

But what they want is a sort of autobiographical type of article.

I don't mind writing about Revolution. Here's the problem. Once I write about-- it's all right for me to write about Revolution. Nobody will object about how far I go one way or the other. What I ^{have} told you I could put in the public press generally, except for this about the other group, but in terms of Revolution itself there's no objection. However, if I have to go any further than that, that means that as far as I'm concerned most of these people will never touch me with a ten foot pole. (As it is,) What contacts I have, ~~I do~~ some are more delicate than others-- but I ^{feel} that after this trip they could be ~~built~~ built up again, after somehow finding some means of interviewing people relatively regularly. So what I want to ask you is, ^{for} what sort of ideas-if ~~any~~ any, you ~~have~~ had in relation to me for future things; were you interested in my going, investigating anything ~~further~~ further for you or are you satisfied with what ^{little} I know now. As I say, I don't think I know terribly much really, except incidental things which might corroborate what you know (from other sources.) Secondly, in terms of following up, if there's anything (in particular) For instance, I would suggest, the person to get ^{the} ~~this~~ Algerian ^(side of this story from) ~~thing~~ would be Georges Arnault, ^{the} ~~French~~ French writer who was in Algiers ^(who) and worked on the first issue of Revolution Africaine, and after that ^(there) never ~~appeared~~ was ~~seen~~ any more, ^{who} ~~the~~ split with Verges, ^(to me) Now works in the Ministry of Information and ~~who~~ remains fairly friendly on a personal basis and ^(if that's what you're interested in.) who could get me a good deal of information on the Algerian side, ^{again} through ^(date or informant) and the Atlantic Monthly. Secondly there's a possibility ^(date) that we might both try to cover the Second Bandung Conference.

(Through who?)

^(date ?) ~~Next~~, the European representative of the Atlantic Monthly, and we might cover the Second Bandung in Algiers together. That's in June if it is going to be held at all. ^{in Soviet pressure and other pressures right} ~~in~~ If you're interested in other things, you know, now I have contacts

That's why I'd like to know/ I don't know what-- really, ~~for instance - I've got~~

a possibility - although it's a very slim one- just over across the street

here. ~~But~~ The Indonesian press office needs somebody. But I don't know
These are little things.

whether—, The people of the ~~the Pan African Congress- South Africa,~~ the PAC, they

came to see me to know if I could help them a little here in London, in
setting up their offices and handling their press campaign. Of course they
haven't real money, ~~and~~ and—

((That wasn't so appealing on that ground))

No, that wasn't so appealing on that score. And then also, they don't
have a policy. They're sort of wavering between a policy which means telling
one thing to the Congress for Cultural Freedom and telling another to
the Chinese ~~in~~ in Peking, which any nationalist group has to do, obviously.
It's extremely difficult ~~to~~ to get any kind of a straight answer even

inside the organization. And they are going through a period of reorganiza-
tion, after some highly scandalous, not political offense, but just plain
misappropriation of funds, the usual thing that happens in many, many
African organizations, it's incredible (laughs). But I think the people
here in London, at least on the surface, are somewhat more honest.

((Basically, you're not interested per se, in staying in the same milieu.))

No, no. But ~~I~~ I'm not interested per se, ^{2 much} let's say, in becoming a
sort of professional anti-Communist. That ~~isn't~~ isn't—

((Not either way- either a professional anti-Communist or a professional
revolutionist-))

(laughs) No, no.

~~Frankly~~ No. The two careers? ^{2 much} Frankly, I do have a feeling, you
know I feel very bad about ~~someone~~ like Walter Bow; I know his problems. Only

I don't know how the hell to solve them, and what interests me is to see—
can

again, it is always a problem- what ~~will~~ the US government do - what
the people

will ~~do~~ do now that they've got ~~the~~ Walter Bow — — — . To a certain
extent I'm certain it was ~~a~~ provocation, though Walter was game for anything,

If you had gone to him and proposed to shoot the President, he would have
said yes. ² Well, he would have thought about it anyway, and probably

would have agreed. He would probably suggest that you'd ~~have to~~ ² fight

the President and the Supreme Court along with it, you know. And he's not
wild. He's, very sensible, moderate boy, except that he has such a ²

it's not a chip on his shoulder, he's got half of the forest, a redwood on
his shoulder. He comes from ^{he comes from} the paper say Philadelphia; he doesn't,

he comes from Camden, New Jersey. I remember when he was playing jazz as

a kid. I met him ~~through~~ through this fellow in the Department of Agriculture

I told you about, ~~the~~ Haggard. He was a very good friend of his as well. Poor Town he must be very nervous, down there in Agriculture, because he's known me personally, he's known Walter personally, They'll think he had some very strange friends.

Anyway, I'm certainly — you asked me for some information which I'm perfectly willing to give you. And if you had come along a long time ago and asked, in Paris, I probably would have given the same information. The point was that nobody seemed to want to know. I was talking to an American newsman-- I ~~was~~ wasn't running around peddling information, either- but I talked to people, sometimes saying just the opposite of what Verges was saying. He never really protested too much about this. He pretended that what he was doing was fairly on the level but it was fairly obvious that it wasn't. Anyway, I— what I want to know, if possible, in a relatively short period of time... I've got to make up my mind what I'm going to do. I don't know how I'm going to do anything, in fact,

But I do not intend, even for economic reasons, to do something which I think is absolutely dishonest, in the sense of writing an article, ^{100 (for example)} if someone asked me to write an article about Communist attractions for African students in France - in fact the Communist Party has very little ^{few} ~~attractions~~ for African students in France. It's just the opposite. The ~~A. F. A. - - -~~ ^{E. A. N. F.} ~~the organization~~ ^{association} for African students, is very resentful of what they consider - - - and they would only love to be enticed and wooed. But ~~this~~ this American had ~~such~~ an idea which was based on some, ^{French girls} on his own mythology actually, of beautiful French white girls being sent to lure these simple-minded boys. In actual fact that's not true at all. I'm perfectly well aware ^{of the fact} that people have written articles which bear no relation to reality, they think ~~of~~ what the hell, they want this sort of ^{size} ~~thing~~, they pay for it. The Reader's Digest at one time was a regular market for that sort of thing.

But what's the point. It isn't true and even though it might - it isn't even good propaganda, in the long run. ^(A man: you would like it, huh?) ~~It's~~ a titillation ~~which~~ value, especially the racial thing with sex thrown in - -

★ (What about your wife?)

Well, my wife, doesn't know - first of all, she knows ^{of} only once that I was seeing you, and she would highly disapprove of it. Not because my wife is a ~~has~~ ^{anybody's} ever been a member of any party, ~~(including the~~ Communist party; it's just that she would feel that that would be a highly

[speaking of race and sex.]

at all. ~~the Encounter~~ thing. She doesn't really like it. I hate to ~~maintain~~

Revolution and all ~~that~~

I don't see any reason not to.

She can accept that.

The fact is, the reason we have our financial problem, to a certain extent,

is, because her family is by no means poor. My brother-in-law, who has

carried us for months, has to pay rent, right this week, and she has practically told him we didn't want any money. So now, there I am, you

know. This has caused — I respect, I know what her problem is — very

often children that come from very wealthy homes — and her family —

She comes from the poorest branch of her family, which is quite wealthy in this country. It's an Anglo-Jewish family, has a sort of monopoly on

kosher food, prepared kosher food here, sort of like a Manischewitz operation —

or racket. One of the relatives is — they're all in business. ~~the~~

her brother, one brother, is constantly having business failures.

He's a very nice fellow, and all, but at one point he made phonographs,

now the last thing, he made tape recorders, a little transistor tape

recorder, but that's just flopped too. The other brother, is a

chartered accountant. He has his own firm in the City, which does

quite well. He's married.

~~the~~

She gets along very poorly with him.

And while I was away, unfortunately relations deteriorated to such a point that I ~~don't~~ don't know quite how I'm going to —

She's happy that she's got this job in the Indonesian Embassy. The

only thing she's not happy about is the salary but she likes the job. — — —

It's not serious. The Indonesians spend most of the time telling her

stories about people

If I take a job — this thing in the Indonesian Embassy, the

practically, in a state of war with Indonesia. Although my wife is English

that doesn't give me an automatic right to stay in England, not that I'm

terribly (eager) — — — to be in England. I would much rather

be some place on the Continent. I would much rather, for instance..

take a job with some sort of a bureau — — — Obviously that's

out of the question. I could never get a security clearance, but I think

a job with some sort of international organization — UN, in Paris, Rome,

or Geneva, which would be for me, information — I'd be quite happy at

that. As for working for an American outfit, I can't see much possibility

either, except this sort of free lance business, which could perhaps

be extended. That I would certainly like, but it is precarious —

when you have — kids, and then what I feel pretty solid commitments —

here, and then 3000 miles of water in between — ~~breaks it uncertain~~

(Let me see what I can find out. . soon as I can. . . now questions and answers. Who invited Verges to Algeria in 63)

He didn't go to Algeria in 63. He went to China. He was already in Algiers. He was in Algiers from the ~~point~~ point of independence, that was with the clandestine group, that is, in July of 62. And Verges arrived there ~~clandestinely that is, Ben~~ Bella, Khider, Bitat, I suppose in October or November of 62. He was invited to China in March of 1963.

((How invited?))

The first time he went as the Director of Revolution Africaine and he ~~was~~ (went with) Djamila Bouhired, the heroine of the Algerian War, and ~~there was~~ an enormous amount of publicity in the Chinese press, ~~he~~ was given to her. ~~There~~ in fact had ~~been~~ a book about her. She was well known for her part in the Algerian war ~~and~~ and in this is how he got the interview with Mao, as he was an official Algerian representative, the Director of Publications sponsored by the Political Bureau of the FLN, and I think it was, The Committee ~~of~~ (of) Foreign Relations, something like that, that handled the visit.

((When did he marry Djamila)) *in 1962*

Nobody knows. Nobody knows whether they are really married. ~~But~~ This is again ~~one~~ one of the things that he loves to keep a mystery. It is rumored, ~~it has been said by a lot of people that he has a~~ it has been said by a lot of people that he has a

marvelous marriage. We know he was converted to Islam. During the war, the ~~the~~ of ~~the~~ Algerian War, he used a code name MANSOUR for his contacts

within the Front. After he came to Algeria, apparently he became a Moslem. and became J. M. Verges, Jacques Mansour Verges. Now he becomes Mansour Verges, then it becomes J. M. (*referring to the magazine file*)

((When he went to China. .))

Here ^{is} back already. It must be about the ³⁰ 30th of March. It must be, because he and Djamila and my wife and I and our children left Algeria on the same plane for Paris when we left Algiers definitively, ~~and~~ he changing planes in Paris for Moscow, and I going a day or so later to Geneva., ~~and~~ not to Geneva, Lausanne.

(checking on name) ^{he} uses J. M. all the way through. This was only at the ~~this~~ this is the last issue, There are sixteen issues here. ~~that~~ when he knew that he was under pressure and he tried to protect

put himself. He ~~took~~ Djamilia along with him and himself as a Comite de Direction. ~~Number 1 and 2 to~~ could protect him from the wrath of Ben Bella but it didn't work.

(How long- we wont say when they got married- -)

It must have happened in the month right after independence. That's what I think. ~~She~~ You see she had been held in prison, in France, she'd been sentenced to death and he had won her - well, he didn't win anything but he managed to keep her from being executed. ^{In the course of this} He became extremely close to her. Not only ⁱⁿ his sexual life. And this is very strange, his sexual life. I don't know if he has one, in fact. He has a French wife and the French wife has a child, a boy about 12-14 years old and he still is ^{apparently} married to the French wife.

By becoming a Moslem he could take a second wife.

(Did he live with her- with Djamilia ~~in~~ ^{In} Algeria)

Never, really. ~~He~~ He had his own place and she lived with her family. When she comes to Paris she stays with him and actually they sleep in the same bed. ^{(So it's more than (platonic.)} But I don't think that- - it's a sort of - a very curious relation ^{it seems to me.}

((If they were married, they were married when they went to China))

Yes. I don't know about how the Chinese ^{treated} ~~regarded~~ it. They never referred to her as his wife. But that is done very often. ^{being married to him} He is very close to her family, her brothers. One is in Czechoslovakia, the other one was ~~in~~ in Leningrad, I think, going to school. And it was Verges who arranged for transfers of money. Her uncle is head of the family. Her father is a terrible alcoholic and skirt chaser who has no respect from his children. ^{He and his wife had a divorce.} The father came to Paris and Lausanne once and caused us a great deal of difficulty (laughing). Anyway, Verges has family connections there. This marriage, that ^{is} ~~was~~ supposed to have taken place, who saw it I don't know. ^{Nobody knows.} Even the father doesn't know. He said "Well, if she's married to him, why doesn't she say it." Why doesn't she tell even me."

He was never really accepted as a Moslem in Algiers. People thought, you know, you don't take a man ~~Skatzen~~ ^{attention} - a man who is a Communist or even - an ex-Communist, of his kind, he wasn't a member of the Communist Party, ^{and} and convert him into a Moslem just like that. And yet there are certain characteristics of his behavior which are very strange to explain. One would say he did it for expediency, like going along with Ramadan, for instance, this is by no means pleasant, fasting- And even in Paris, ~~when~~ ^{there was} he would fast, ~~when it was~~ Ramadan, He used to drink ~~very~~ rather heavily, I'm told. He no longer touches any kind of alcohol. ^{he hasn't stopped.} And this he does all the time, whether there are Algerians around or not.

optics, ~~And his subject perspective toward the Algerians.~~ He was always talking of going back to Algiers, going to shoot ~~Gerard~~ Gerard Chalion, just because Chalion had ~~him~~ double-crossed him with the staff. He thought, well, since I have these Europeans they won't be able to take over the magazine, ~~so quickly.~~ He's -very clever. He surrounds himself with people who are in a weaker position than he. *Kien,*

~~Chen~~ in other words, a ~~very little~~ defense. ~~have to be very strong willed.~~ ~~place in Algeria,~~ ~~other side,~~ ~~things that took~~ But Chalion made a deal with the Ben Bella people and kept the entire staff on.

(Revolution in Switz or Pa ris)

Once he saw that the old charges against him on account of the Algerian War would not be ~~that~~ the French Government had forgotten all this, that the Ministry of Justice had no ~~intention~~ intention of prosecuting not only him, but *Francis Jackson* ~~celle~~ was sitting there. He was under sentence of death. And Jean ~~no one had ever bothered.~~

(Embassy)

He claimed he had contact with somebody *in Pampidan's office* He had- well the only person who worked with the magazine was somebody in the Ministry of Finance who writes under the name of Jalet. He does the economic section. I forget his real name-- maybe Roget. He handled ~~articles~~ Common Market things. That's why his ~~articles~~ articles for Revolution always deal with the Common Market. Maybe he writes one paper for the Ministry and another for Revolution.

(How long did V stay in Switz, land)

He never really stayed in ~~Switz~~ *Switzerland* at all. He just came through there and stayed a few days, ~~there.~~ And he was traveling on an Algerian diplomatic passport. He ~~still has~~ has one. I don't know how he went to Japan, because he had been very reluctant to reply to the demand- ^{to} the request, for renewal of his ordinary French passport. It was quite possible to have dual nationality- French- Algiers. I don't know whether the Algerians (recognize) this. I think that he ~~didn't have~~ ~~and~~ a normal Algerian passport, that he only had a diplomatic one, which should, I think, have been cancelled once he ceased to have any thing to do with the government. ~~So he didn't want to travel on it.~~ ~~He~~ wanted to come to London on several occasions but he didn't dare to try his Algerian passport- ~~He~~ He could travel around much of Western Europe with his expired French passport. Most European passports are considered valid for five years after the date of expiration

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X ^{if you} you don't really need it anyway, just an identification ~~will~~
^{that} will take an expired passport ~~up~~
in Common Market countries, up to five years.

X How he got to Japan I don't know. He may have finally applied for
a French passport. I thought that he still wanted to ~~maintain~~
maintain the fiction of his Algerian nationality, by not making any
request for French ~~passport~~. In Japan he was called the Delegate from the ~~Union~~ Reunion(?)
and no mention was made of Revolution. There has never been, to the
best of my knowledge and the knowledge of Andersson any mention in
any Chinese publication, ~~of the~~ ^{whatsoever} of Revolution, and they have mentioned
all sorts of two-bit publications that they have financed lock, stock
and barrel. And yet the Chinese did purchase it. I understand they do
not purchase it any longer. And according to Andersson who ~~had~~ also had contact
~~contact~~ ^(group) between the Chinese Embassy and Verges in Paris ~~had~~ ^{had, cleared}.
(When)

As of last month.

(When they ~~ceased~~ ceased purchasing)

X According to Andersson. ~~He~~ He says he has heard it from
other people. He doesn't know from Chinese sources. He did tell the truth (was)
in Berne, I had written a letter to the China Quarterly about the article
by ~~Andersson~~ ^{Feyta} on Verges, refuting what ~~Feyta~~ said. Asking what he thought
of that. And he replied that they had no objection but they thought it was
about time that somebody ended the fiction... that they thought Revolution
was extremely embarrassing to them.

