defense spending in a total figure of just under a billion dollars. In newly reports from Lima, Peru's capital, 14.8 percent is reported to be set aside for defense in a two-dollar budget for 1969.

Washington criticized
Reports from Lima also indicate that Washington's actions took Peru by surprise. Reaction in Lima newspapers ranged from mild to virulent criticism of American intervention. That the effect will be on future relations between the U.S. and Peru is uncertain. That El Comercio, one of Lima's morning newspapers, called for a review of a State Department message on the case recalled that one of the key declarations at the hemisphere presidential summit in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in April, 1967, was the promise by presidents to limit increasing military expenditures in Latin America.

An amendment on military spending was

componsored by Reps. Clarence D. Long (D) of Maryland, and Silvio Q. Conte (R) of Massachusetts.

British purchase set
Mr. Long said last week: "A country is perfectly free to divert its own resources from economic development to defense, but from United States funds, nor should United States funds rush in to fill the gap."

In addition to its agreement to purchase French Mirages, Peru will purchase six Canberra jet bombers from Britain. London decided to permit the sale despite U.S. objections which were first raised in mid-1967 at a time when the French sale of Mirages was being discussed.

Peru became the largest Latin American country to purchase Mirages from France. Country to purchase air force equipment. Peru's purchase of the Canberra jet bombers from Britain. London decided to permit the sale despite U.S. objections which were first raised in mid-1967 at a time when the French sale of Mirages was being discussed.

It is just such a possibility that Washington's action on Peru is designed to be a warning to the rest of Latin America that Washington will look with disfavor on any major military purchase by hard-powder developing nations, unless it is a part of a development plan.

Park shuffles South Korean Cabinet posts

By Reuters

Seoul
President Park Chung Hee reshuffled seven Cabinet posts today, including Prime Minister Chung Ilwon, who has headed the South Korean Government for the past four years.

A presidential spokesman said the reshuffling was designed to streamline administrative discipline and improve efficiency.

Prime Minister Chung Ilwon switched posts. Interior Minister Ho Lee shifted to the justice ministry. Transport Minister Park Kyung-won moved to the education ministry. Justice Minister Kim Taegon moved to the communications ministry.

Three men were appointed to new posts. Lee Jeop-joon, a provincial governor, became Agriculture and Forestry Minister. Park Kyung-won was promoted to Transport Minister, and Deputy Minister of Economic Planning Kim Taegon was appointed Communications Minister.

There were no changes in the Education and Agriculture ministries. Minister Suh Bong-yun, Education Minister Moon Hwan-jo, and Agriculture Forestry Minister Kim Yung-jun left the Cabinet.

The South Korean Cabinet consists of 29 members including the prime minister and two ministers without portfolio.

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Soviet writer protests clampdown

By Paul Wahl
Writer for The Christian Science Monitor

Deep animosity has gripped the Soviet Union's writers as the party once more clamps down on them. Some of the best authors have even been threatened with exclusion from the Writer's Union, which is equivalent to a publication ban.

But the writers' spirit has not been broken, as continuing protests show. The most recent of these to reach the West was sent to Konstantin Fedin, the president of the Soviet Writers' Union, by Yevgeniy Kavirin, a respected novelist and essayist of whom the Writer's Union has just expelled.

At issue is the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "The Cancer Ward," which was set in print but then abandoned at the last minute, according to party in-formation. Mr. Solzhenitsyn's worldwide fame was established by his book about Stalin's labor camps, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." Manuscripts of the new novel have been circulating for months, and several Western editions are appearing currently.

Letter quoted

"We have known each other for 48 years, Kavirin," Mr. Kavirin begins in his protest letter to Mr. Fedin against the publication ban on "The Cancer Ward."

"In youth we were friends, we have a right to judge one another. It is more than a right, it is a duty. Your former friends have wandered more than once what might have guided your behavior during those remembered events in the life of our literature that forged the souls of some and turned others into obedient officials (chuvorniki) far removed from true art."

"Who does not recall, for example, the senseless and tragic case of Pasternak's novel, a matter that caused our country

much harm. You part in that matter went so far that you had to make believe you did not know of the death of the poet who had been your friend and who had lived alongside you for 23 years. Perhaps you could not see from your window the crowd of thousands that saw him in his last resting place, that bore him past your home, carrying him above their heads.

'How could you?'

"How could it be that you not only did not support, but trampled down Literaturnaya Moskva, an annual anthology that our literature needed? On the very eve of the meeting of 1,200 writers at the Moscow Picture Agency Club you supported this publication. Though your pocket held an already written speech of outrageous betrayal, you praised our work and found no shadow of political mistake in it."

"This is far from all, but I do not intend this letter to aim up your public activity, which is sadly known in the writers' community. Not for nothing was your name greeted with utter silence at the celebration of Pasternak's 75th birthday. I would not be surprised if now that Solzhenitsyn's 'Cancer Ward' has been banned at your instigation after being set in type at Novy Mir, your first appearance before any large writers' meeting would be greeted with whistling and stamping feet."