X (How long did the Eng lang edition stay with Andersson)

X The Eng lang edition was produced in Switz for the first ~~year~~ year,
entire was printed
the first twelve issues, And ~~the English language edition was produced in~~
Switzerland on the press of this Mr. Gouguin ^{Gouguin in} Montreux. And Gouguin
was introduced to Verges by Andersson. Andersson paid him and so forth.

X But Andersson didn't have any official connection with Revolution as
of Nov. I think, December, of 63. I went ~~back~~ ^{back} and forth and Strelkof, who
did the layout and art work, ~~went~~ went back and forth to Lausanne and saw
Gouguin ~~every month~~ ^{almost every month}, once or twice a month.
But once I left Paris, the
bank account was closed down - & I mean, shortly thereafter, by Gessell,
who came in behind Andersson's back and closed the account at the
Union des Banques Suisse.

(That ended the Swiss production)

No, the Swiss production continued, but Andersson had nothing to do
with it from that point. The twelve issues of that year were printed there.

He represents nothing. He's a sort of hopeless person. She's a very dynamic woman. Verges claimed that she had become a police informer, for the Algerian police, and that ~~she~~ she talked to very opposite groups and to occasionally, ~~she talked~~ to Mamani of the Salawa group party in Algiers. But she no longer has anything to do with Revolution Africaine. I don't know what she is going. She wouldn't have anything to do with Verges after the moment that she refused to go to Lausanne. You see, he was

(Why)

Why did she refuse to go? Well, she couldn't leave Carlos by himself. God knows what would happen to him. Secondly, she had wanted to be ~~in the end~~ all the time in Algiers. She wasn't ~~increasing~~ interested in running a magazine in Switzerland, the magazine interest was secondary to her.

2 There was another Portuguese-speaking person in Algiers. That was a man by the name of ^{Aguiar} Braganza. Braganza is a Goan ^{and} Goan who has lost his reason for being with the end of the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, he should have gone ~~back~~ back! But ~~with~~ he had been a Goan revolutionary with the Portuguese opposition. For years he ^{had} been in Rabat hooked up to the, at that time it was the CONCP, Conference ¹⁹⁶² ~~to the~~ Nationaliste des Colonies Portugaises, which grouped together the ~~what~~ ^{what later} came to be the ~~Falimo~~ ^{Falimo} and the MPLA. It was part of the hard line countries. There was another one elsewhere which was soft line. Braganza was also sort of adviser to the magazine, Revolution Africaine, and questions of India and so on. He stayed on and worked with Mohammed Harbi and came to London.

2 ((Did he have anything to do with Patricia McGowan))

Yes. They had been together in Rabat.

((Did he have anything to do with Carlos))

Yes. It's all the same crowd. But Carlos was waiting for destiny to call him and Braganza had already lost his chance. The Indians had got in. They'd liberated Goa, so what next, you know. Go back to India. He obviously wasn't going to go back. He was living too well, as it was. ^{what was he going to do} And in Goa, nobody knew him in Goa. He was a Goan educated in Portugal. One of these people ~~really~~ without a real national identity. He knew that he wasn't Portuguese and had this feeling of alienation from Portugal, which made him like most of the colonials, students there-- the MPLA really started in Portugal-- made him an oppositionist. He didn't have enough roots with the homeland. So he's just sort of floating around. His wife is a school teacher. He speaks excellent French. He was working for Revolution Africaine. I don't know if he still is. I'm certain he'll find something to do. He'll never go back to Goa.

((This points up the need for a continuing revolution, when the revolution is completed))

Yes. You don't have jobs unless you're in the government. And that's a problem, too. In his case, he ^{never really did much,} wasn't even a real revolutionary, just a bureaucrat in Rabat and other places.

(^{Macgowan} Now did ~~the~~ ^{he} get involved with Verges) ^{knew}

That I don't know. I don't know how he ~~got involved with~~ her in the beginning, ^{I imagine he met her} ~~where~~ in Rabat. He used to go to Morocco quite often and had contact with all the African, ^{the} ~~the~~ race people there. I suspect that's ^{where} he met her.

So for
(~~How much~~ ^{for} those guys)

Now you've got Harbi. He was ~~the~~ the person who replaced Verges. He's out now, but ~~he~~ ^{was} ~~one of the~~ I'm told by Andersson, who ~~knows~~

Harbi
has his ear to the ground in Algiers as well as in Switzerland, that Harbi is in a very good position. He is one of the leading advisers to Ben Bella, represents the Left position. He's a Trotskyist, or a Trotskyist sympathiser without any formal organizational ~~ties~~. He is very close to the Pablo ^{group}. That's Michel ^{Rapin} ~~Warner~~. He's Pablo, ~~you~~ ^{we} could've overlooked him, he's a feature of Algiers life. He played an extremely important role in the agrarian reform, in ^{determining} the type of agrarian reform that was going to be carried out. He came down on the Yugoslav model, that is collectives which are privately owned by the collectives and run on ^{the} profit model, that is ~~in a~~ profit basis.

des Biens Vacants
Harbi ^{and associates} ~~they~~ were all inside of this Bureau ~~des Biens~~ ^{des Biens Vacants} ~~des Biens~~ which became the Bureau of the Socialist Sector. I once did an article for the Monthly Review, ^{is an interesting article} so I know ^{all} about how it operated. What really happened was that the Europeans fled just before ^{and} just after Independence, ^{as known well they} ~~or rather~~ should have, considering what they had done. ^{had} ~~but~~ they expected a blood bath. The blood bath never took place. It was an incredible.

obscure
That was one of the most incredible things to me in Algeria was that the Algerians didn't ^(the French) Because the stories were horrifying. You know what happened. A month or so before, they were just shooting everybody on the street, trying to provoke them, and the discipline of the ~~FLN~~ ^{the French} FLN was incredible. Nobody would shoot back, no matter what they did. So they fled and they left all ~~the~~ these farms. ^{the} ~~the~~ It was a question of ploughing and seeding. There is only a certain time of year that you ~~have~~ ^{have} to do this. This had to be organized and it was organized almost spontaneously locally. And then this was ~~not~~ institutionalized later, ~~after it was~~ an accomplished fact. They want some sort of a socialist system of agriculture. They

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didn't know how and the institutionalizing of it was really directed by these Trotskyists. There was Pablo, Harbi, a French lawyer named Matthieu from Grenoble who had been involved with the FLN, and he became sort of legal adviser of Biens Vacants, which was vaguely under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture which was at that time under Omar Usgam who is now Minister of State, and Director of Revolution Africaine at present. He replaced Harbi.

abstract

Harbi is deeply resented by the army elements which are pro-Egyptian. However, the Army, despite its religious inclination, had its socialist bias and would like to see more centralization, more on an Egyptian model. In other words, they would like to see much more control from the center than this confused type of regional or local control. They feel that in the long run the business of the private collective ownership is going to cause trouble. It's all right if it is a rich one, but what happens if ~~it is~~ ^{you are in} a poor one? You don't split profit, you split a deficit. Obviously, according to the Yugoslav model, the state intervenes. The State taxes the rich ones and then distributes subsidies to the poor ones, but this is a debate that is still going on in Algeria, and curiously enough these Trotskyists have been in contact, very close contact, with the Yugoslavs. As you recall, the campaign, the so-called campagne de labour, the ploughing, was made possible only by the delivery of 563 Yugoslav tractors which turned out to be the great deception of some of the Algerians not to be Yugoslav but to be American ^a tractors put together in Yugoslavia under license.

((This is getting us a little bit far afield))

This is Harbi and this is the group. Harbi represents the leading spokesmen of this sort of Trotskyist-leaning Left group, within the FLN, and his post is still very high, even though he is no longer Director.

((When was he dropped))

Usgam

I think last summer. I'm not certain. With ~~Usgam~~ it has become much more _____ the word Socialism appears in Arabic because it is felt that Socialism in French doesn't have the same meaning as it has in Arabic. It's very ~~sort of~~ ^{and} silly, ~~and~~ represents the very muddled mind that Usgam has. He is very much split between his religious ^(and political) inclinations. ~~and~~ Usgam is a full member of the Communist party of Algeria but he left for nationalist reasons when they refused to support the rebellion, and joined the FLN. His wife is supposed to be fanatically religious and has made him more religious than he was. .

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(Curious mix-up - this religion and politics.)

(Returning to our first subject, Strelkoff. Is he a practicing Jew?)

No.

(Just an ethnic Jew)

Yes.

(Next on the list here is Robert Williams, whoever made this up calls him an American in Peking.)

But where was he now

He's in Havana. He was in Peking recently and he may still be there, for that matter. He went on a second trip to the Far East, ~~He~~ was in one of the countries that had a celebration. I think he was in Hanoi, if I'm not mistaken. He was in Asia. He may still be there.

Robert Williams is a Negro, former President of the Union County North Carolina branch of the NAACP, who had a hell of a battle on his hands against the local KuKlux Klan and discovered that the best way to deal with the KuKlux Klan was to shoot back at them. And it worked. They never had seen it, ~~in~~ in that part of the south, anyway, the small towns of the South. ~~gentlemen's~~ Up until recently there's been sort of ~~gentlemen's~~ agreement in the south that the Negro civil rights groups would go into the big cities, where they would be reasonably protected. But they had to leave them rural areas alone because they couldn't expect ~~much.~~ Williams of course, ~~was a~~ there is no doubt, ~~the~~ great embarrassment to everybody, ~~that it was the NAACP~~

and they were on his back. He got no sympathy from the ~~NAACP~~ leadership. ~~He~~ He first came to ~~first thing of~~ national prominence after a case of obvious injustice where a white man ~~had~~ done something to a Negro woman and ~~the~~ jury had thrown it out. ~~He~~ He said, well if we can't get justice in the courts we'll have to take justice in our own hands. ~~And not violent in the courts~~ But even the fact that older, more Negroes would fight back got the ~~old leaders, the old conservative~~ Negro leaders very upset. He ~~was immediately~~ ^{immediately} People came to his support, particularly the Trotskyites, not the Communists, ~~came in~~ ^{The Trotskyites} and tried to take him over. They did ~~give him~~ some support. There had been a case before, another case, locally called the Kissing Case. Two Negro boys, you may have heard of it, were sentenced to indefinite terms in prison for having kissed a six-year-old white girl. He was involved in that and again, it was the Trotskyites who came to his support, ~~with~~ with other liberal groups.

In terms of organizational support it was the Trotskyites. I heard of him at the time I was in CBS and I thought that it was very understandable and sent him a message of support. I met him at the time of the ~~NAACP~~ ^{NAACP} Conference in New York in 1959, and when the FPCC was formed he was among the eight Negroes who were among the 30 founding members, to the great shock of

of the Communist Party of the United States, which did not particularly approve of seeing the two issues mixed, Cuba and ~~the~~ Negroes.

Williams, very volatile, a very determined person, on a local level, has no ability whatsoever on a national ~~the~~ level. He has become a symbol now to Negro youth in particular, as a Negro who is not an Uncle Tom, who will fight, ~~and~~ We knew ~~that~~ what was coming in the summer of 61, ~~perhaps it was before~~ no ~~obviously~~ ^{he was} embarrassment, for the national executive of the NAACP, embarrassment for the Justice Department, and more than ~~any~~ embarrassment ^{for} Terry Sanford, who was the Governor, ~~and who~~ ~~he~~ told him, "I wish you were dead. Period." ~~They~~ Finally, by one of these flukes of fate, there was a demonstration over a swimming pool. ^(The Negroes) They didn't want to integrate the pool. They just wanted to swim in it. But the local people said they didn't want to do that because they would have to change the water, and it would take too much time to change the water after Negroes swam in the water. So they had some demonstrations. Williams was almost murdered on one of these occasions. The demonstrations were getting pretty violent. And then King sent in some Freedom Riders who were going to show them how non-violence ~~was~~ was going to work in this town. They decided to make an example. So Williams said, "I'm going to get out of this. I don't want anything to do with your non-violence. But you go ahead and I'll see what happens."

Well the non-violent demonstration became ^{even} more violent. There were people shot. There were arrests. There was an English girl who now figures here in the British Trotskyist party, who was over there. People were coming from all over, ^{these were} reports in the European press. ~~The rumor went around~~ Williams now had nothing to do with this. ^{he} was just sort of staying there saying well you see where non-violence gets you-- but there was a report that they were going to lynch the ~~the~~ people who had been arrested. As often happens in ~~these~~ this type of thing the Negroes and whites, ^{even} outside whites who were involved, really came in for a hell of a beating, and as in the Philadelphia, Mississippi, case, they ^{even} have been killed. Williams was more or less a victim of the mob in the Negro community which said "we've got to do something. We've got to free these people, ^{and} get them out of jail."

He had arms, including ~~some~~ machine guns, which had been purchased in New York, and sent down there. They didn't use them because they got scared, but they had arms. The community was armed. The people, ^{the} out in the street in front of his house, when a car with a white couple, came down ^{the} this road. It was surrounded and they ^{couple was} told to get out. The crowd wanted to string them up right there. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This man came from a neighboring

town, ^{They} claimed, had lost their way. They said, no you're a member of the Klan in this town. They wanted to kill him, or hold him as hostage. Williams said, "Bring these people in my house and you know I won't let them go." He called the Sheriff, and said, "Look, I have these people here and my people are very upset and I want you to know that I don't want anything ~~to~~ to happen to our people that you have in the jail." The Sheriff immediately called the National Guard, State Troopers and what not. They ^{to} couldn't hold out very long. Williams escaped. Julian Mayfield ^{well known} was there, a Negro writer who now lives in Ghana as a result of this. Minnie ^a a Negro woman from New York who was there ~~with~~ Mallory, ~~who~~ was later arrested and convicted and sentenced to 16 years in prison for ~~the~~ kidnapping ~~Shirley Ann Williams~~. Williams was spirited across the United States ^I knew vaguely where he was, but ^{he} kept very carefully by Cubans and by Negro groups in contact with the Cubans to Canada, ^{from} Canada he was flown by private plane ^{and by} ~~and by~~ Castro himself, to Havana, where he is now.

On two occasions the FBI came to me asking for information about Williams, and I damn sure wasn't going to give any ~~information~~ of what I knew. We had tried to get in touch with Bobby Kennedy himself. I had sent ~~him~~ telegrams. I even tried to get a telephone call in. Because I knew what was going to happen on this thing, ^{we tried} to get some kind of Federal intervention. the most sickening things that I ever saw It was one of those sickening things. They wanted him out of the way. Even ~~then~~ ^{way} they came to me later — two of the agents came to the FPCC office in New York. They said, "We have 500 agents. We'll get him. He'll never get away." Well, he was away at that ~~time~~ point. His aunt died ~~and they~~ in New York around that time. They went to the funeral parlor where the body was and put a wanted ~~at~~ ^{by} poster on the coffin ~~to see if he would come~~. Really, they should have been thrown ~~out on~~ ^{out on} their heads, frankly. If it hadn't been Negroes I'm certain they would never have done that sort of thing. The trouble was ~~was that~~, the trouble is — the whole attitude. ~~attitude~~ Anyhow, as it is, Williams is not a Communist, he's not a Trotskyite. He's a former Marine, who's just had enough. Really, you know. And now he has turned into a world-wide figure ^{And he's turned into a world-wide figure} because people like Bobby Kennedy and others could not just try to see what could be done about it. ~~It was no use, though. I mean, it's no use now.~~ I'm certainly ^{any} ~~not~~ ^{some} ~~use~~ ^{well} ~~we can't~~ ^{with} ~~and everybody.~~

Well, that's too bad. Just like the case of these boys, Walter Bow, and so on. And they're not the only ones. ^{for} every Walter Bow there must be at least a hundred. I must say, I would no more want to live in the States now — you're going to really see something. I don't really

~~The twelve issues were only 200 copies maximum, and~~

It was still printed until No. 12, the end of the year. the end of that first year. The twelve issues were printed there. The twelfth issue was only 200, or 300 copies maximum. It was never distributed. I still have some. Those

are the ones I sold for \$10.00 a book. The American libraries are desperate to complete their sets. It was never distributed because Verges hadn't paid Ganguin the money that he promised and X, while the copies were arrangement of the financial busins, Federal Council sitting there waiting for some ~~other financial arrangement~~ the Swiss finally took action and seized them. Actually the seizure was more "platonic" but they just wanted to ~~say~~ said you can't send out anything. I understand Ganguin had 50 copies, of every issue, which of every issue, that he had salted away, He knew he could sell them. I think he could sell them in the States.

university libraries, you know, American libraries are extremely - - political files. Revolution became a sort of - it was the American press. Revolution had a success, it came from the American press, not the French press, or the British press, the American press, It was really fortuitous but ~~very~~ *very* ~~pragmatic~~ *pragmatic* that you can't blame them - seeing this move to Paris, a new magazine ~~that~~ with a pro-Chinese line which really ~~was~~ *vaunted its* a pro-Chinese line, coming out at the same time as French recognition of China, So obviously you write things about a new twentieth century Europe, Verges, the Chinese top man in Europe, and this that and the other. And that was what started it. We had three articles, I believe, in the Christian Science Monitor, ~~and one of them had the~~ *One even* address in. Right ~~in the middle~~ then the letters came in. All sorts of people wanted them. the subscriptions came in. ~~There was a subscription agency in the United States~~ A subscription agency in the United States saw it, and and started taking orders from university libraries. ~~What~~ copies, I think.

~~The State Department took 20~~ *There was* ~~one airmail subscription for the Embassy in Tokyo.~~

The Congress for Cultural Freedom had even more than that. They had a list of every one of their correspondents, magazines, etc. Everyone got one. So we were doing well. And he could have, actually, on the English edition, which had a much lower cost than the others, he could have broken even. He would never have made anything, *(however).*

But *(with)* his policy for the French edition, *but very printing and all,* he could never have balanced the budget without a hefty subsidy from someone.

(Some colleagues on the editorial staff)

The ~~delegation~~ editorial staff was again a fiction. There was no If you've been following Revolution since, you see each month, each *(new with)* use issue this *(new with)*

because he wants to make sure that they have
grows larger. ~~the~~ ^{mainly} fictitious names, many of them.

He's got Carlos ~~...~~. He's supposed to be from Spain.

This was a name made up by ~~Chen~~ ^{Kien} to replace Valdes. Valdes was
actually a person who ~~is~~ ^{was} a Spanish scientist, chemist, who works for
the CNRS, The Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique, in Paris.

He did write the articles on Spain under ~~Chen~~ ^{Kien}'s supervision with strong
~~rewriting~~ ^{rewriting}. And his real name is Lopez. ~~He~~ ^{When} I saw him, his first
initial is S. Martin Valdes is not his real name. His address...

~~He is the person who he is now wandering about very much at~~
odds, but he is still very well informed about the Spanish situation. I
think that if approached in the proper fashion, ~~he~~ ^{he} might be ~~w~~
willing to talk.

(How old is he?)

In his late thirties. I had no trouble talking with him. He is very
bitter. (Why) He was expelled from the Proletario group which he had
founded, ~~and~~ ^{more} or less relegated. He isn't really made up for practical
politics and he ~~has~~ ^{has} matter of pride, etc. but he keeps his hand in. He
said he wanted to go see Grippa, but he didn't have much idea of doing it ^{anything}.
He is the one who told me about what was going on in the Spanish group.

I could have gotten more.

~~He had no idea that I was pumping him for~~
~~information.~~ He seemed to be approachable, willing to talk about the
Spanish situation. He can lecture for hours. He is the professorial type.

Not for the rough and tumble of ^{diplomatic} ~~practical~~ politics. He was used by ~~Chen~~ ^{Kien}.

(What caused his rupture with group?)

~~I didn't know~~ ^{group called} the exact story. He had Proletario. They put out a four-
page news letter, ^{of the same name,} most of which was theory written by Valdes.

But was rewritten by ~~Chen~~ ^{Kien}. ~~Chen~~ ^{Kien} was in contact with the members of
the group and at one time Valdes and his wife were actually told that they
were going to edit Revolution, ^a Spanish edition, ^{which} that was going to be published

in Europe. By the way the Spanish edition does exist, ~~s~~ ^{I'm} told, in
Bogota. ^{They have managed to get out a Spanish} ~~edition~~ ^{edition} Has nothing to do with Verges. ~~It was brought~~

~~out by the more committee - movimiento Obrero Independiente & Campesino~~
a kind of...

Fidelista movement,

~~and~~ ^{and is getting Chinese subsidy, I think.} which is quite pro-Chinese ~~thing~~ ^{thing}. They had quite a scandal

about misappropriation of funds. Apparently the Chinese were giving them

~~about~~ fifteen thousand, twenty-five thousand and twenty thousand, and ten

thousand of it would arrive, and somewhere along the line on the way to

~~Europe~~ ^{20,000 on the way in Europe} would disappear. One of the persons was expelled.

14-00000
(What's relationship of Spanish edition to)

It has - I saw some of the article - -
Said to have copies in Brussels. I haven't seen. Brussels is used as
European
a headquarters for ~~Western Europe~~ ^{MOEC}. People going through either to China
or ~~to~~ North Vietnam ^{coming} through there. *(Can they take stuff without any*
copyright problems?) Oh, yes, at first Verges wanted them to be identical --
same as Revolution in France, but and they would say, well, -- they wanted
the editorial work done in Paris, which he would finance, and they would
finance all of the production side. But he was unable to pay them for
even the editorial thing, so they said they would do all of it
in Colombia.

He would finance and they would finance all of the production, but
they were unable

They had a commercial printer, who was going to front for them in Bogota
on the same format as the English edition, the old English edition; now the
English and the French editions are exactly identical. the pocket format.
I don't know what they've done. They didn't expect it to last very

long - sort of a prestige operation. Expected three three

3 or 4 issue to get out, before it would be seized, but that was enough
for them. I think what they wanted to do was to establish themselves
on an international plane, even nationally, as the leading left
party

MOEC

They've had a running battle with the Communist Party. They accuse the

CP of having given the names of all their liaison people between the ~~the~~
city and countryside - they are running
~~account~~ - a guerrilla campaign in certain areas of the country which

has become quite serious. And they do have organizational ties with the
They are by no means a joke.

* FALN of Venezuela. / And they are having people trained in North Vietnam.

They were supposed to. And in China.

the Algerians to train some people. I don't know. But they were trying.
 // Actual editorial policy of the magazine- selected by me.
 When I was at magazine, I selected the articles as I chose.
 In the English edition, with very few exceptions, almost everything was
 Then there was a hiatus when no French edition. Then I was completely

as it seems

agent. Certainly, is a person who has had extremely close ties and maintains the; with Trotskyist groups, particularly the so-called Lambert- (Groupe Lambert) (How old) Probably He is in thirties. Married to French woman, from whom he was separated.

Came end of the forties or early fifties, in the forties, after the war.

philosophy, sociology. He is ^{apparently} quite brilliant. He went into French Communist party. I don't think he was in the CP in Vietnam, but he was connected to the Communist party. In France have organizational structure and also have prominent

on Vietnam, now being translated into English and will be pub in US
within month or so ^{sort}
by Monthly Review Press. This represents the most cogent ~~thought~~ ^{thought} line

This is the soft position. It is not the Chinese position. It's an equal

He wrote it '63. Has been updated with a new chapter. He does not still

inactive. ^{He} Was a member of the economic commission of the party.

He has much less imagination than Verges, does not have the verve, certainly none of more than anything else.

his situation. For quite some time Lujan has been going to see Maspero after

Complex person, numerous ties.

even proving his good faith by bringing manuscripts that were originally destined for Revolution. That Verges knew anything about that I seriously doubt. This went on to such an extent that Maspero told Andersson.

Andersson said, "why he has launched a terrible campaign against you as a Trotskyite—" Maspero said he didn't believe it, so Andersson

showed him a letter that ~~then~~ had written in which he demanded that he sever all ties with Maspero, and so on. ^{with Trotskyists.}

He is a complex person. He has numerous ties. ^{With} He printed two articles by ~~members of the~~ British ~~Communist Party~~ Trotskyist about the British Communist Party, printed in Revolution, under the ~~name~~ of Joshua Linton which turned out to be Thomas Kent, ^{written by} one of the executive members of the British ~~Trotskyist~~ Trotsky Socialist Labor League, which is an incredible thing. Now he ^{is} really considered by many of these Chinese people to be a Trotskyist, or a Trotsky sympathiser.

I don't know about it. He does have very curious ties. I don't what he

present relationship is to the Vietnamese though he claimed ~~g~~ that he had received

~~received~~ a letter from Hanoi from a friend who was in a high position there who urged him not to do anything that could be considered anti-Soviet. ^{And they said that really} This was some time before - in the spring. / He should be returning home.

But he has no intention of returning.

(Why)

^{quite used to} He ~~lives in the~~ life in the west. He's one of these fellows who particularly likes running around and having a ^{girl} . . . says he's gathering information from — one day a girl said I'm not an encyclopedia, will you stop asking me all these questions?

(His relationship with the Chinese).

He has some contact with the ^{New China News Agency} ~~Chinese~~ ^{agency} but it is very slight contact, ^{one of the}

He was the one who finally in a state of panic went to the ~~Chi-Sun~~ ^{news} and

Chinese/agency correspondents in Paris and told him of the financial ^{man from Chinese agency} plight of the magazine. And that's when the ~~man~~ told him to prepare a

budget. ^{They} Said they would see what they could do. He told ^{Kessel} ~~Castell~~ and ^{Kessel} ~~Kessel~~

Castell put his foot down. He said that Verges . . .

(Who did he see)

* A Mr. Yan. They were at that time Yan and Yang. Yan a heavy set man, in his forties ^{with various groups of political people.}

/ the senior of the two, had contacts. The Embassy apparently didn't want any ^{because the people in Marseilles and elsewhere used to go to Berne.} direct contacts.

They had obviously first made contacts with the Chinese in Berne and then they continued them in Berne (after French established relations with Chinese) because obviously it wouldn't look very good to be....

* possibly 10

(Shouldn't be too aggressive too soon, after established in France, that sort of thing;))

I don't know. After all, they have reasonably good relations with the French so I think probably the French will be disappointed that they haven't been able to get more concrete things out of ^{them} ~~the Chinese~~, trade and so forth.

(The French don't want the Chinese to ^{too much} ~~be~~ -)

~~Babble in French politics. However, everyone knows one of the things someone threatened -~~
~~that Verges once said, No nothing to do with Verges, it was a friend~~
of mine who works for ABC television in Paris, ^{Loa} ~~Chioffi~~,
~~and talking to someone about Revolution in the French Foreign Ministry he~~
said- what do you think about this Chinese. He always thought there was
~~something about this -~~ what do you think about this Chinese magazine put
out ~~at~~ here? And he said- I don't know anything about it. Besides if we
wanted to examine subsidies that go into the ^{political} publications in France we
would certainly start with the Russians and Humanite and then go on with
some of your American ^{financed} publications. (laughs) And that was the end of that!

That may have just been a sort of snide rejoinder. I think that they
do ~~intend~~ to be discreet, ~~that~~ they were very happy about the situation
there. I was in the Chinese Embassy only once. I was invited to a reception.
I never saw so many people from ^{of government} ~~the~~ top brackets as at that reception.
Everybody - - they had the Legion de' Honneur, ~~the~~
~~around the top structure of~~
Everywhere you went they ~~had~~ a Legion d'Honneur in ^{the} ~~his~~ button. ^{later} The top
structure of the civil service were there - - - from all the
important industries.

(What's ^{Kien} Chen's loyalty then?)

^{Kien's} Chen's loyalty is ~~human~~ basically to himself. He's interested in Marxism.
He's very academic minded. He really is a pedantic, academic person.
And he's got a tremendous number of interests. He is a very hard worker
when he works. It's he who writes and rewrites most of the magazine. He
used to write most of the editorials. Verges does very little. He does
not like to write. He doesn't like to be bothered with editorial things.
He likes the promotional aspects of things. He likes to convene meetings
every so often ~~and~~ to discuss things. But as for the actual running of
things ^{though} he did exercise a closer control over the French edition than he
did over the English edition, he never- well once or twice he said put
this in or don't put this in. He printed an article about Algeria which

was veiled criticism, in the French issue, and he told me not to print that, for instance, in the English edition, his story being that he didn't want to embarrass the Chinese. He said that after all the Chinese were buying ^{about} ~~this~~ and this ~~wasn't~~ wasn't their line ~~in~~ Algeria and they might be asked embarrassing questions by the Algerians ^{saying why do you distribute this magazine,} ~~distributor~~ which has this sort of unfriendly article. ~~magazines which has this unfriendly article.~~

((You mean the Chinese were buying),

The Chinese at that time were buying 3000 copies of the English edition.
 300 the French. They didn't seem to mind about the 300 French

In actual fact, the Chinese so far as I know never made any comment about the magazine, or its contents. None whatsoever.

((Is Chen's willingness to go to Maspero and knock Verges and go to Andersson and knock Maspero-- is this inconsistent with his pedantic Marxism?))

For him a lot of it is academic. It's not related too much to life, except that he is a plotter, a born conspirer. He loves to have ten people around him and to tell them what to do, how to maneuver. Of course whatever he tells them generally turns out to be disastrous for them. For example, the so-called pro-Chinese students inside of the UEC, the Union des Etudiants Communistes at their congress last year-- let's see they've got one coming up-- he was the one behind who was telling them what to do, their tactics and strategy. They had a terrible catastrophe. (laughing) In fact the pro-Chinese students represent a negligible faction, now inside of the Communist students, the largest faction being the Italian faction, which is actually financed by the Italian Communist Party. ^{The} Struggle has gone on for years between the French party and the Italian party and it continues there. ^{who} ^{themselves} Then he had a group of youths called the Drapeau Rouge group. They put out again a four-page, like a newsletter, ~~for~~ which he promised to get money from Verges to subsidize. Verges had no money, as you know. One single issue came out.

Proletario, with Valdes, managed to keep on because Valdes had his own sources of income from the Spaniards who belonged to it ^(no leap) apparently. They kicked in quite a lot, a month, you know, to keep it going. It wasn't too expensive. The main thing is finding a printer who will print it clandestinely, in France. Because all these things that have no ^{under French law} you're supposed to have a Directors Association ^{Carant(?)} who is responsible for it and anything in a foreign language is exempt from the liberty of press, from freedom of press, in France. The only foreign languages that you can use are Basque and Breton and I think, Alsatian-dialect.

For a magazine addressed to the Spanish workers in France and in Western Europe, the problem was for them to find someone to print it, clandestinely. And they found someone I think with Sinet and Strelkoff.

(What about Strelkoff).

Let's go down the line. The next one in order would be Castell;

Chastel (?) is the nephew of Joseph Castell of the French Academy.

((Castell's first name?))

Patrique

Patrick. He is the nephew of a very famous ~~man~~ man and he has worked, again, for Maspero. ~~==~~ All these people worked for Maspero. Verges takes great pleasure in sort of taking people away from Maspero. He used to boast about the people that he had gotten away from Maspero. I suppose this ~~— — —~~ fellow can't do anything for us, so why do you want to get him? ~~tantalizing~~ ~~idea~~ but the idea that he might be able to undercut or Maspero ~~to~~ bring Maspero down ~~is~~ — he is extremely petty in this sense, and once he built up this grudge against Maspero, because he felt that Maspero didn't support him 100% when he wanted to buy, and then when he wanted to buy out Maspero, Maspero wasn't ~~interested~~ interested in combining forces. So from that point on he did everything possible ~~now~~ ~~he did~~ ~~can't~~ ~~do~~ ~~too~~ ~~much~~ ~~now~~, ~~everything~~ ~~possible~~ to draw people away, the play down. He went to the Chinese and said Maspero was a Trotskyist. The joke of the matter was that all of the Trotskyists who had been in this organization, and I'm sure they are there, came through Chen. It was Chen who had introduced them to Maspero. And Maspero was the sort of person who couldn't care less whether the Trotskyites got in as long as there was some sort of free discussion. He's not a committed person anyway; he's a man who is ~~isn't~~ ~~of~~ sentimentally on the left but outside of any party, and for whom this thing has become a fairly good business. Those magazines are by no means expensive. Only sell about 2000 copies per issue, which is all now that Revolution ~~—~~ it has come down a long way.

Anyway, Chassel ~~is~~ was one of Maspero's authors and he worked for ~~our~~ Algeria.

Liberation. He's been to Laos and to the French West Indies. He's a journalist. He's worked I think for France Observateur.

He's never been a member of the Communist Party. His main problem is trying to be bigger one day than his uncle, whom he dislikes intensely but nevertheless finds very useful, though he claims His uncle is very tight with his money, but in any case he ~~gives~~ ^{gets} him credit — He says I am Kessel, and they aren't certain whether it's him or the nephew or son, so they give him credit. He was the business manager. He knows damn little about business, but he ~~was~~. — Verges had a great deal of confidence in him and he knew a lot about money manipulation and so forth.

Verges tried to divide things up. On two occasions Verges asked him ^{me} to change some money. In one case he gave him a brief case which contained \$30,000 to cash, and asked him ^{me} to go to the bank and change it to French francs. I went into the bank and said I wanted to change some money. They didn't faint, nor ask any questions either. Then on the second occasion I think I changed only \$2000. It was in cash, in hundred dollar bills. And the other one was in ten dollar bills. That was the problem, they had to count it all. They weren't at all pleased. Where he got the money from I don't know. ^{It was in} They ~~used~~ used American bills, old bills, ~~wrappers~~ wrappers on them had no identification. But he didn't want anyone else to know. He didn't want ~~Cassell~~ ^{me} to know I had changed it.

(You say Cassell was never in the French Communist Party?)

No.

(Why not?)