"Do you not realize that the very fact of publication of 'The Cancer Ward' would greet the unprecedented tension in literature, would undermine the undesired mistrust of it, would open the way for other books that would enrich our literature?"

"Alek's superb novel, first permitted, then suppressed, but unconditionally approved by the country's best writers, exists in manuscript. K. Simonov's war diaries exist in manuscript. There is hardly a single serious writer who does not have in his desk a manuscript that has been submitted,

considered, and forgotten for reasons that are incomprehensible and beyond the bounds of common sense. . . .

"But let us return to Solzhenitsyn's novel. There is not one publishing house or magazine, not one writers' club where it has not been said that Markov and Voronkov were FOR publication of the novel and that the type was melted down only because you firmly declared yourself AGAINST it."

"This means that the novel remains in thousands of galley proofs being passed from hand to hand and sold, they say for large sums. This means it will be published abroad. We shall surrender it to the reading public of Italy, France, Britain, and West Germany, i.e., the very thing that Solzhenitsyn himself energetically and repeatedly protested against will happen."

World fame awaits

"Perhaps persons will be found in the leadership of the Union of Writers who think they will be punishing a writer by surrendering him to foreign literature. They will be punishing him by world fame, which our opponents will utilize for political goals. . . . But your action signifies something else also. You are taking a responsibility upon yourself which evidently requires no huge and significant it is."

"A writer who ties the nose around another writer's neck is a figure that will remain in the history of literature, regardless of what the former has written and quite regardless of what the latter wrote. You will perhaps, without suspecting it yourself, become a center of ill will, indignation, and dissatisfaction in the literary community."

"This can be pardoned only if you find within yourself the strength and courage to renounce your decision."

"You refuse without question now difficult it was for me to write this letter to you. But I did not have the right to be silent."

January 23, 1968.

V. Kavirin



NATO photo
New look for NATO
An hour's ride from Brussels, a massive new complex of buildings now houses the military headquarters of the North Atlantic Alliance. The vast, clean-lined structures symbolize the new look NATO is gaining since it left France.

A new NATO Brussels headquarters matched to evolving role

By Carlyle Morgan
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

NATO is renewing itself in more ways than one.

It has new headquarters.

It also has a new assignment.

The new place is near Brussels. The new job is delicate.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," the man at NATO said.

The old-fashioned wing didn't seem out of place even in that speaking new setting. Belgium is now European headquarters. The comment is typical. Civilian officials and military officers who have moved with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from Paris share this attitude.

New life shown

"One of the important results of change is that the alliance seems to be taking on new life," a military officer said.

"That's true," a high civilian spokesman agreed. "In Paris the NATO system seemed to be running down. It was only because of General de Gaulle, the basic job of making Western Europe militarily secure had been rounded out."

But the Gaullist policy did seem aimed to convince us all that NATO was a thing of the past. Here we have in a sense begun anew. Even the fact that all the alliance, except for one nation, was willing to put so much money and effort into new headquarters was stimulating. We seem to be on our way again."

A year has passed since President de Gaulle forced withdrawal of the alliance's top military headquarters from France. The move brought the military leadership to Casteau-Brussels. This is a village on the outskirts of Mons, a compact town of less than 30,000 people.

'Wilderness' transformed

Here, an hour's auto ride from Brussels, a massive new complex of buildings stood ready in April, 1967, to house SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe) under 14 flags of the 15-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The buildings were on land that had been a "wilderness" when the bulldozers were plowing it up in the winter months.

Then a few months later a new civilian headquarters was completed too. There all 15 NATO flags can fly, including the tricolor of France.

France has pulled out of the integrated military activities of the alliance. But it keeps a seat in its civilian "cabinet," the North Atlantic Council. So on the eastern, gray-yellow hillsides not far from the center of Brussels, France cooperates with the new NATO to relax European tensions.

"The French seem to drag their feet but they at least take part, and we are glad to have them," one French official says.

'Harmel Report' ready

So NATO now has approval by all 15 members for its "Harmel Report." This originally seemed to run counter to President de Gaulle's ideas in two ways.

The report, prepared by outgoing Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel, said there was real need to maintain a deterrent against possible Communist aggression in Europe at a time when the French President was downgrading the alliance and conducting a personal campaign to make friends with the Soviet Union.

It also assumed for NATO a new peace-keeping role, but one which conflicted with President de Gaulle's convictions. He held that this role should be per-

formed by countries separately and not by a collective effort in NATO.

Even though the French are not very enthusiastic about the Harmel Report, they have endorsed it. That has narrowed a little the gap that was widening between France and NATO in 1967.

But the report has watered down the hopes of Nationalists who wanted the alliance to take strong collective action. It acts mainly as a clearinghouse and for relaxing now tensions. NATO now consultation among nations taking their own moves to improve contact with East European countries.

New buildings better

Among physical gains resulting from NATO's removal from Paris are the new buildings. Both the \$22 million SHAPE headquarters have been planned for efficiency on the basis of years of experience in the Paris region. There is no possible comparison between the higher three-story and understated military headquarters building at Rocquencourt, near Paris and the new vast, clean-lined structure at Mons.

It will larger gain is psychological. Both the military and civilian organizations feel welcome in their new locations. Members of the staff say so. Indeed, Belgian citizens today confirm this feeling of welcome.

"At first," a small Belgian businessman told this writer, "we did share some anxiety. But they have passed over to overcharge the NATO folk. But the building boom plus some older unoccupied dwellings helped to prevent a rent inflation."

"Then also, the alliance authorities here have provided housing for their own people. This has reduced pressure on local housing."

Traffic a threat

This man was speaking of both Brussels and Mons. But in Mons itself the worry was not only about housing. "Suppose," said a SHAPE officer, "that most of the 8,000 people at SHAPE descended on Mons for an evening, bringing into its narrow, winding, hilly old streets about 3,000 automobiles."

"Of course, it wouldn't happen just like a Monty Python episode," but the figures give you an idea of the possibilities.

What has actually happened is that most of the 8,000 people at SHAPE find their entertainment on the big base. There are clubs for officers, for non-commissioned officers, and for enlisted men. There is a fine theater and an enormous bowling alley. A youth center provides dances on Friday and Saturday nights.

Local schools have been spared any great influx of children from SHAPE. The base includes five schools. Only the children of parents who live away from the base use the Belgian schools.

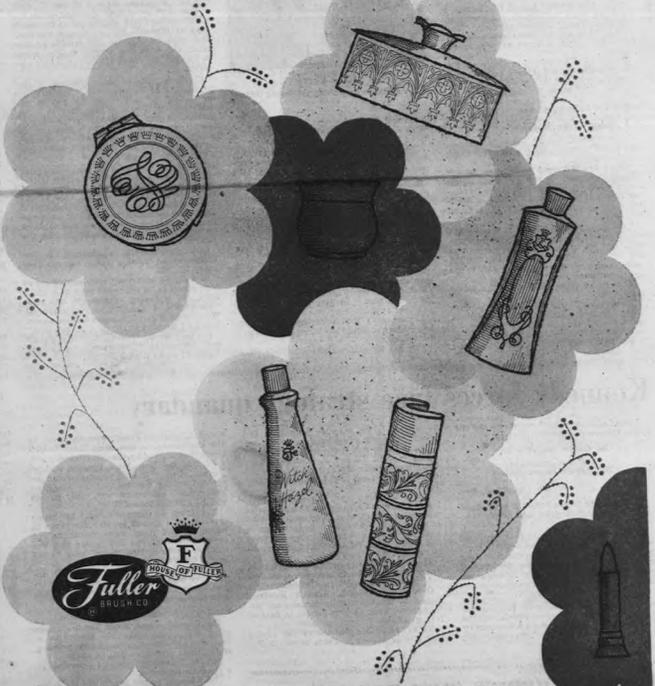
All this tends to keep friction between the military base and nearby civilian communities at a minimum.

Wood art for Denver

By the Associated Press
Denver

Denverites will have the opportunity to watch art progress from the ground up starting June 12 as nine artists begin work on wood sculptures up to 40 feet high.

The project — when completed — will become property of the city, and any work the city decides not to keep will be destroyed.



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UN goal: self-rule speedup

The 'realists' are prepared to wait a few years. But the radicals take the General Assembly declaration literally. They want immediate independence for all non-self-governing peoples. Steering a steady course in these currents of contrasting opinions isn't easy. But Mahmoud Mestiri, chairman of the United Nations committee on ending colonialism, is managing it well.

By Mario Rossi
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

TUNISIA'S MAHMOUD MESTIRI HAS TO CON- tend with many a challenge. An chairman of the United Nations committee for the ending of colonialism, this is to be expected.

But Ambassador Mestiri knows the moods of the blocs and arguments within the United Nations and accomplishes his task without ruffling too many feathers.

Transfers coalitions

The General Assembly declaration was very specific. It stated:

"Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

The Assembly declaration, he added, represents the framework within which the committee operates.

"I can only assume that the committee works of the countries agreeing to participate in the work of the committee, including the United States and the Western countries," he stated.

During the eight years since the declaration was adopted some progress was made but not enough by many to satisfy a majority of UN members. While some far to satisfy a majority of UN members. While some far to satisfy a majority of UN members.

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The 'Committee of 24'—independence is its theme



Mahmoud Mestiri
The basic line is unmistakably clear

Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, five Western countries (Australia, United States, Finland, Italy, United Kingdom), three Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Poland, Soviet Union), and three Latin-American countries (Chile, Honduras, Venezuela).

The committee was established in November, 1961, to examine the application of the declaration and to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress of its implementation.

Khrushchev led move
The declaration was introduced by Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev in person at the time he came to New York to lead the Soviet delegation to the 15th session of the UN General Assembly.

That was the year when most of the world's leaders—Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Tito of Yugoslavia, Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Castro of Cuba, and many, many others—met in New York.

It also was the period when an avalanche of African countries had entered the United Nations and the African continent had become for the first time conscious of its weight in international affairs.