^{Rossi} I don't think Cassell ~~is~~ is a person ^{homme de gauche} ~~de gauche~~ without even intellectual ^(he is without) ~~interest~~ he likes to live well and the party's bureaucratic organization doesn't attract intellectuals ~~very~~ very long. Many of them go through it but just that. They go in and out. In fact it's almost- it's very good reference if you've been in and out of the party. You've got so many people who have been in and out of the party that you can go almost anywhere and find sympathy and jobs and so on. ~~was~~ People at Express and so on are made up of people of that type. ^(Does Cassell write?)

Yes. He has written one or two articles for Revolution, but very little. The only thing that he used to do was to re-write some of ^{Kien} Chen's things, the editorials in particular after ^{Kien} Chen had worked on them, to put them into really good French. ^{Kien} Chen's French sometimes has a tendency to be very esoteric and baroque.

(No substantive editorial work)

No. He is definitely a lesser figure but he likes his position. He likes being the sort of front ^{Though} man. ~~He~~ ^{Though} he with the financial troubles, he was the one who did suffer most. Because all the creditors got to him. Verges was hiding, didn't come into the office sometimes for days, or would come in only for a very short period of time. Because he was afraid that people would want to serve summonses and whatnot on him for debt. Cassell was there. Cassell was not a member of the company, I thought he was.

By the way I don't know whether I got that correct, yesterday. That was the Bureau No. 6 where ^{this thing was} ~~the~~ ^{- not 16} 22nd of August- that was '63. When they set up the company.

Now Sine,

Sinet is listed ~~as~~ with Strelkoff as Secrétaire de la Rédaction, which sounds like he had something to do with the editorial side of it but has nothing to do with that. He is of course the partner of Verges, at least on paper. Whether the ²⁰⁰⁰ ~~750~~ thousand francs in his name actually ~~can~~ represent his money I doubt. I think it is probably all Verges' money. I think that Verges needed at least another person to go into the . . . He is the lay-out, ~~make-up~~ (man), ~~When Verges went into~~ the layout, art work, cartoons, (He handle photos, too??) Well, yes, just send They ~~look~~ around to see where they can get them. But as they have no money now, it's just a matter of begging. They used to buy almost exclusively from Magnum. ~~that's why they had so many Cartier-Bresson.~~ except Magnum has ~~beautiful~~ beautiful photos, but they are expensive. And then they couldn't pay them.

((Sinet is French))

His real name is Maurice Sinet. He is French. He is in his thirties. Married, rather unhappily; has one child, which his wife claims is not his. He's more of an anarchist. He was in the French Communist Party but for a very brief period, I gather. He is very virulent. Before Revolution came out he put out his own little magazine, ^(had) cartoon magazine called Sine Massacre which ~~was~~ the most virulent cartoon I've ever seen. ~~They~~ ^{or} They depicted things like the clergy, love ^a very, very sick type of cartoon, which contrasted greatly from what made him famous, ~~Sine's cat.~~ cats, the Sine cat. He made a fortune with his cat and he also had a tie-in with some ~~promotional things~~ promotional things, ~~Key-chain~~ Key-chain and others. That's where of course he made a lot of money. He does a lot of commercial art work. He sells quite a bit here in England. He does work for British ad agencies.

((Why does a man this successful put this much effort into Revolution??))

Because he is-- again, the same sort of thing-- he is an emotional Leftist, very ~~much~~ ^{He is} incapable of any real organizational (work)-- So is Verges. I think that no matter ~~what~~ what sort of organization, he couldn't stay (with it) too long. He must be the big boss of it. He must be a grand ^{patron} ~~patron~~. Sinet is more, much more juvenile. He is forever throwing bottles of ink, you know! His financial success has been seriously endangered by - not from Revolution, but ~~from the business of Sinet Massacre~~ the business of Sinet Massacre, because M^{rs}. De Gaulle did not like what she considered blasphemous cartoons, and so he was arrested for Outrage au public, outrage a la police, outrage au chef d'état - He got out of most of

then but it cost a lot of money ~~input~~ - it put this thing out of existence and Mae de Gaulle said she thinks he is a very nasty man.

(Does he get paid by Revolution or does he supply funds for Revolution)

No, he supposedly gets the same thing that ~~everyone~~ everyone else gets- getting 1500 francs a month. Everyone allegedly gets or did receive 1500. He has an assistant because he can't devote much of his time to it. He's got to earn a living. He has a very expensive establishment. His mother and father, wife and child, maintains two cars and has a three story- sort of duplex, bigger than an apartment. It is magnificent, on the Rue Plichie ^{Clichy} in Paris. In order to maintain this he's got to find ways of earning ~~money~~ a living, mainly advertising work. He had worked for Express which paid him very well, but he broke with them on a political issue. He likes to eat well, drink well and run around after women and this is expensive. So a lot of the work, the donkey work, is done by Strelkoff, whose real name is Alexander Strelkoff.

(arrangement for next interview)

✓ The main thing to read in Verges are the editorials. That's the only thing Ginsberg (?) cared about. The editorials are very-- towards the end for example, there's the ~~short~~ phrase - "it's better to have for the future a failure that is luminous, un chef lumineux, than success in confusion" whatever that means. This is Verges' line in many things. ~~They're~~ They're (editorials) filled with phrases ^{that - show point} ~~that~~ - he wanted at one point to circle these ~~phrases~~ ^{people} phrases with a crayon to show that his line has always been the same.

GINSBERG? - is Pierre Villon (FCP CC)
real name) coincidence?

((You have an acute memory for the last phrase of yesterday.))

I happen to be a journalist.

((You have a very retentive mind. You do very well about these things.))

As you get older you forget. Doesn't it frighten you sometimes when you can't think of a name - I'm really beginning to feel bad about something I can't remember - I think my God, what's happening.

Strelkoff is Alexander Strelkoff. He is in his early thirties, son of Russian immigrant parents in France,

((Born in France?))

Born in France. Speaks Russian fluently. His parents were members of the Communist Party in Russia, / ^{Bolshevik Party} but with ~~Trotsky~~ Trotskyite tendencies. That's why they had to get out of Russia after the Revolution but he has no Trotskyist leanings at all. In fact because of his parents, he seems more or less to lean the other way, to be at least verbally, a violent Stalinist. He is married and has three (children), three by one wife, has one illegitimate and several others. He is very active sexually. He is a very handsome fellow and has a great deal of success with girls. He earns his living as a graphic designer. He worked for Hachette ^{doing} ~~making~~ layouts for them, until the great Sinet Massacre scandal, when ~~Mad.~~ de Gaulle finally took umbrage at this. He and Sinet were the two cartoonists who put this out, and

((Strelkoff can draw, as well))

Yes. In those things I gave you you will see cartoons by Strelkoff. He is essentially an artist, ^{a cartoonist,} though no one ever printed his cartoons before he ran into Sinet because they were considered just too ~~disgusting~~ ^{disgusting for publication}. He is really the acolyte, if you will, of Sinet. And any success, any money that he has come to him through Sinet. He is Sinet's man, and Sinet passes on work to him. They sort of pass around girls to each other and that sort of thing. He does, nevertheless, count for a certain amount in the magazine. He did count, because he was considered reasonably disinterested. That is, he wasn't concerned very much about money. He lives very poorly, with ~~himself~~ his wife and children, and has made far more sacrifices than Sinet but he is ^a very loyal, I was going to say, a faithful retainer, of Sinet's. I think that would sum him up. His loyalty is to Sinet and not to Verges.

(What are his principal types of contact outside of —)

He doesn't have any contacts outside of — His contacts are mainly body to body with girls. In terms of politics, he didn't like the idea that perhaps Chen was deeply involved with Trotskyism, that sort of thing, but that was just ^{small calibre} ^{count and} (?), his scruples ^{on this point}. He wanted to keep it going. He was very ~~anti-Chinese~~ anti-Chinese in the sense that he didn't think that the magazine should accept any Chinese money if the Chinese were willing to give it, the reason for this being that he thinks that should have a free hand in the arts, and so forth, jazz and all this, which of course he and Sinet are very much interested in.

(He's a literary liberal, then-)

Yes, in terms of the arts, he would be. He doesn't care much for abstract art, but

(But he's not a party liner)

By no means. A former Communist, but he wasn't expelled. He also just withdrew.

((If his parents were emigres from Russia, I assume this would have been in the twenties, or))

Yes, in the twenties, just before he was born. ^(They did) because of their Trotskyist leaning. I suppose they were members of the Trotskyist faction* of the Soviet Communist party at that time.

((Do you know whether they were expelled or left voluntarily))

I don't know. I think they left voluntarily, but that's just supposition. I think he mentioned something about it. I think that they really ~~fled~~ fled ahead of the Soviet police, the Cheka — he's Jewish, and maybe some of his relatives did end up in Soviet concentration camps. I think he still has some living relatives (in Russia) yes, because he was one of the chef de chantier, construction foreman, in the final stages of the French ~~exposition~~ ^{exposition} in Moscow. That was in 61 or 62. ^{He speaks Russian fluently.} There ~~was~~ he met some of his relatives.

((Has he made other trips to the Soviet Union))

I think he has made two trips. ~~But~~ One was with the French exposition, ~~and~~ he was there before and I think throughout the exposition, putting it up and so on. He is very competent ~~as~~ as a designer, a little bit lazy — but other than that — he tries to get other people to do his work for him if he can, just as Sinet passes it on to him he tries to pass it on to others. Where money is concerned he is not terribly scrupulous but he's not money hungry. ^(He's not money hungry in money) His weakness is women. Very much so. He shocked the Anderssons. He used to come to Lausanne and he had so many girls

to meet(?)
~~and if~~ they couldn't keep up (with it).

(Did Sinet bring him to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Revolution)

~~XXXXXX~~ Yes. He was delegated to do the work of the English edition. Sinet couldn't do it and this was before the French edition~~s~~ was started in France, so it was Strelkoff who did it. He came to Lausanne for a couple of days to do the layout~~s~~ and so on. Then he found someone in Lausanne, a Swiss graphic artist, ~~then~~ ^{then} ~~major~~ ^{major} ~~who~~ ^{who} did the ~~main~~ part of the work. Strelkoff came to oversee it.

That's about all there is about him. It's not very much, really. He's not very active politically. His life centers around females, jazz, night clubs. He would get drunk occasionally. He shares Sinet's tastes there - and women.

Keen
Now after Chen, ~~Grossil~~ ^{Grossil} and Sinet and Strelkoff, you have really reached the end of the ~~editorial staff~~ ^{editorial staff} as such. There was an editorial board which was a fiction. It had names of people like Babu on it. Babu saw Verges actually twice. He never contributed anything to the magazine except one interview which I did with him, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ Geneva, when he was at the UN ^{Conference} ~~office~~ on Trade ^{and} Development.

(Babu's biographic details are well enough known but how did he come to get involved in Revolution in the first place.)

He was suggested by ~~Dennis Phombesh~~ ^{Dennis Phombesh}. ~~Dennis Phombesh~~ is now the delegate from Tanzania to the UN. ~~Phombesh is spelled with an h.~~ ^{Phombesh}.

Dennis Phombesh is a former student - he's a Tanzanian diplomat now,

He is Tanganyikan by birth. He was the secretary of the Committee of

African Organization here in London for a number of years. This was a

Ghana-subsidized attempt to group together and unify all of the various African

national groups. He's married to a girl by the name of ^{Ilena} ~~Edelweiss~~. She is

a Jewish girl from London. Her parents also former leftists. But she is

very much anti-Communist. Dennis has very close ties with the British

Communist~~ist~~ party. He was a member of their African student committee.

They had a committee headed by a woman named Kay Beauchamp ^{Beecham} who was delegated ^{to} the task of

sort of watch over the African students ^{in London} and they

didn't have very much success. But Dennis was able to milk them, the

Ghana Government, by getting a subsidy, plus he had direct ties with

the Soviets. He was a graduate student at Moscow University under Professor

~~Potecki~~ ^{Potecki}. He is now dead, as you know, he was the head of their African

studies department. He was getting his doctorate. I think it was in

anthropology, I don't know exactly. But he was one of the very few persons

getting a doctorate in Moscow while sitting in London, and his wife spent most of her time writing his thesis. He would tell her, "now read this book and tell me what it says" and then "work this into my general thing". He had very little time. He also had some connections with the Chinese and had been to Peking, when I don't know, and had been invited to go to Peking last summer. He managed to keep from getting there. I suppose he felt that if he went ^{he} did go to Moscow on several occasions, theoretically it was to see Prof. Potemkin ^{Kr'in} That was just before ^{P's} Potemkin's death. The Zanzibar revolution is a year old, so it was before the Zanzibar Revolution ~~last year~~ early last year, ~~must have been~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~. I saw him last at Orly Airport when he was ~~at~~ - - -

~~He~~ came through I guess several weeks later on his way to Moscow. He took the Air France flight and he had an hour to kill in Paris, and I went out to the airport and saw him. He gave ~~me~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ photos of Zanzibar (You had known he was coming)

Yes. They told me. This was for the magazine. Some of the photos ^{They're} Pretty bad photos. that later appeared were the photos he brought. They were all one could get.

Then he took the Air France flight to Warsaw and Moscow. When he came back of course, although he was Tanganyikan, Babu knew him and had strong confidence in him and ~~he~~ appointed him adviser to the Zanzibar High Commission here in London. The Commissioner, who had been one of the Sultan's men, had left. There had been a Civil Servant by the name of Omar, Omar Zoran, who remained. He said he didn't want to lose his pension, ^{this was his main concern} revolution or no revolution. He didn't know much about revolutions. In fact, he was very touching, because he asked us could we suggest books that he could read about revolutions. He was a time server. While he was quite useful as the First Secretary, nevertheless Babu couldn't trust him.

So Dennis ^{ambush} was put in as a sort of watchdog.

When the Geneva Conference came up, Dennis was there ^{until Babu arrived,} ~~xxxxxxx~~ as ~~xxxxxxx~~ the chief delegate, from Zanzibar. In fact, he had everybody

~~xxxxxxx~~ sitting in as delegates, I sat in as a delegate from ~~Z~~. Zanzibar for a few minutes without even knowing it ^{He said "sit down. I've got to go out."} ~~till I~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ to go out.

^{there I was sitting there.} Somebody came up and took my photograph. I assumed that I was either being photographed by the CIA or by the State Department or the Soviet side ^{probably} ~~xxx~~ or both.

(Did you ever see the product)

No. I assume it was for ^{private} ~~xxxxxxx~~ consumption. There was an East German

which I assume is for press purposes. He wanted to take portraits of all the Africans. He got their names. He had a tremendous file there. (laughing) And he also had a wirephoto machine which worked right out of his studio. He did Phombeah and another African fellow while I was there.

Anyway, Phombeah was known to Verges. He may have met him when Verges was in the IUS, ^{IUS} International Union of Students, in Prague. He was the ^a VicePresident. There are four vice presidents. Verges was one of them.

As I said, when we were in Algeria, we had this woman Rosalind Ainslie as our correspondent here. When there came the blow-up- there was Phombeah- - he knew Rosalind Ainslie and was giving her political advice. In other words, he was much higher up in the hierarchy of the British Communist Party, although theoretically he is not a member of the party. That I don't know. ^{He maintains he isn't.} But she certainly accepted what he said to a great extent. But he was going ^{between} with everyone. So when she ceased to work for us he agreed to work, for £50 a month, but not to have his name used. He didn't want his name to appear in the magazine. He said "however, I'm certain that Babu ^{now} (this was before the revolution) I'm certain that Babu will be willing." He sent a ~~cable~~ cable to him and got a reply which was favorable. Babu then turned up in Paris and London. He was at the Labor Party congress at Scarborough. On his way back to Africa from that congress he stopped in Paris and that was his meeting with Verges.

then
He told Verges ~~1950~~: He said "we will be in power within six to eight
after independence"
~~weeks and independence~~ And of course he was. And really that shocked
Verges. ~~Verges~~ to see somebody who really knew what he ~~kind~~ would do.
Also Babu - - very strange in that he doesn't dress well at all. He looks
very sloppy. ~~Heater was not a very~~

I ~~saw him next~~. We both saw him next, ^{at} the UN conference, the Geneva Conference. He came to Paris with the Omar character who ~~was~~ is still here. I saw he was presented to the Queen not too long ago. And his so-called Chef de Protocol, who just happened to be a boy who could speak French which was a convenience. He also came with an Italian girl by the name of Betti, ^{Believe} her last name, and I suspect, although I am not certain, that she is Laura Betti, who is a well-known Italian actress and the alleged mistress of Pierre, ^{Passolini, I think} Paolo Passalun, the film director. He was the man who made Accatonia and just made the Gospel According to St. Matthew ^{which} got a big prize and all that. He is a homosexual and so it is a very strange sort of relationship. She was supposed to be a member

of 15

Extract all personal data

(CAGW) Sales, 5/11/47 Sales?
 also with Murray Falls () on Aug

Caru

Why not?
Buddy

Caru

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

SA [redacted] advised that he had informed

Then afterwards—since you were able to do it, (Is that what he told you?)

Yes, that's what he told Vergesi and me. *Actually, that wasn't for publication.*

Phombeah brought in Babu. Babu had no real connection with the magazine except on these two occasions. He gave me an interview which was printed in the last issue - in both issues of Revolution, and that was all. Then he went off to Indonesia. That's history. The merger was being made between Tanganyika and Zanzibar and it was ~~partly~~ partially behind his back although he knew that it was going to go on and he was not at all opposed. He felt that it was a good thing. We found it difficult to understand why he felt it was a good thing, but he thought that ~~in~~ in Tanganyika the chaos was so great and the lack of defined goals, the lack of ability ^{and} the capacity to satisfy the ^{gro} growing needs of the masses community, there would be such that the Indians ~~had a hand in the~~ which had its hand on the ^{small} floor business, and also the big ~~time~~ fibre plantations and what-not were an especially vulnerable target group, that ^[J. Nyerere] Nyerere, despite all of his humanism and his Catholic religion wouldn't be able to put up much resistance. I think he was quite right. That's what happened. That is, Zanzibar which is taking over Tanganyika into Tanzania. There was a struggle between Babu and Handa, but that seemed to calm down to a great extent. I think that's over now. I've heard different things. I don't know.

One of the things that this fellow Curtis ^{Kali} Cabe of the Atlantic monthly proposed to do - he has more proposals than he has dollars - unfortunately, is that we try to go to Zanzibar. No one has even done any (reporting) ^{really} I probably could get in. No one ^(of any particular note) has written anything about Zanzibar, since the revolution. Don't know whether that is possible or not.

(There was a great deal of noise at the time of the ^{Zanzibar} revolution about Babu's relationship with *Kao Liang, the NENAM man.*)

Well, yes, it's true he has worked for them. And after he informed them of what he was going to do, they - - - that was about two or three days before the revolution. They had given him a small amount of money, but not much. . it wasn't their money - - the Zanzibar revolution, ^{it was extremely confusing} because he was out of the country at the time. He knew what must be done. But for instance, the bringing in of - - the fellow - - Okello which was an incredible thing to do. the former police corporal from Uganda. I have the feeling that he was by no means all powerful, that it was a coalition of forces, the revolution. ^{It} was popular in the sense that the overwhelming majority of the ^{island's} population ^{were} was represented among the revolutionaries who turned against the Arab and Indian ~~population~~.

which had long had a standing grudge against that and saw no way of doing away with, but obviously they weren't all as left as Babu.

^{Osman} You had for instance ^{made} Osman Sharif, who may be Ambassador to United States. ^{He was made Ambassador in 1962. He is still here from 1962} go keep him out of Tanganyika. He was going to be here in London, I think he was the High Commissioner in London, for a very short period of time. And then when the merger came, it was the Tanganyikan High Commissioner who represented the merged countries, with Omar Zoran still staying on as the Secretary, ^{Dennis} then with Phombeah going to ~~Geneva~~ the UN where he had been, in Geneva at one point, now in New York, Sharif going to Washington

((And was recently recalled),

Yes. Sharif's position is extremely shaky, but they really disliked him greatly, but because he is the head of the ^{Swami Community} ~~Shurafa~~ they couldn't strike him down right away. What they wanted to do really was to put him in a position where he would finally be bought out. They figured that he would go over to the Western side. One day or the other he would jump. And that's the way of getting rid of him- without them having to do anything. That's one reason he was sent to Washington. They thought that after a while he would. .

((So much for Babu. Now on the Board))

Hamza Alavi
Now we have ^{the} ~~the~~ Mulana Bashani- - he is a Pakistani. Dennis Phombeah was unable to continue his work. He was unable really to do anything. He was just collecting £60 a month. The reason that he did absolutely nothing was that the actual work was done by a Pakistani named ~~Hamza Alavi~~. ² Hamza Alavi a former secretary, Third Secretary or something, Of the Pakistan National Bank. He is a Marxist, ^{one of} doubt that he is actually a member of the ^{Pakistan} Communist party. He comes from ^{the} the Ismaili Sect. Moslem Sects, and his family is extremely ~~wealth~~ wealthy and has holdings in Tanganyika, a fibre plantation. He also has relatives in Zanzibar. When he was asked by Dennis Phombeah to go to Zanzibar to help straighten out their balance of payments problems, which he wanted to do, his family told him that if he did he'd never come back to them, since they had lost some money. He is a great friend of Ralph Milleband of ^{5 (London School of Economics)} LSE here. He is an academic. He has contacts with Trotskyist groups. His contacts with the British Communist party are not very good. He is very easy going, a rather soft personality. He is by no means 100% or even 50% pro-Chinese. In ~~fact~~ particular because he doesn't approve of Chinese support for President Ayub Khan. This led to his replacement finally.

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~~XXXXXXXX~~

Verges wanted somebody from Pakistan on the board. ^(Alavi) He said "I'm certain that the Mulana Bashani Kahn will agree".

((That would be Mulana Abdul Hamid Bashani))

That's right. He's sometimes called Kahn as a title of respect. He's a 70 or 80 years-old man. He's called the Red Mullah, sort of like the Red Dean of Canterbury.

(He's the leader of one of the East Pakistan parties. He had been to China and was quite pro-Chinese. He was more than willing. But he had absolutely no contact whatever with the magazine.

~~Ex~~ ((Did he come in to replace Hamza Alavi))

Yes.

((How long did Hamza² Alavi work with the magazine))

You would have to check the issues of the English edition. He was there until slightly before we dropped Rosalind Ainslee. That would be May of 63. right up to spring of 64.

* ((Did Hamza Alavi do anything actually)) ~~or did he just~~
found

He got manuscripts and so on. He actually did the work that Phombeah never did. * But that was all. And it was sort of contra coeur with him because he did not agree with the thing. He had the idea that the magazine was ~~an~~ ^{an} sort of open forum, rostrum for ~~the~~ debate between all sorts of revolutionary movements. But when it became very obvious that Verges wanted ~~it~~ to try, at that time, at least, to stay with the Chinese line, ~~the state of his~~ ^{because of} his feelings about the situation in Pakistan and he wasn't happy. Also on the question of India, He felt that the Chinese position vis-a-vis India wasn't just, and he didn't like the hook-up ^{growing} between Pakistani the ~~willing~~ friendship and actual solidarity between Pakistan and China.

((So he was through amicably. What is the present relationship between Alavi and Verges))

I doubt if he has any at all. He is very active here in London with Pakistani groups. He has money. His wife's family has money, his own family has. It wasn't a question of money for him.

((Has he continued to be active in Afr²Asian things))

He's an academic. ~~XXXXXX~~ The Socialist Register published last year by — an article on Imperialism by him. He is active around the London School of Economics. He is known to the academic Left, friends with the boys who do Left Review and so on. His only practical work would be working with Pakistani groups, for instance during the last election

the Tories ran in several constituencies Pakistani independent candidates in the hope of breaking the Labor vote, hoping that the Pakistanis would vote for these Pakistani independents. Hamsa^Z worked with the Labor Party in those constituencies, to counter this, and ^{in fact} apparently they were quite successful. He has very good connections inside the Labor Party. And he does not have very good ties at all with the Communist Party, though he is not by any means anti-Communist. He's a skeptic.

(How about Bashani?)

He has never done anything. Never heard from him except once when he ~~wrote~~ said we could put his name on the board. As far as I know there has never been any contact.

(Do they get paid for this?)

No.

Next is Hassan ^{Riad} ~~Mamad~~. He is ^{S.} ~~E.~~ Amir. He is an official of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, UN economic adviser in Dakar, with headquarters in Dakar. He has a very high position in that. He is Egyptian, a full member of the Egyptian Communist Party with very very pronounced Trotskyist views. That is, he feels, he has a theory about the role of bureaucracy in under-developed countries - the progressive and reactionary bureaucracy - ~~the~~ fits into general Trotskyist theories but applied there. He has done work on Egypt, state capitalism in Egypt. A book of his published recently by Edition de Minuit in Paris, part of which appeared in Revolution. Some of it was so obviously Trotskyist that Chen, despite his somewhat partial agreement with parts of it felt that it was too obvious even to print in Revolution. He only comes through Paris occasionally. His main interest in REvolution is getting his things printed. He is very interested in having his things published. He is very cynical about many of the African States. His article on Senegal appeared recently in Revolution, in French, I think in No. 12. It was written under a pseudonym by him and based on the UN Economic Commission for Africa research, stuff that he couldn't say in his official ~~publication~~ capacity. (Pseudonym) ^{like Jalet} is ~~Jalet~~, yes.

He is not overly pro-Chinese. He feels that the Chinese philosophical position isn't quite adequate, the ideological model isn't adequate for under undeveloped countries, certainly for Africa.

(Do you know him- How old is he?)

Yes I know him. He is in his thirties. About 35. Married. He is Egyptian. He is anti-Nasser really. He feels that the Egyptian Communist Party ^{is, because that} has ^{and since} really abdicated any constructive role inside Egypt, even from the

concentration camps where they were held putting out secret clandestine tracts supporting Nasser, which was the craziest thing I've ever heard. Because now they've been liberated - in fact the old Communists are now being given very high organizational posts in the new Egyptian Party, and Communism ^{and Marxism} is extraneous to Arab socialism but they very useful people ^{use them} use them in there. And the group that are under Soviet influence are perfectly willing to go along with this.

2 ((Is he pro-anything in Egypt))

No, I think that he is sort of resigned to the ^{how} events of history. He analyzes what he considers state capitalist developments, the rise of a new bureaucratic middle class, the officer class and he tries to show in his writings how the officer class has crushed the old land-owning Wafdist ruling class which had its links with British and French financial interests, and has now consolidated itself in power, and there is a certain social mobility, but for them only. In other words, how limited it is and the officer caste certain ^{of its functionaries} but still the problem of the masses remains.

((Does he concern himself very much with the state of Egypt?))

From an academic point of view only. He's more academic. He's not even particularly concerned with revolution. If you want his address . . . ~~not here~~

Now who do we have- Marcos Ferrer- ^{that's Colombia}. I don't know anything about it. It probably stands for Dr. Leiva ^{Dr. Leiva} ~~SEMPER~~ of the MOAC in Paris. He is a Colombian doctor, the representative in Paris of the MOAC. He is the one who conducted negotiations with Verges for a Spanish edition in Colombia. I assume Marcos Ferrer ^(or Ferrer) to be a pseudonym.

^{Friends Frene}
^{Ex-wife} Ginwalla, next on the list, is a member of the Indian Congress for South Africa. She was a correspondent of Revolution in Dar es Salaam and she published a magazine called Spearhead until she was expelled from Tanganyika under a cloud and accused of being a Western spy. The accusations were not made openly. She was known to have contacts with the Western West German Embassy. She received West German money from the Carl Ebert Foundation and actually printed West German propaganda in her magazine. She had gone to West Germany and done this so obviously that ~~I don't know~~ she couldn't have been very sophisticated about it because it was just too ^(open). She was accused of having told the Soviet Embassy of having offered to carry information for the Soviet Embassy, volunteering as a Communist, a South African Communist, to give them information, two-thirds of which turned out to be totally useless and false, which again might have ^{been} to ingratiate herself. ~~I~~ She works She was here in London after she was

expelled, I'm not certain of the exact dates. She was also known to have slept around with almost every Minister of the Tanganyikan government including Julius Nyerere. This is one of the reasons why there was so much hushhush about her, that she had obviously gotten a lot of information out of these fellows. She was very close to Oscar Kambona and she claimed that Oscar Kambona was going to get her back into the Foreign Ministry.

She was just Revolution's correspondent there. She did practically nothing. When she got out, she managed to keep her little office going. They didn't seize anything, and she turned over the mailing list of her Spearhead magazine to Revolution. Verges had paid her £1000 ^{for a} deposit ~~some~~ she could do some work but she really didn't do anything, but she, unlike Rosalind Ainslie, turned over the unspent portion of that to Verges when she came to London. ~~and~~ she wasn't interested really in continuing her work with Revolution. Being Indian of course posed a problem with ~~any~~ for her with anything to do with the Chinese. She was very close to the Indian community, ^{as} anyone who looks through that mailing list will see we have lots of missionary ^{is} Indian business ^{ES} ~~men~~, and so forth in East Africa, who were taking subscriptions to the magazine more or less out of friendship and solidarity with another Indian. They didn't care much whether she was a Communist or not.

She was supposed to have been the mistress of Dr. Dadu. At least ~~they~~ they say she slept with Dr. Dadu and they had a very close relationship to him. Dr. Dadu is the president of the Indian Congress for South Africa and a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, a very important member. ~~Because Indian the Indians have holdings~~ the Indian ^{to} community has holdings up and down East Africa, Mozambique as well, their role in the liberation struggle is very equivocal.

Obviously the Africans want to go ahead while the ~~Indians~~ ^{about} Indians are thinking - ~~well~~ ^{also} well - ^{menaced them - the} ~~also~~ Africanization ~~meant to the~~ ^{then} ~~Indians~~ Indians. The English used them as a sort of buffer, preferred to bring an Indian clerk to East Africa rather than to train an African. That was a typical colonial maneuver but now it has put the Indians in a situation historically which is untenable, for a long period. You know people talk about multi-racial states but in East Africa it is a joke. It won't hold up. I don't think it will, anyway.

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The Indian Congress of South Africa is related to the African National Congress, the Colored people's congress, all of this in a so-called Congress Alliance. She had contacts with the African^C the ANC people. The ANC people here in London. They were suspicious of her, as well. But she managed somehow to get back in, she was ill, she was in hospital. She was hurt in an auto accident, and she had to have a very complicated bone operation. That put her out of action for some time. I don't know, but I heard that she is now back in Tanganyika.

She may well be. She has quite a bit of money; her family has money. Of course the Indians do have money. She did very little for the magazine. She occasionally told me about people in the ANC who might do something for the magazine. But most of the people she told me about were members of the South African Communist Party. That party has taken a pro-Moscow stand and most of its people don't want to do anything for Revolution, though we did have articles by Bryan Bunker another South African Communist. That was before their party took their stand on the Sino-Soviet conflict. And there is a struggle going on right now inside of the ANC. That's a long complicated thing. That has nothing to do with Revolution.

(On my list here we have Diallo)

Diallo is an adviser of the President of Mali- ~~what's his name~~ Modawa Kaïda. He is married to a French woman, a Leftist, he knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him in contact with who is Minister of Information, who is very, very pro-Chinese.

(In Mali)

Yes. When Chou en Lai visited Mali, you recall, that he got quite committed. There were some gratuitous, open handed slaps

~~There's nothing very much. He just knew him.~~

~~This is again one of Verges attempts to have a finger in another African country.~~

I didn't mention, with Phombeah, one of the reasons that he kept Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga, in Kenya.

Phombeah at one time had hoped to be made the secretary of this new Lumumba Institute there, in Nairobi. Verges, odd as it may seem, had at one time, proposed himself as a sort of security adviser to Odinga.

We felt that he continued to pay Dennis Phombeah for doing nothing mainly to keep a line of communication open to Odinga. He had met Odinga but got nowhere with him. In Algiers he was ~~with Le Chinois~~ Le Chinois

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President of Mali,
Moussa Keita. ~~xxxx~~ Married to a French woman. Leftist.
He knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him
in contact with ~~man by the name of Mogotogo (?)~~
who is Minister of Information, who is very very pro-Chinese, ~~in Mali~~.
And when Chou en Lai visited Mali you recall that he got quite a committed
welcome in Mali. And there were some gratuitous open-handed slaps
the Russians made. Didn't have to be made but were.

((How did Verges and Diallo get together))

I don't know. He had known him for a considerable time. There
is nothing very much. This is again one of Verges's attempts to have a
finger in another African country. One of the reasons that he kept
Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga.

→ insert from page 200-201
as he was
the Kenyan
Odinga
If in Algiers he was referred to as Le Chinois, I don't think
would accept him.

This is a real problem. He says, "well, we colored people and so forth"
and it is true that he is part - he's Eurasian, but it is very hard for
Africans to accept ~~that~~. They just put him down as Chinese.

Diallo
I don't know very much about ~~Gama~~ ^{Zenda} Diallo. He played very little role
in the Magazine except that he was a contact inside of Mali. He came to
France early last year, the spring of last year ⁽⁶⁴⁾ with his wife. He went
to Vichy for his health and drank the waters for two or three weeks/
and he saw Verges. Verges had ideas, had mentioned to ~~Chen~~ ^{Ken} that if he
couldn't keep the magazine going ~~that~~ he might go to Mali. ~~Chen~~ ^{Ken} was
going to be sent off to wherever, Viriato da Cruz of the Angolan Federation
of Liberation, as adviser, and I was going to be sent to Indonesia for
the Afro-Asian ~~Journalists~~ ^{Journalists}. That was how he was going to take care
of everybody.

(How about Castro Da Silva)

Castro Da Silva is the pseudonym used for Viriato da Cruz, formerly
of the MPLA, and now of the UPA. He is a poet, again, ^{The} late thirties,
married, has a child and is based more or less in Algiers. He has virtually
no money at all. He has a small group which went into the UPA.