The Soviet Union has ever since used the committee as a platform for anti-Western, especially anti-United States, attacks. The language at times recalls the worst periods of the cold war.

Moscow's main purpose is to convince the Afro-Asians and the Latin Americans that the United States is not sincere when it proclaims its support for independence in the nonself-governing territories.

The Soviets attach particular importance to two aspects of the committee's work—the role of foreign economic interests in preserving colonialism, and the role of the United States in providing military bases in Western

countries. The economic interests under investigation are quite often American. The Western countries greatly resent the fact that these subjects are being examined and the way the committee goes about doing so.

The Committee of 24 has at times also expressed the desire to examine the situation of Puerto Rico but the committee does not extend to self-governing territories—though Puerto Ricans are officially United States citizens. The Soviet Union, conscious that the Puerto Rican movement for independence takes inspiration from Fidel Castro, has not pressed the point here as it is with Cuba, but has pressed the point too hard.

U.S. shows displeasure
The United States has often shown its displeasure with the committee's attitude and has long since threatened to withdraw unless a more "responsible" attitude was taken.

Opponents of U.S. do not deny being identified with the "colonial" countries which, being allies within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, it feels duty bound to support.

It is significant to point out that the United States' presence in Vietnam is not being considered a form of colonialism and lies therefore outside the competence of the committee.

Southern Africa represents the area of greatest concern to the committee and the United Nations as a whole. By and large the committee's members reiterate the complexities of the situation. There are hundreds of thousands of non-Africans who—unlike the whites of South Africa—could not be deported to France or elsewhere.

There also is the danger, of which the UN receives ever-growing evidence, of a two-way racism such as apartheid in South Africa and which might generate a similar situation elsewhere.

The committee, the General Assembly, and the Security Council have dealt with the issue at various times but never with any degree of success.

Another problem preoccupying the committee is that of the minorities. In fact, most territories under consideration by the Committee of 24 do not possess the majority prerequisites for effective exercise of sovereignty.

The United Nations has often considered what its future would be if all self-governing territories were admitted within the framework of the United Nations. It is not a realistic prospect. This prospect is not of a cultural but of a political nature.

Minority situation confused
The committee of 24, however, must examine the situation in the light of its own mandate, that is, independence for each and every self-governing territory. It is not a realistic prospect. This prospect is not of a cultural but of a political nature.

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Who is next?

Territories being considered by the "Committee of 24":

- AFRICA: (In Spanish Sahara, Portuguese territories, Rhodesia, South-West Africa, Equatorial Guinea, Swaziland.)
- EUROPE: Gibraltar.
- SOUTH AMERICA: Oman.
- PACIFIC: Fiji, Brunei (Borneo), Hong Kong, Johnston Island, Ellice Islands, Pitcairn Island, Tokelau, Phoenix, New Hebrides, American Samoa, Guam, New Caledonia, Tokelau Territory of the Pacific Islands, Papua, New Guinea.
- SOUTH CHINA SEA: Brunei (Borneo).
- ATLANTIC: Falkland Islands, St. Helena.
- INDIAN OCEAN: Seychelles, Comoros Islands.
- CARIBBEAN: British Honduras, United States Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, Montserrat, Guyana, Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands.

Committee of 24 should have a continued interest in the small nonself-governing territories, whether or not their independence is being considered.

MAHMOUD MESTIRI is satisfied that, apart from the Ambazonia situation in Southern Africa, progress is being made. Spanish Guinea is to acquire independence before July 15. On the other hand, the map progress is being achieved in the part of New Guinea under Australian administration.

Some progress noted
No progress is being made in Spanish Sahara where Morocco, Mauritania, and Algeria are in dispute. It is believed that a change in the status of the territory might cause tension among the North African states.

Britain, which administers most of the territories under consideration, cooperates with the committee even though for the time being it refuses to receive visiting missions from the committee of 24.

It does not recognize the competence of the committee in the issue of Mauritania and Morocco, which it considers an independent country. The majority of committee members feel that a protective such as France once possessed in Tunisia and Morocco is far closer to colonialism than is independence.

Another problem in that of the Fiji Islands where the indigenous population risks being reduced to a minority because of Indian immigration. The committee is displeased in Tunisia and Morocco is far closer to colonialism than is independence.

In pursuing its work Ambassador Mestiri and a committee of which he is chairman have taken as a guideline the words of Secretary-General U Thant: "The United Nations stands for the self-determination and independence of all peoples, and the abolition of racial discrimination by the Security Council. It can never afford to compromise on these basic principles."

Analyzing the 'new poor'

Poverty: Views From the Left Edited by Jeremy Larner & Irving Howe. New York: William Morrow & Company, \$5.

By Jo Ann Levine
Most of these 20 questionnaire essays have appeared previously in Dissent Magazine. The authors do agree on one point: poverty today is not the same poverty that Grandpa pulled himself out of by his own bootstraps and anybody who thinks it is stands lost in a "pathetic" emotional fog.