Holden Roberto, the head of the UPA is very suspicious of him. but
nevertheless he needs him. He needs the Left. He has been to China
and this give him a sort of, gives the Chinese a guarantee, but on the
other hand the Chinese didn't even want to give Viriato money to transfer

himself from Algiers to Brazzaville. And he was threatened by the MPLA people, who are of course Soviet-backed to the hilt, in fact more so ~~Dr. Neto~~, apparently more than ever now. And the Algésians, Ben Bella, who had supported the MPLA up until the great fiasco when people discovered that they didn't have what they claimed to have ~~didn't have the fighting force~~ have given their support to the UPA. Nevertheless, the MPLA people still remain and they are promising to reform and really carry out things. ^{ideologically} I think that ~~logically~~ the MPLA is much more congenial to the Algerians ~~one to~~ all of the ~~than~~ hard revolutionary line people.

Holden Roberto is considered to be an American agent pure and simple and always has been. In actual fact, he received a lot of money through various Protestant missionary groups, American Protestant ^{missionary groups} ~~missionaries~~. ~~And he~~ himself is a Christian Protestant. These tie-ups have helped the Rightists to back him. He did go off to China, ^{made some talent land} which the Chinese were pleased with.

The Chinese haven't made any real decisive choice between the MPLA and the UPA. They're just waiting to see who is going to be able to produce.

((What about da Cruz? What is his function))

He has no function except to write articles about Angola, which he has done, one of which he signed with his own name. He has very little money and he hoped that Verges would be able to smooth the way with the Chinese, but alas! poor fellow, he learnt to his horror ^{I understand,} that Verges was by no means the Chinese agent that he ^{presumed} ~~assumed~~ him to be. I understand that he has virtually retired from politics. He is a poet. And he'd much rather be a poet than anything else. He told me on several occasions ~~that~~ ^{really} in Paris when he came to my house there for dinner that he wished he could get out of the whole thing, ^{but} what was he going to do, ~~he~~ didn't have a passport, he had ~~all these~~ all these people sort of pushing him in into this. He didn't have any money. He didn't know what to do.

((He lives in Paris))

No, he lives in Algiers. He is still in Algiers to, ^{the} best of my knowledge. He is one of the people in Algiers I would see. If I were to go to Algiers I would ~~search for~~ look him up. He's not terribly dynamic but events ~~search for~~ threw him up into a leading position and he sort of stuck there and doesn't know how to get out. The Chinese Haven't given him the all-out support that he had hoped for

((Neither have they turned him down))

No.

14-00000
(Amilcar Cabrera)

That was a name used, not a pseudonym, a false name. It doesn't represent anyone, it represents the FALN^(FALN) of Venezuela in Europe. They have a bureau in France. I didn't really know them. I knew there were several people. One of them, ^{some of} a graphic artist, whose drawings ~~were~~ were printed in Revolution. They brought the things to him. They are authentic. Because when Verges had a young French boy traveling through Latin America he went to Venezuela. They got him into the guerillas. They got him all around. We had some very authentic ~~first~~ ^{first}-hand reports. So whoever they are they are authentic. They were very, very cautious, probably suspicious of me because I was an American, so I never had any real ~~conversations~~ conversation with them.

(Do you know anything about who Verges's link to them was)

No.

(Do you know if he still has them)

that
I know this, they asked him to remove the name Amilcar Cabrera and it has been removed, because it was identified with them. So he then put in a note in the twelfth French edition that in the future he would receive an article from the information department of the FALN. They'd be foolish not to send material, but they didn't want to be identified with the editorial policy of the magazine. This may reflect various tendencies inside of the FALN which I have read about. I don't know anything ^{about it} first-hand, ^{simple} that they split between a hard line, those who want to continue the ^{guerrilla} real struggle and the sabotage struggle and those who want to look for possible negotiated solutions. One group ^{is a little} that is a little more pro-Chinese.

In any case these people did represent the FALN, there is no doubt about it. I didn't know any of them. They never had any dealings with me.

(Patricia McGowan)

I know very little about her. She did this book on Portugal. She was connected with the — she has ties with the British Communist Party but also with ^{British} Trotskyists. She was the one who found Rosalind Ainslee to work here in London for the magazine. She is the mistress of a man named Carlos

(Lance?)

I'm not certain. That might be it. He is a European born in Mozambique, a Portuguese, who has been kept going by various African movements for years because he represents (laughing) ^{you know, in just the conference} ~~to be~~ what the French call an interlocuteur, when they want to call him out

He represents nothing. He's a sort of hopeless person. She's a very dynamic woman. Verges claimed that she had become a police informer, for the Algerian police, and that ~~she~~ she talked to very opposite groups and to occasionally, ~~she talked~~ to Mamani of the Salava ~~group~~ party in Algiers. But she no longer has anything to do with Revolution Africaine. ~~I don't know what she is going.~~ She ~~wouldn't~~ ^{didn't} have anything to do with Verges after the moment that she refused to go to Lausanne. You see, ~~he was~~

(Why)

Why did she refuse to go? Well, she couldn't leave Carlos ^{there} by himself. God knows what would happen to him. Secondly, she ~~had to~~ wanted to be ^{in the spot} all the time in Algiers. She wasn't ~~interested~~ interested in running a magazine in Switzerland, the magazine interest was secondary to her.

1 There was another Portuguese-speaking person in Algiers. That was a man by the name of Braganza. ^{Agued} Braganza is a Goan ^{and} who has lost his reason for being with the end of the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, he should have gone ~~back~~ back! But ~~with~~ he had been a Goan revolutionary with the Portuguese opposition. For years he ^{had} been in Rabat hooked up to the, at that time it was the CONCP, Conference ^{des Colonies Portugaises} ~~des Colonies Portugaises~~ Nationaliste ¹⁹⁶² which grouped together the ~~Falimo~~ what later came to be the ^{Falimo} and the MPLA. It was part of the hard line countries. There was another one elsewhere which was soft line. Braganza was also sort of adviser to the magazine, ^{Revolution Africaine} ~~and~~ questions of India and so on. He stayed on and worked with Mohammed Harbi and came to London.

2 ((Did he have anything to do with Patricia McGowan))

Yes. They had been together in Rabat.

((Did he have anything to do with Carlos))

Yes. It's all the same crowd. But Carlos was waiting for destiny to call him and Braganza had already lost his chance. The Indians had got in. They'd liberated Goa, so what next, you know. Go back to India. He obviously wasn't going to go back. He was living too well, as it was. ^{what was he going to do} And in Goa, nobody knew him in Goa. He was a Goan educated in Portugal. One of these people really without a real national identity. He knew that he wasn't Portuguese and had this feeling of alienation from Portugal, which made him like most of the colonialist students there-- the MPLA really started in Portugal-- made him an oppositionist. He didn't have enough roots with the homeland. So he's just sort of floating around. His wife is a school teacher. He speaks excellent French. He was working for Revolution Africaine. I don't know if he still is. I'm certain he'll find something to do. He'll never go back to Goa.

(This points up the need for a continuing revolution, when the revolution is completed))

Yes. You don't have jobs unless you're in the government. And that's a problem, too. In his case, he ^{never really did much,} wasn't even a real revolutionary, just a bureaucrat in Rabat and other places.

(^{Macgowan} Now did ~~the~~ ^{he} get involved with Verges) ^{knew}

That I don't know. I don't know how he ~~got involved with~~ her in the beginning, ^{I imagine he met her} ~~where~~ in Rabat. He used to go to Morocco quite often and had contact with all the African, ^{the} ~~the~~ race people there. I suspect that's ^{where} he met her.

(^{So} ^{for} ~~How much~~ ~~were~~ those guys)

Now you've got Harbi. He was ~~the~~ the person who replaced Verges. He's out now, but ~~he~~ ^{one of the}, I'm told by Andersson, who ~~is~~ has his ear to the ground in Algiers as well as in Switzerland, that Harbi is ^{is} in a very good position. He is one of the leading advisers to Ben Bella, represents the Left position. He's a Trotskyist, or a Trotskyist sympathiser without any formal organizational ~~ties~~ ties. He is very close to the Pablo ^{group}. That's Michel ^{Pablo's} ~~writer~~. He's Pablo, ~~and~~ we could've overlooked him, he's a feature of Algiers life. He played an extremely important role in the agrarian reform, in ^{determining} the type of agrarian reform that was going to be carried out. He came down on the Yugoslav model, that is collectives which are privately owned by the collectives and run on ^{the} profit model, that is ~~on a~~ profit basis.

Harbi ^{and associates} ~~they~~ were all inside of this ^{des Biens Vacants} Bureau ~~de Rien~~ ^{then} which became the Bureau of the Socialist Sector. I once did an article for ~~the~~ Monthly Review, ^{so I know} ~~all~~ about how it operated. What really happened was that the Europeans fled just before ^{and} just after Independence, ^{or rather well they} ~~or rather~~ should have, considering what they had done. ^{had} ~~But they~~ expected a blood bath. The blood bath never took place. It was an incredible.

That was one of the most incredible things to me in Algeria was that the Algerians didn't ^(the French) Because the stories were horrifying. You know what happened. A month or so before, they were just shooting everybody on the street, trying to provoke them, and the discipline of the ~~FLN~~ FLN was incredible. Nobody would shoot back, no matter what they did. So they fled and they left all ~~these~~ these farms. ^{the French} ~~these~~ It was a question of ploughing and seeding. There

is only a certain time of year that you ~~have to~~ do this. This had to be organized and it was organized almost spontaneously locally. ~~And then~~ This was ~~not~~ institutionalized later, ~~and then~~ an accomplished fact. They want some sort of a socialist system of

didn't know how and the institutionalizing of it was really directed by these Trotskyists. There was Pablo, Harbi, a French lawyer named Matthieu from Grenoble who had been involved with the FLN, and he became sort of legal adviser of Biens Vacants, which was vaguely under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture which was at that time under Omar Usgam who is now Minister of State, and Director of Revolution Africaine at present. He replaced Harbi.

Harbi is deeply resented by the army elements which are pro-Egyptian. However, the Army, despite its religious inclination, had its socialist bias and would like to see more centralization, more on an Egyptian model. In other words, they would like to see much more control from the center than this confused type of regional or local control. They feel that in the long run the business of the private collective ownership is going to cause trouble. It's all right if it is a rich one, but what happens if ^{you are in} it's a poor one? You don't split profit, you split a deficit. Obviously, according to the Yugoslav model, the State intervenes. The State taxes the rich ones and then distributes subsidies to the poor ones, but this a debate that is still going on in Algeria, and curiously enough these Trotskyists have been in contact, very close contact, with the Yugoslavs. As you recall, the campaign, the so-called campagne de labour, the ploughing, was made possible only by the delivery of 563 Yugoslav tractors which turned out to the great deception of some of the Algerians not to be Yugoslav but to be American tractors put together in Yugoslavia under license.

((This is getting us a little bit far afield))

This is Harbi and this is the group. Harbi represents the leading spokesman of this sort of Trotskyist-leaning Left group, ^{within the FLN} and his post is still very high, even though he is no longer Director.

((When was he dropped))

I think last summer. I'm not certain. With ^{Usgam} ~~him~~ it has become much more _____ the word Socialism appears in Arabic because it is felt that Socialism in French doesn't have the same meaning as it has in Arabic. It's very ~~sort of~~ silly, ~~and~~ represents the very muddled mind that Usgam has. He is very much split between his religious ^(and political) inclinations, and Usgam is a full member of the Communist party of Algeria but he left for nationalist reasons when they refused to support the rebellion, and joined the FLN. His wife is supposed to be fanatically religious and has made him more religious than he was. .

14-00000
(Curious mix-up - this religion and politics.)

(Returning to our first subject, Strelkoff. Is he a practicing Jew?)

No.

(Just an ethnic Jew))

Yes.

((Next on the list here is Robert Williams), whoever made this up calls him an American in Peking.))

But where was he now
He's in Havana. He was in Peking recently and he may still be there, for that matter. He went on a second trip to the Far East, ~~He~~ was in one of the countries that had a celebration. I think he was in Hanoi, if I'm not mistaken. He was in Asia. He may still be there.

Robert Williams is a Negro, former President of the Union County North Carolina branch of the NAACP, who had a hell of a battle on his hands against the local KuKlux Klan and discovered that the best way to deal with the KuKlux Klan was to shoot back at them. And it worked. They never had seen it, ~~that~~ in that part of the south, anyway, the small towns of the South, ~~gentlemen's~~ ~~towns~~. Up until recently there's been sort of ~~gentlemen's~~ agreement in the south that the Negro civil rights groups would go into the big cities, where they would be reasonably protected. But they had to leave them rural areas alone because they couldn't expect ~~much~~ ~~of course~~, ~~was a~~ there is no doubt, ~~the~~ great embarrassment to everybody, ~~that it was the NAACP~~

and they were on his back. He got no sympathy from the ~~NAACP~~ leadership. He first came to ~~that thing of~~ national prominence after a case of obvious injustice where ~~had~~ some local a white man ~~had~~ done something to a Negro woman and ~~the~~ jury had thrown it out. He said, well if we can't get justice in the courts we'll have to take justice in our own hands. ~~But even the fact that~~

older, more Negroes would fight back got the ~~old leaders~~ conservative Negro leaders very upset. He was immediately, ~~People~~ ~~came~~ to his support, particularly the Trotskyites, not the Communists, ~~came in~~, and tried to take him over. They did ~~some~~ ~~support~~. There had been a case before, another case, locally called the Kissing Case. Two Negro boys, you may have heard of it, were sentenced to indefinite terms in prison for having kissed a six-year-old white girl. He was involved in that and again, it was the Trotskyites who came to his support, ~~with~~ with other liberal groups.

In terms of organizational support it was the Trotskyites. I heard of him at the time I was in CBS and I thought that it was very understandable and sent him a message of support. I met him at the time of the ~~NAACP~~ Conference in New York in 1959, and when the FPCC was formed he was among the eight Negroes who were among the 30 founding members, to the great shock of

of the Communist Party of the United States, which did not particularly approve of seeing the two issues mixed, Cuba and ~~the~~ Negroes.

Williams, very volatile, a very determined person, on a local level, has no ability whatsoever on a national ~~the~~ level. He has become a symbol now to Negro youth in particular, as a Negro who is not an Uncle Tom, who will fight, ~~back~~ ^{but} We knew ~~that~~ what was coming in the summer of 61, ~~perhaps it was before~~ ^{he was} no ~~an~~ obviously ^{was} embarrassment, for the national executive of the NAACP, embarrassment for the Justice Department, and more than ~~an~~ embarrassment ^{for} Terry Sanford, who was the Governor, ~~and when~~ ~~Williams~~ told him, "I wish you were dead. Period." ~~They~~ Finally, by one of these flukes of fate, there was a demonstration over a swimming pool. ^(the Negroes) They ~~didn't~~ want to integrate the pool. They just wanted to swim in it. But the local people said they didn't want to do that because they would have to change the water, and it would take too much time to change the water after Negroes swam in the water. So they had some demonstrations. Williams was almost murdered on one of these occasions. The demonstrations were getting pretty violent. And then King sent in some Freedom Riders who were going to show them how non-violence ~~was~~ was going to work in this town. They decided to make an example. So Williams said, "I'm going to get out of this. I don't want anything to do with your non-violence. But you go ahead and I'll see what happens."

Well the non-violent demonstration ^(even) became more violent. There were people shot. There were arrests. There was an English girl who now figures here in the British Trotskyist party, who was over there. People were coming from all over, ^{the more} reports in the European press. ~~The rumor went around~~ Williams now had nothing to do with this. ^{He} was just sort of staying there saying well you see where non-violence gets you-- but there was a report that they were going to lynch ~~the~~ people who had been arrested. As often happens in ~~this~~ this type of thing the Negroes and whites, ^{even} outside whites who were involved, really came in for a hell of a beating, and as in the Philadelphia, Mississippi, case, they ^{even} have been killed. Williams, was more or less a victim of the mob in the Negro community which said "we've got to do something. We've got to free these people, ^{just} get them out of jail."

He had arms, including ~~some~~ machine guns, which had been purchased in New York/ and sent down there. They didn't use them because they got scared, but they had arms. The community was armed. The people, ^{in the} out in the street in front of his house, when a car with a white couple, came down ^{the} this road. It was surrounded and they ~~were~~ ^{couple was} told to get out. The crowd wanted to string them up right there. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This man came from a neighboring

town, ^{They} claimed, had lost their way. They said, no you're a member of the Klan in this town. They wanted to kill him, or hold him as hostage. Williams said, "Bring these people in my house and you know I won't let them go." He called the Sheriff and said, "Look, I have these people here and my people are very upset and I want you to know that I don't want anything ~~to~~ to happen to our people that you have in the jail." The Sheriff immediately called the National Guard, State Troopers and what not. They ^{well known} couldn't hold out very long. Williams escaped. Julian Mayfield was there, a Negro writer who now lives in Ghana as a result of this. Minnie ^a a Negro woman from New York who was there ~~with~~ Mallory, ~~who~~ was later arrested and convicted and sentenced to 16 years in prison for ~~the~~ kidnapping ~~Shaw~~. Williams was spirited across the United States—I knew vaguely where he was, but he ^{was} kept very carefully by Cubans and by Negro groups in contact with the Cubans, to Canada. From Canada he was flown by private plane ^{and by} ~~and by~~ Castro himself, to Havana, where he is now.