One reads the essays as if one were walking through a maze of contradictions. The authors spend a good deal of time talking about the "grandpas" of our society.

Unfortunately, these "grandpas," or at least the grandpas of the 1960s, are the ones who have to finance America's social reforms whether they be massive or minor.

And they are the ones who still believe, along with the first American colonists, that "man has a religious duty to achieve material success and that giving direct financial aid to the poor destroys their character."

The unanimous view from the Left is that America has never resolved its own economic view of the poor which says that the poor are burdens as well as being honorable victims.

The book's authors agree that poverty in America for 35 million poor (poor as defined as an income under \$2,200 a year for a family of four) is a disgrace. Grandpa, they say, has been saying that the poor deserve the welfare programs accordingly—which means punishment.

Although the 20 authors do not agree on specific solutions for poverty, their solutions all come in the form of more money—

given with more dignity and less strings attached.

The new underclass, says one writer, the ex-slaves Michael Harrington, are caught in a "downward spiral of pessimism." He describes the poor as young, as being out of control by automation, and as living in a "ranked by reservation" in Appalachia, the children in Harlem, the captives on the plantations in Mississippi, and the workers and the Crown and Zellerbach employees in the "company" town of Bogalusa, Louisiana.

The fact that Grandpa has perhaps selfishly concerned the poor who are

"easy" victims, causes Jeremy Larner, co-editor of this book, to lash out at the rich, more elusive target.

"As far as looking at concerned," he says, "the Negroes are an immense company in the little shopkeepers' unions." He says that the Negroes are an immense company in the little shopkeepers' unions. He says that the Negroes are an immense company in the little shopkeepers' unions.

From the bookshelf

... it will be getting a little better. . . . For the readers who may label as "far too" the ideas put forward by those

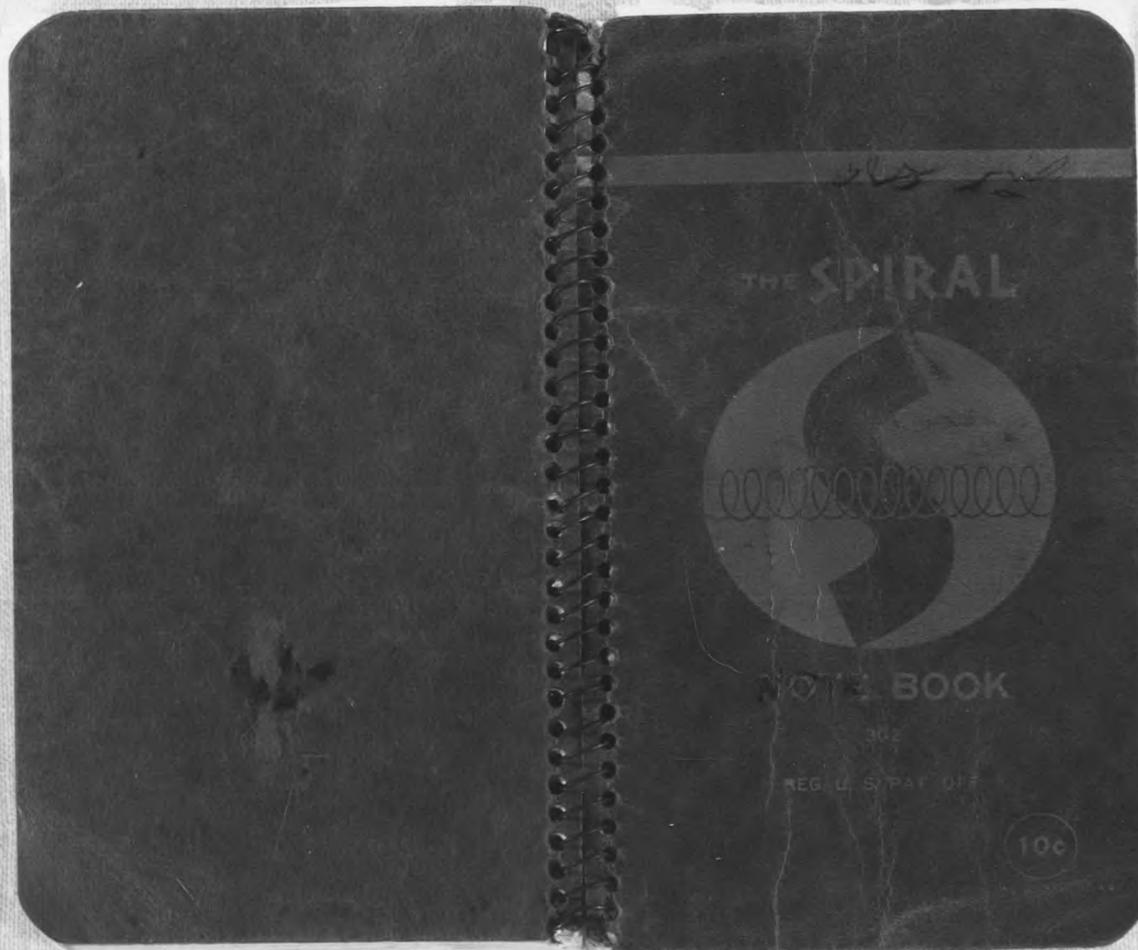
who view America's social problems from the Left, it may be surprising to learn that "Dissent" is a guaranteed minimum income—already sounding old. Only the implementation of them would be new.

"Dissent" and co-edited by Howells, editor of the journal, and co-edited by Howells, editor of the journal, and co-edited by Howells, editor of the journal.

Just to prove that this book isn't a print-out of a paper against one, Stephen Thompson, associate professor of history at American University, refuses to subject himself or his readers to the social dogmatism.

He writes: "I have never understood why some Americans believe that to assert that things are bad, you must insist that they are getting worse. I would argue that they

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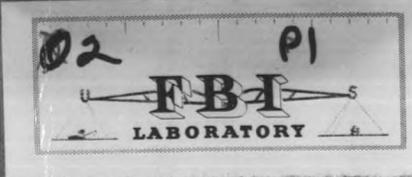


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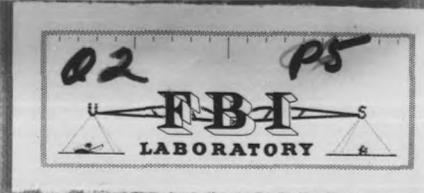
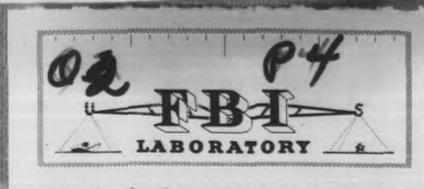
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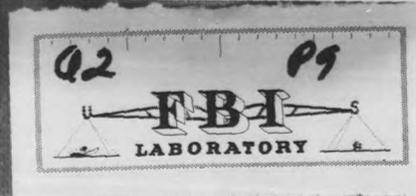
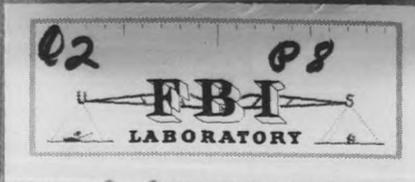


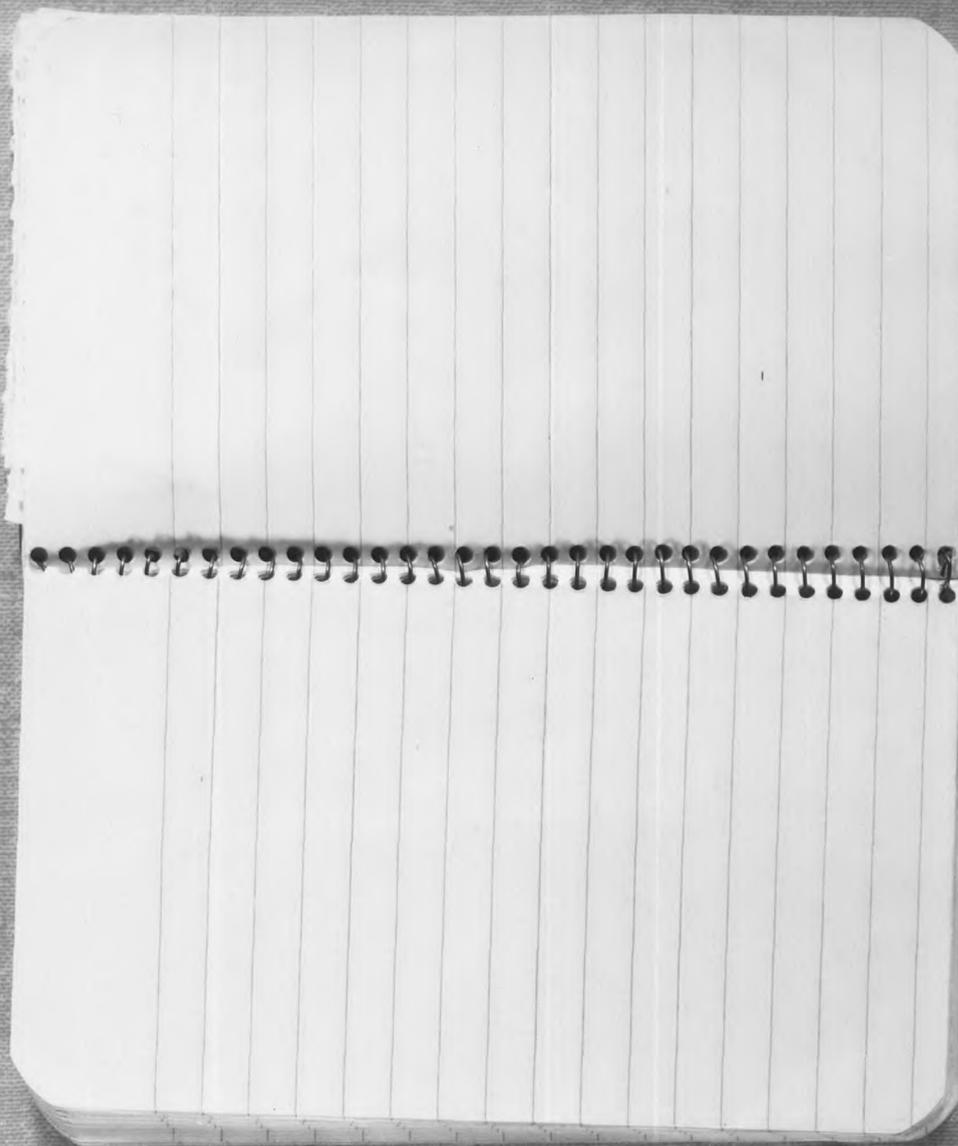
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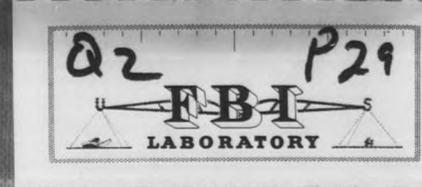
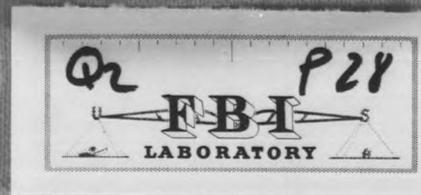