On two occasions the FBI came to me asking for information about Williams, and I damn sure wasn't going to give any ~~information~~ of what I knew. We had tried to get in touch with Bobby Kennedy himself. I had sent ~~him~~ telegrams. I even tried to get a telephone call in. Because I knew what was going to happen on this thing, ^{we tried} to get some kind of Federal intervention. the most sickening things that I ever saw It was one of those sickening things. They wanted him out of the way. Even then ^{was} they came to me later—two of the agents came to the FPCC office in New York. They said, "We have 500 agents. We'll get him. He'll never get away." Well, he was away at that ~~time~~ point. His aunt died ~~and they~~ in New York around that time. They went to the funeral parlor where the body was and put a wanted ~~at~~ poster on the coffin ^{for Williams,} and stood there ^{by} to see if he would come. Really, they should have been thrown ~~out~~ their heads, frankly. If it hadn't been Negroes I'm certain they would never have done that sort of thing. The trouble was—~~even that~~, the trouble is—the whole attitude. ~~attitude~~. Anyhow, as it is, Williams is not a Communist, he's not a Trotskyite. He's a former Marine, who's just had enough. Really, you know. And now he has turned into a world-wide figure ^{And he's turned into a world-wide figure} because people like Bobby Kennedy and others could not just try to see what could be done about it. It was no use, though. I mean, it's no use now. ~~It's no use now.~~ I'm certainly ^{Any time you get some use out of it we can't do it with} ~~and everybody.~~

Well, that's too bad. Just like the case of these boys, Walter Bow, and so on. And they're not the only ones. ~~For~~ for every Walter Bow there must be at least a hundred. I must say, I would no more want to live in the States now — you're going to really see something. I don't really

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Verges wanted somebody from Pakistan on the board. He ^(Alavi) said "I'm certain that the Mulana Bashani ^{Kahn} will agree".

((That would be Mulana Abdul Hamid Bashani))

That's right. He's sometimes called Kahn as a title of respect. He's a 70 or 80 years-old man. He's called the Red Mullah, sort of like the Red Dean of Canterbury.

He's the leader of one of the East Pakistan parties. He had been to China and was quite pro-Chinese. He was more than willing. But he had absolutely no contact whatever with the magazine.

~~Ex~~ ((Did he come in to replace Hamza Alavi))

Yes.

((How long did Hamza Alavi work with the magazine))

You would have to check the issues of the English edition. He was there until slightly before we dropped Rosalind Ainslee. That would be May of 63. right up to spring of 64.

* ((Did Hamza Alavi do anything actually)) ~~or did he just~~
found

He got manuscripts and so on. He actually did the work that Phombeah never did. * But that was all. And it was sort of contra coeur with him because he did not agree with the thing. He had the idea that the magazine was ^{an} ~~an~~ open forum, ^{sort of} ~~sort of~~ rostrum for ~~the~~ debate between all sorts of revolutionary movements. But when it became very obvious that Verges wanted ~~to~~ to try, at that time, at least, to stay with the Chinese line, ~~that~~ it particularly ^{because of} ~~the~~ feelings about the situation in Pakistan and he wasn't happy. Also on the question of India, He felt that the Chinese position vis-a-vis India wasn't just, and he didn't like the hook-up, between Pakistani the ^{growing} ~~existing~~ friendship and actual solidarity between Pakistan and China.

((So he was through amicably. What is the present relationship between Alavi and Verges))

I doubt if he has any at all. He is very active here in London with Pakistani groups. He has money. His wife's family has money, his own family has. It wasn't a question of money for him.

((Has he continued to be active in Afro-Asian things))

He's an academic. ~~XXXXXX~~ The Socialist Register published last year by an article on Imperialism by him. He is active around the London School of Economics. He is known to the academic Left, friends with the boys who do Left Review and so on. His only practical work would be working with Pakistani groups, for instance during the last election

the Tories ran in several constituencies Pakistani independent candidates in the hope of breaking the Labor vote, hoping that the Pakistanis would vote for these Pakistani independents. ² Hamsa worked with the Labor Party in those constituencies, to counter this, ^{in fact} and apparently they were quite successful. He has very good connections inside the Labor Party. And he does not have very good ties at all with the Communist Party, though he is not by any means anti-Communist. He's a skeptic.

(How about Bashani?)

He has never done anything. Never heard from him except once when he ~~was~~ said we could put his name on the board. As far as I know there has never been any contact.

((Do they get paid for this?))

No.

Hamsa Next is Hassan ^{Riad} ~~Mamad~~. He is ^{S.} ~~E.~~ Amir. He is an official of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, ^(with headquarters in Dakar) UN economic adviser in Dakar. He has a very high position in that. He is Egyptian, a full member of the Egyptian Communist Party with very very pronounced Trotskyist views. That is, he feels, he has a theory about the role of bureaucracy in under-developed countries - the progressive and reactionary bureaucracy- ~~the~~ fits into general Trotskyist theories but applied there. He has done work on Egypt, state capitalism in Egypt. A book of his published recently by ~~Edition de Minuit~~ ^{Edition de Minuit} in Paris, part of which appeared in Revolution. Some of it was so obviously Trotskyist that ^{even} despite his somewhat partial agreement with parts of it felt that it was too obvious even to print in Revolution. He only comes through Paris occasionally. His main interest in REvolution is getting his things printed. He is very interested in having his things published. He is very cynical about many of the African States. His article on Senegal appeared recently in Revolution, in French, I think in No. 12. It was written under a pseudonym by ~~him~~ ^{him} and based on the UN Economic Commission for Africa research, stuff that he couldn't say in his official ~~publication~~ capacity. ^{like Jalet} (Pseudonym) ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~Jalet~~ ^{Jalet}, yes.

He is not overly pro-Chinese. He feels that the Chinese philosophical position isn't quite adequate, the ~~ideological~~ ideological model isn't adequate for under undeveloped countries, certainly for Africa.

((Do you know him- How old is he?))

Yes I know him. He is in his thirties. About 35. Married. He is Egyptian. He is anti-Nasser really. He feels that the Egyptian Communist Party ^{is} ~~has~~ ^{because that} ~~has~~ ^{is} really abdicated any constructive role inside Egypt, even from the

concentration camps where they were held putting out secret clandestine tracts supporting Nasser, which was the craziest thing I've ever heard. Because now they've been liberated - in fact the old Communists are now being given very high organizational posts in the new Egyptian Party, and Communism, ^{and} Marxism ^{is} extraneous to Arab socialism but they very useful people to ^{help} use them in there. And the group that are under Soviet influence are perfectly willing to go along with this.

2 ((Is he pro-anything in Egypt?))

No, I think that he is sort of resigned to the ^{course} events of history. He analyzes what he considers state capitalist developments, the rise of a new bureaucratic middle class, the officer class and he tries to show in his writings how the officer class has crushed the old land-owning Wafdist ruling class which had its links with British and French financial interests, and has now consolidated itself in power, and there is a certain social mobility, but for them only. In other words, how limited it is and the officer caste certain ^{of its} ~~functionaries~~ but still the problem of the masses remains.

((Does he concern himself very much with the state of Egypt?))

From an academic point of view only. He's more academic. He's not even particularly concerned with revolution. If you want his address . . . ~~and here~~

Now who do we have- Marcos Ferrer- ~~that's~~ Colombia. I don't know anything about it. It probably stands for Dr. Leiva ^{or maybe} ~~SEMPER~~ of the MOAC in Paris. He is a Colombian doctor, the representative in Paris of the MOAC. He is the one who conducted negotiations with Verges for a Spanish edition in Colombia. I assume Marcos Ferrer ~~(or Ferrer)~~ to be a pseudonym.

~~Francis Frene~~ ^{Francis Frene} ~~Ernest~~ Ginwalla, next on the list, is a member of the Indian Congress for South Africa. She was a correspondent of Revolution in Dar es Salaam and she published a magazine called Spearhead until she was expelled from Tanganyika under a cloud and accused of being a Western spy. The accusations were not made openly. She was known to have contacts with the Western West German Embassy. She received West German money from the Carl Ebert Foundation and actually printed West German propaganda in the her magazine. She had gone to West Germany and done this so obviously that ~~she must know~~

she couldn't have been very sophisticated about it because it was just too . . . She was accused, ^(open) of having told the Soviet Embassy of having offered to carry information for the Soviet Embassy, volunteering as a Communist, a South African Communist, to give them information, two-thirds of which turned out to be totally useless and false, which again might have ^{been} to ingratiate herself. ~~I~~ ^{She works} She was here in London after she was

expelled, I'm not certain of the exact dates. She was also known to have slept around with almost every Minister of the Tanganyikan government including Julius Nyerere. This is one of the reasons why there was so much hushhush about her, that she had obviously gotten a lot of information out of these fellows. She was very close to Oscar Sambona and she claimed that Oscar Sambona was going to get her back into the Foreign Ministry.

She was just Revolution's correspondent there. She did practically nothing. When she got out, she managed to keep her little office going. They didn't seize anything, and she turned over the mailing list of her Spearhead magazine to Revolution. Verges had paid her £1000 ^{for a} deposit so ~~she~~ she could do some work but she really didn't do anything, but she, unlike Rosalind Ainslie, turned over the unspent portion of that to Verges when she came to London. ~~and~~ she wasn't interested really in continuing her work with Revolution. Being Indian of course posed a problem ~~with say~~ for her with anything to do with the Chinese. She was very close to the Indian community, as anyone who looks through that mailing list will see we have lots of missionary ^{is} Indian business ^{is}, and so forth in East Africa, who were taking subscriptions to the magazine more or less out of friendship and solidarity with another Indian. They didn't care much whether she was a Communist or not.

She was supposed to have been the mistress of Dr. Dadu. At least ~~they~~ they say she slept with Dr. Dadu and they had a very close relationship to him. Dr. Dadu is the president of the Indian Congress for South Africa and a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, a very important member. ^{community} Because ~~Indian~~ the Indians have holdings the Indian community has holdings up and down East Africa, Mozambique as well, their role in the liberation struggle is very equivocal.

Obviously the Africans want to go ahead while the ~~Indians~~ Indians are thinking - ~~well~~ well - ^{about} also Africanization ^{menaced them - the} ~~meant to the~~ Indians. The English used them as a sort of buffer, ^{then} preferred to bring an Indian clerk to East Africa rather than to train an African. That was a typical colonial maneuver but now it has put the Indians in a situation historically which is untenable, for a long period. You know people talk about multi-racial states but in East Africa it is a joke. It won't hold up. I don't think it will, anyway.

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The Indian Congress of South Africa is related to the African National Congress, ^{and so} the Colored people's congress, all of this in a so-called Congress Alliance. She had contacts with the Africans - the ANC people. the ANC people here in London. They were suspicious of her, as well.

But she managed somehow to get back in, ^{she} she was ill, she was in hospital. She was hurt in an auto accident, and she had to have a very complicated bone operation. That put her out of action for some time.

I don't know, but I heard that she is now back in Tanganyika.

She may well be. She has quite a bit of money; her family has money.

Of course the Indians do have money. She did very little for the magazine.

She occasionally told me about people in the ANC who might do something for the magazine. But most of the people she told me about were members

of the South African Communist Party. That party has taken a pro-Moscow stand and most of its people don't want to do anything for Revolution,

though we did have articles by Bryan Bunk, another South African Communist.

That was before their party took their stand on the Sino-Soviet conflict.

And there is a struggle going on right now inside of the ANC.

That's a long complicated thing. That has nothing to do with Revolution.

(On my list here we have Diallo)

Diallo is an adviser of the President of Mali - ~~what's his name~~

Modawa Kaida.

He is married to a French woman, ^{is} a Leftist, he knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him in contact with

who is Minister of Information, who is very, very pro-Chinese.

(In Mali)

Yes. When Chou en Lai visited Mali, you recall, that he got quite committed. There were some gratuitous, open handed slaps

There's nothing very much. He just knew him.

This is again one of Verges' attempts to have a finger in another African country.

I didn't mention, with Phombeah, one of the reasons that he kept Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga, ⁱⁿ in Kenya.

Phombeah at one time had hoped to be made the secretary of this new Lumumba Institute there, in Nairobi. Verges, odd as it may seem, had at one time, proposed himself as a sort of security adviser to Odinga.

We felt that he continued to pay Dennis Phombeah for doing nothing mainly to keep a line of communication open to Odinga. He had met Odinga but got nowhere with him. In Algiers he was ~~not~~ Le Chinois

14-00000
Mali
President of Mali,
Keita. ~~xxx~~ Married to a French woman. Leftist.
He knows Verges through friendship and offered to help. He put him
in contact with ~~man~~ by the name of ~~negotio~~ (r)
who is Minister of Information, who is very very pro-Chinese, ~~in Mali~~.
And when Chou en Lai visited Mali you recall that he got quite a committed
welcome in Mali. And there were some gratuitous open-handed slaps
the Russians made. Didn't have to be made but were.

((How did Verges and Diallo get together))

I don't know. He had known him for a considerable time. There
is nothing very much. This is again one of Verges's attempts to have a
finger in another African country. One of the reasons that he kept
Phombeah was Phombeah's connection with Odinga.

→ visit from page 1000000

If in Algiers he was referred to as Le Chinois, I don't think ~~Odinga~~ ^{the Kenyans}
would accept him.

This is a real problem. He says, "well, we colored people and so forth"
and it is true that he is part - he's Eurasian, but it is very hard for
Africans to accept ~~that~~. They just put him down as Chinese.

Diallo
I don't know very much about ~~Gama~~ ^{Ken} Diallo. He played very little role
in the Magazine except that he was a contact inside of Mali. He came to
France early last year, the spring of last year ⁽⁶⁴⁾ with his wife. He went
to Vichy for his health and drank the waters for two or three weeks/
and he saw Verges. Verges had ideas, had mentioned to ~~Chen~~ ^{Ken} that if he
couldn't keep the magazine going ~~that~~ he might go to Mali. ~~Chen~~ ^{Ken} was
going to be sent off to wherever, Viriato da Cruz of the Angolan Federation
of Liberation, as adviser, and I was going to be sent to Indonesia for
the Afro-Asian ~~Journalists~~ ^{was} Journalists. That was how he was going to take care
of everybody.

(How about Castro Da Silva)

Castro Da Silva is the pseudonym used for Viriato da Cruz, formerly
of the MPLA, and now of the UPA. He is a poet, again, ^{the} late thirties,
married, has a child and is based more or less in Algiers. He has virtually
no money at all. He has a small group which went into the UPA.

Holden Roberto, the head of the UPA is very suspicious of him. but
nevertheless he needs him. He needs the Left. He has been to China
and this give him a sort of, gives the Chinese a guarantee, but on the
other hand the Chinese didn't even want to give Viriato money to transfer

himself from Algiers to Brazzaville. And he was threatened by the MPLA people, who are of course Soviet^I backed to the hilt, in fact more so ~~sa~~ Dr. Neto, ^{apparently} more than ever now. And the Algerians, Ben Bella, who had supported the MPLA up until the great fiasco when people discovered that they didn't have what they claimed to have - ~~did not have the power~~ have given their support to the UPA. Nevertheless, the MPLA people still remain and they are promising to reform and really carry out things. I think that ^{ideologically} ~~logically~~ the MPLA is much more congenial to the Algerians ~~and to all of the~~ ^{than} ~~than~~ hard revolutionary line people.

Holden Roberto is considered to be an American agent pure and simple and always has been. In actual fact, he received a lot of money through various Protestant missionary groups, American Protestant ^{missionary groups} ~~missionaries~~. And ~~he~~ himself is a Christian Protestant. These tie-ups have helped the Rightists to back him. He did go off to China, ^{made some talent land}

~~which the Chinese were pleased with.~~

The Chinese haven't made any real decisive choice between the MPLA and the UPA. They're just waiting to see who is going to be able to produce.

((What about da Cruz? What is his function))

He has no function except to write articles about Angola, which he has done, one of which he signed with his own name. He has very little money and he hoped that Verges would be able to smooth the way with the Chinese, but alas! poor fellow, he learnt to his horror, ^{I understand,} that Verges was by no means the Chinese agent that he ^{presumed} ~~assumed~~ him to be. I understand that he has virtually retired from politics. He is a poet. And he'd much rather be a poet than anything else. He told me on several occasions ~~that~~ ^{really} in Paris when he came to my house there for dinner that ~~he~~ ^{he} wished he could get out of the whole thing, ^{but} what was he going to do, ~~he~~ ^{he} didn't have a passport, he had ~~all these~~ all these people sort of pushing him in into this. He didn't have any money. He didn't know what to do.

((He lives in Paris))

No, he lives in Algiers. He is still in Algiers to, ^{The} best of my knowledge. He is one of the people in Algiers I would see. If I were to go to Algiers I would ~~xxxxxx~~ look him up. He's not terribly dynamic but events ~~xxxxxx~~ threw him up into a leading position and he sort of stuck there and doesn't know how to get out. The Chinese Haven't given him the all-out support that he had hoped for

((Neither have they turned him down))

No.