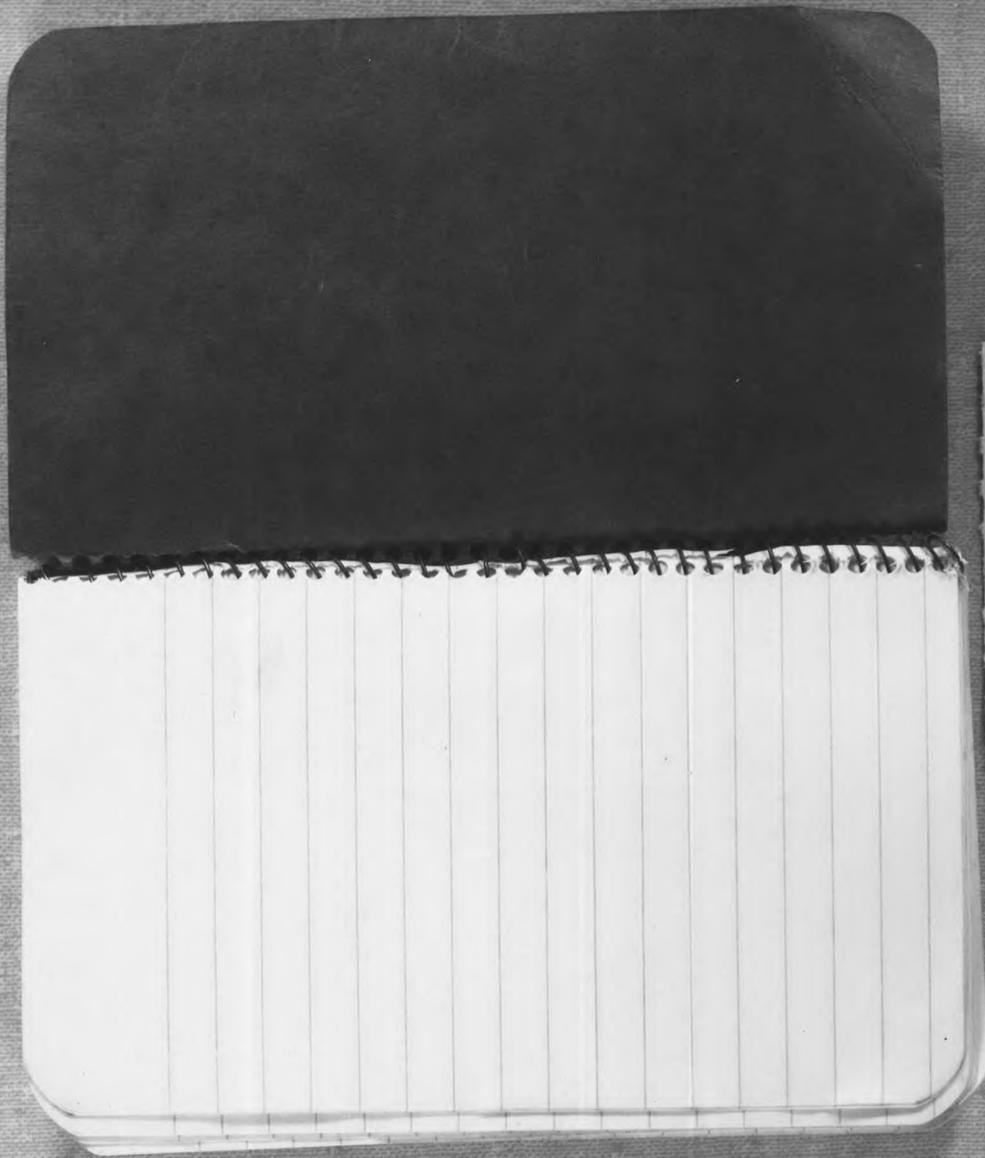
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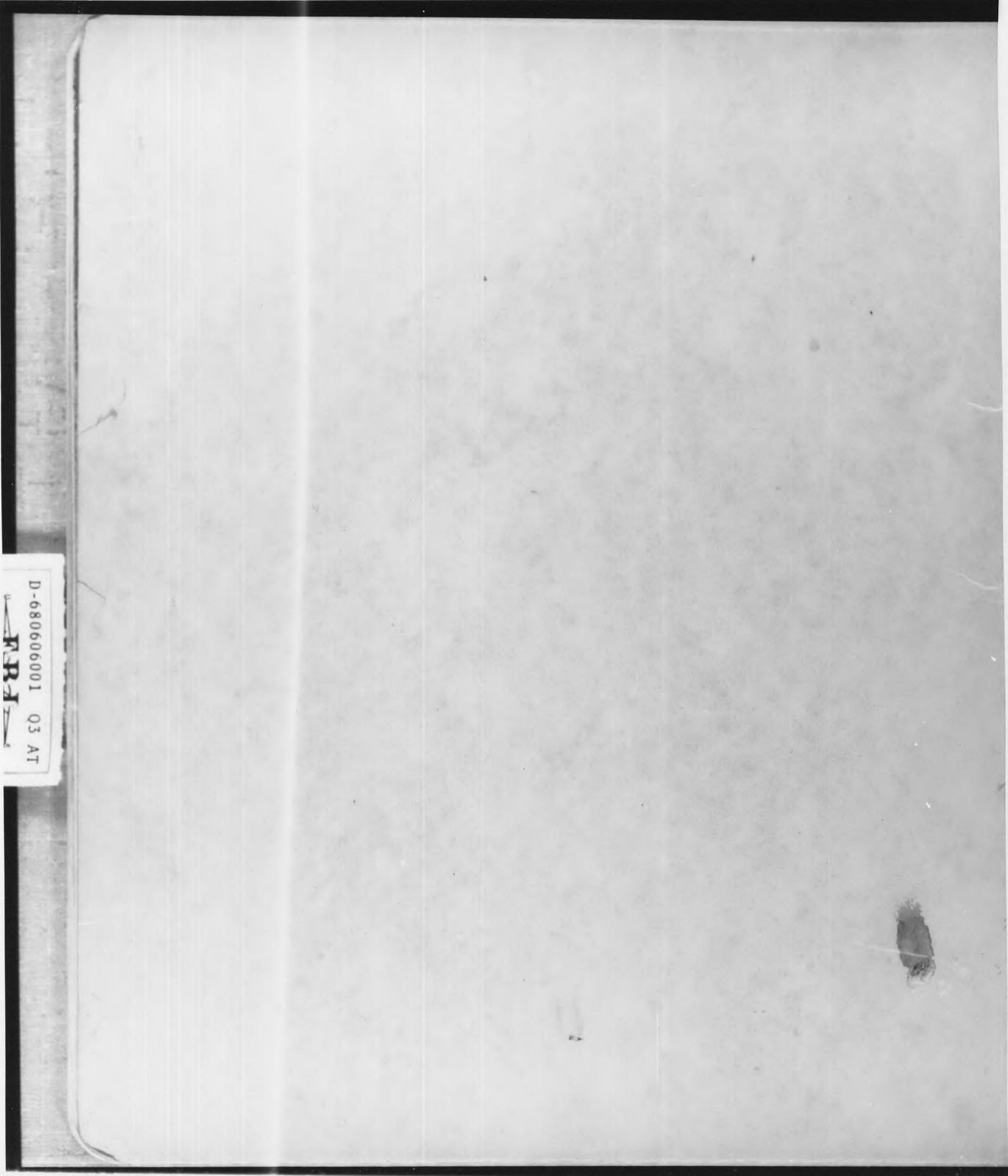
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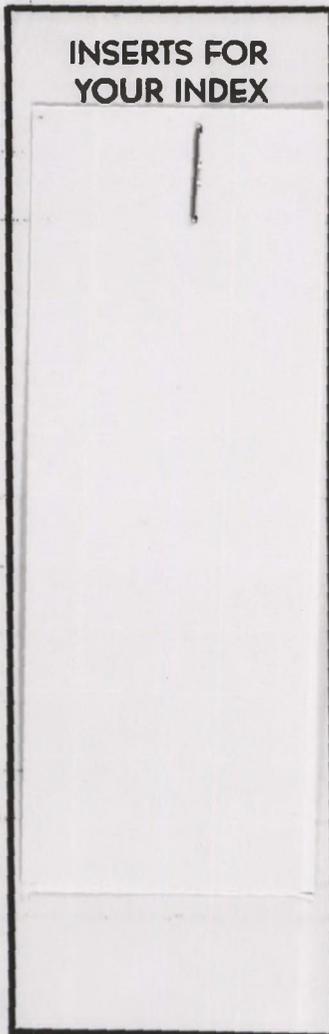
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