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(Amilcar Cabrera)

That was a name used, not a pseudonym, a false name. It doesn't represent anyone, it represents the FALN^(P.O. 1) of Venezuela in Europe. They have a bureau in France. I didn't really know them. I knew there were several people. One of them, ^{some of} a graphic artist, whose drawings ~~were printed in Revolution~~ were printed in Revolution. They brought the things ~~to him~~ to him. They are authentic. Because when Verges had a young French boy traveling through Latin America he went to Venezuela. They got him into the guerillas. They got him all around. We had some very authentic ~~first-hand~~ ^{first} reports. So whoever they are they are authentic. They were very, very cautious, probably suspicious of me because I was an American, so I never had any real ~~conversations~~ conversation with them.

(Do you know anything about who Verges's link to them was)

No.

(Do you know if he still has them)

I know this, ^{that} they asked him to remove the name Amilcar Cabrera and it has been removed, because it was identified with them. ~~So he~~ then put in a note in the twelfth French edition that in the future he would receive an article from the information department of the FALN. They'd be foolish not to send material, but they didn't want to be identified with the editorial policy of the magazine. This may reflect various tendencies inside of the FALN which I have read about. I don't know anything ^{first-hand} ^{simple} that they split between a hard line, those who want to continue the real ^{guerrilla} struggle and the sabotage struggle and those who want to look for possible negotiated solutions. One group ^{is a little} ^{more pro-Chinese} more pro-Chinese.

In any case these people did represent the FALN, there is no doubt about it. I didn't know any of them. They never had any dealings with me.

(Patricia McGowan)

I know very little about her. She did this book on Portugal. She was connected with the — she has ties with the British Communist Party but also with ^{British} Trotskyists. She was the one who found Rosalind Ainslie to work here in London for the magazine. She is the mistress of a man named Carlos

(~~wait~~ Lanza?)

I'm not certain. That might be it. He is a European born in Mozambique, a Portuguese, who has been kept going by various African movements for years because he represents (laughing) ^{you know a pretty good conference} ~~to be~~ what the French call an interlocuteur, when they want to call him out

obviously Neto does ~~xxxx~~ have some American support as well or had some American support. His father did, I think.

((Do you know Michael Tabasa),

No, never heard of him.

((We come to Maspero))

Maspero is just a third-generation French elite intellectual who has a little bit of money, runs a publishing house, and magazine, and who is extremely non-committed in his Left commitment. In other words he is a leftist but he is not a member of any party and is not really involved in active politics. His magazine more and more is taken over by Trotskyists. That was not always the case. at present, he came really to the fore with the Algerian War, considering the failure of the French Communist Party to do anything about ~~the~~ intellectuals, the Algerian question, it was ~~the~~ the left intellectuals who were out of the party who responded, who made up the Jensen network, the support network for the FLN underground in France, and who did the propaganda work and who gave the support. If the FLN had French support it was among these people, not among the Communist party.

((Verges consistent efforts to))

To ~~ward~~ away authors (from Maspero). Yes. Hassan Riab wrote for him.

Chalton, whom he got for Revolution Africaine wrote for him and now is back again working for him, writing for him. ~~Cassell~~ also. ~~Chen~~ also.

Almost everyone. Even I knew him because he published student material and he used to ~~send things to the~~ send things to the in the States and I had correspondence and I used to send him material that we had.

((The competition between Verges and Maspero- was this a personal as opposed to ideological competition))

No it was personal. There is very little ideological about Verges.

Verges is an extremely ~~ready~~ ready, personal person. He is generous in many ways but ~~his~~ even his generosity is ~~personal~~ personal. He is either for ~~you~~ you. He is a grand patron. He is extremely generous with money when he has it. He throws it around. You could never go anywhere with Verges that he doesn't ~~want to pay~~ want to pay. When we traveled it was ~~most times~~ first class, ~~xxxxxxx~~ on a plane. He ~~is~~ has a deep-seated desire to be big, (he is a small man, he is short) to be talked about. He wants publicity. He wants to be known. He doesn't have any real commitments, I don't think, that are terribly deep. And I'm certain that if he were sure of money from the other side but nevertheless so that his name would stay big, I'll bet he'd. . . He wants money not for himself but for prestige. After all Verges's father was the founder of the Communist Party-

14-00000
money not for itself but for prestige. After all, Verges's father was
of
the founder of the Communist party, Reunion, member of the French Assembly.
His
His brother is the head of the Communist party of ~~the~~ ^{France} right now.

Verges
He grew up in this sort of French Left-wing upper class, which in France
the
is a hereditary Left which goes all the way back to 1848 or before.

Some families were extremely distinguished. ~~They really had~~ .
group. In France it is

and he is in that sort of ~~thing~~ ^{group} very much ~~respected~~
respected, ~~just as you might respect~~ ^{a man of land} Flandau
family. You know that a member of such and such a family obviously must
be Left ~~because~~ because his grandfather and his greatgrandfather were.

(Maspero again)

Maspero fits just into that category.

((That same Leftist heritage))

That's right.

((Does he run his operation on a self-sustaining commercial basis))

More or less except that for instance he published a book on China
recently, which the Chinese ~~subsidized~~ ^{subsidized}. I suspect that
he has received some aid from the Italian Communist party. The Italians
look with great favor on him because of his openness, his critical approach,
his Anti-Stalinism. Andersson says he got money from the Chinese for
this book on China.

Verges has tried desperately to smear him with the Chinese, but
apparently the Chinese didn't give a damn.

((You said that the Trotskyists seem to be moving in on Maspero))

Yes.

((Would they be giving him any kind of financial aid))

I really doubt it. The Trotskyists generally are poor. I don't
~~think~~ so. I think that what it is, is that he is really short of hands,
short of manuscripts, short of people ~~with~~ who can think and produce
something. And here are these Trotskyist-leaning ~~intellectuals~~
intellectuals who don't have any outlet, so naturally. It's just that
he doesn't ~~have~~ ^{great} doesn't have any sectarian feelings against
them, so more and more tend to come in.

(Andre Belge)

Never heard of him.

(Neither have I. ~~He is~~ ^{Imokay} in Nigeria)

Oh, Imokay is a student. He's no bureau man at all. He was a student
at the university of ~~Frank~~ ^{Enugu} Enugu. He distributed the magazine.
He never did anything else.

He never did anything else. Just a student, ~~graduated~~ He has graduated now. I think he is working in the government somewhere.

((Did he get paid))

No- oh yes, he did, he got a commission on subscriptions. He got 30 — some subscriptions from students at the university, in one week, as I recall, which was unheard of. Just a student, and just by sheer chance he handled the magazine.

((Mme. Michele Mestre))

Oh, My, Michele Mestre ~~isn't that~~ Madame Mestre I don't know anything about. Michel Mestre is one of Maspero's people. I thought it was a man. I've never met him, don't know anything about him. I know there is a Michel Mestre who has written a number of books on the Congo — for Maspero. Had nothing to do with Verges although Verges did put out feelers to get this person, man or woman, to work for Revolution. He wasn't successful. It was part of his general campaign of leaving Maspero with no authors at all.

((Rosalind Ainslie))

She's married. ^{due} She works for the East German news agency APN. ^{ATN.} She is obviously connected with the South African Communist party. She is a member of the Congress Alliance in South Africa and she is married to an Indian. ^{several} She has ~~some~~ children and she lives here in London. She comes from a wealthy family in South Africa, I imagine. She was found by Patricia McGowan Pinheiro to work for Revolution. That flopped after a short period. They didn't know which way to go, to stick with the Algerians or stick with Verges. The business of the magazine being pro-Chinese by no means was obvious, nor even clear in Verges's mind. ^{to be} The magazine wasn't pro-Chinese for an awful long time, ~~it wasn't a question of being pro-~~ Chinese. Certainly not when I was hired. It was Algerian, that was all.

((Americans attending subversive sabotage school in Prague))

I never heard of a subversive sabotage school in Prague. The Americans ^(who were) that I have known going through Prague have gone to Havana. ~~the~~

((Between Moscow and Havana en route))

Yes. I ~~don't~~ don't know anything about a subversive sabotage school. I don't doubt that there might be one. I imagine there's one in Washington too.

((I never heard of it. Either one))

(Laughs)

((Current addresses of some of these people))

Well, who do you want? ^{Kien} ~~Cash~~ now, has no address. He sleeps around

everywhere. He literally was sleeping on my floor at one point.

If you had told me, I could have brought my book. I gave you people whom I contacted on my trip.

Hansa ^{Hartford} I can give you his- 74 ~~Hammond~~ Road London NW 11

~~SP~~ PALN- they have an office here in London. I don't have much.

Mammi, ~~SP~~ 35, Plateau ~~Scullered~~ 121 Rue ~~Mouradidish~~, Algiers. I have a bigger address book at home.

(You mentioned DuBois. Do you know very much about his group in ^{Ghana} ~~Hammond~~)

Dr. DuBois had a number of people around him but he ^{was} ~~is~~ an elderly man; he was more interested in producing the African Encyclopoedia than anything else, which he did set up before his death. His wife is now one of the directors of Ghana television. She is a Ghana citizen, she has renounced her American citizenship. There are a number of people who are close to her or were close to Dr. DuBois such as Dr. Alpheus Hunton, who is an American Negro who has written on Africa, ~~worked~~ and works for the encyclopoedia, ^{The} Ghana Institute. He was a member of the Communist party of the US. I think Shirley Graham may have been a member. Certainly Dr. DuBois became a member several years before his death. At the time of his death he was extremely pro-Chinese and was very ~~un~~ unhappy. His wife, Shirley Graham DuBois, is very pro-Chinese. There is William Gardner Smith, an American Negro writer, who works for Ghana radio and who worked with me at the Agence France Presse in Paris. Smith is close to Shirley Graham, or was. ^{Mya} ~~Mayfield~~ There is a girl by the name of Naya Angelou, who was married, still married but separated, to form representative of the PAC, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ South Africa, in Accra. He has been removed from his post for misappropriation of funds- ^{Vuc} ~~Musi~~ Make. Those are the ones that I know of.

(Subsidiary question- Hammer and Steel ~~group~~)

~~The~~ The Hammer and Steel group in Boston is an alleged Chinese group ^(they are) ~~that~~ operates in Boston, former members of the US Communist ~~group~~ party.

After a period of inactivity has suddenly become active and not more than a few days ^{ago} while I was out of the country, without any effort on my ^(ie. my own part) ~~behalf~~ they had my address here and I received two of their publications.

Two recent publications, ~~here in London~~, which were sent to my London address. So someone here, ^{someplace}, has sent them my new address.

Very interesting that they should have it. We had an exchange with the ^{Let them} ~~with~~

^{and} ~~with~~ Revolution, but I had not kept this ~~map~~ up. They have just formed a so-called New England party of Labor which is supposed to be ^{the} ~~the~~ Chinese

party, Marxist-Leninist party, and is opposed, and they give the reasons for

their opposition¹ to the ~~Marxist-Leninist~~ Progressive labor group and to the ~~Provisional~~ POC, Provisional Organizing Committee for a new Marxist-Leninist party which ~~is an old~~ was an old pro-Albanian group. Progressive Labor is of course a split-off^{from} the Communist party and split off because of the Cuban revolution and civil rights question and so forth. POC has a large number of Negro and Puerto Rican members, almost the majority of them. PL has a number of Negro contacts, ^{and has been} extremely active in the South but has made some serious mistakes. ~~They~~ They had people in Monroe, North Carolina, ~~after Williams~~ after Williams. Taking Williams place they had a white man, which is a ridiculous thing to do. They didn't understand what ^{"Black nationalism"} nationalism means.

This new Hammer and Steel group, which has been a sort of group without a party, has now announced the formation of this New England Party of Labor which they hope will be the nucleus of a new Chinese Communist Party in the United States. But I don't know anything about them. (sic!!)

^{Back to}
(Switzerland)

How long were you in Lausanne.))

December
From March, 1963, to September of 63. Then I used to go back every month ^{in the} magazine ~~with a~~ ^{to} ~~concerning~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~

((What contact did you maintain there))

With Andersson.

((Did you have any American contacts))

No. What do you mean- with the American Embassy?

((Any Arab contacts))

No. Just the people that came in and out of Andersson's place. But I didn't . . . Being an American I was very much aware ^{of the fact that} that everybody was suspicious of me. So I made it a point not to bother.

((You talked about Drapeau Rouge. Is ^{there any relationship with} that the John Llewellyn Davis Red Flag))

(laughing) Who is John Llewellyn Davis? That sounds like something out of- - - The Drapeau Rouge ~~group~~ is a group of young, French students, university and licee students who had been connected with the youth group of the JSU which is the PSU, ^{the party} the Kenni Socialist Party in France. This was their youth group. They were dissatisfied with - - for instance, the Belgian section, Arras. One of the boys ~~had been~~ had been in Chen's philosophy class in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Licee~~ ^{Licee} had got in touch with Chen and he had given them advice and helped them to form this group, 61

or to continue

~~they continued~~ the group and it produced a news letter. He had promised them money, They put out one issue, and he never got any money. I heard that they were in contact with the Clichy group down ~~in Paris~~ and were seeking some sort of recognition there, and among the things that they had promised ~~it~~ they did a self-criticism admitting that they had done wrong to have accepted ~~Chen's~~ ^{Kien's} supervision and ~~said~~ saying that they will ~~not~~ never do this again.

((John Llewellyn ~~James~~ Davis, you say who the hell is he))

Yes.

((We talked about Pablo Is this Michael R. ~~...~~))

He is a member of the Trotskyist IVth International - or was. He has been expelled ~~for~~ ^{for} his heretical views, not that they all don't have heretical views, but his were extremely pro-Algerian. I think he has become an Algerian citizen. He is Belgian, I believe, or Dutch, but ^{with} ~~think~~ it is Belgian. He was arrested in Holland. He worked ~~for~~ the FLN during the War, went to Algeria, was arrested in Holland, spent some time in jail, was released, ~~then~~ went to Algiers with his wife and became very active in the Bureau de Biens Vacantes, and then later the Bureau ~~of~~ of the Socialist Sector. *His influence has been* of an ideological nature and he has very close ties with the Yugoslavs, and despite his Trotskyism and he has now been expelled, he is also not at all persona non grata with the Soviets, He has a group called Pabloites ~~it~~.

((How did he hit on Pablo))

This was his nom de guerre, I suppose.

He represented for a while a majority tendency in the ^{international} Trotskyist movement. ~~He was helped~~ ^{being held} by the American SWP Socialist Workers Party. Finally expelled. I don't know the ins and outs of the Trotskyists very much.

((When did you first run into him))

^{had} I heard of him for years. The first time I saw him in the flesh was sitting in a cafe in Algiers. I never had anything to do with him. He used to hang out in a cafe which was right under the offices of Revolution Africaine, which was sort of a center for European Leftists and whatnot. It was called the Cafe ~~RM~~ ^{Very (?) Bitter, probably}

((Did he ever have anything to do with Revolution))

He made have had something to do with it later with Harbi but not under Verges.

((I meant in Europe, not Algiers.))

No, no, nothing.

(Do you know anything about the formerly dissident PDP of Montreux,
The Pro-Chinese Communist party of Switzerland)

They've got it wrong. There's only one pro-Chinese Communist party and that's the so-called ~~Barter~~ Parti Comuniste Suisse, started in ^{Verve} Verve, not Montreux, ^{Verve, original behind} Verve, Nestle's headquarters. Headed by Gerard ^{Bulliard} Bulliard, a small businessman who has become a member of the PLP, ~~that~~ the Communist Party. ^{He went} Then to Albania last year, ^{last} summer, as a tourist, and sold the Albanians on the idea of supporting a breakaway Marxist-Leninist party. He came back to Switzerland and with five people formed this Swiss Communist Party, which grew ^{to the awesome size of} they often ~~of~~ 35 people. ~~Barter~~ ~~and~~ Andersson was ~~hostile~~ at first, but when the Chinese took a more ^{as his benevolent} view on it in Berne, he went along, ^{and he} ~~and~~ he may have received some money from the Chinese, I don't know. But we know that he received money from Albania. He became increasingly quarrelsome, he was very much worried about Andersson because Andersson was ~~accepting~~ printing his newspaper, ^{see L.F. Finckle} ~~see~~ ^{The Spark} He ~~owned~~ this offset press in Lausanne. Anderson also was recruiting people for the group and he has more connections inside the Communist party, the PLP, than ^{Bulliard} Bulliard did, since ^{Bulliard} he had been only a recent member. The Lausanne group became larger than the Verve group. I don't know what happened after that. But ~~then~~, relations deteriorated rapidly and both the Albanians and the Chinese realized that they had made a drastic mistake. ^{or} Bulliard then phoned the Albanians ~~and~~ the Chinese in Berne and told them that if he didn't receive 3000 francs by a certain time of day that he would denounce Andersson to the police. Obviously, he didn't receive the 3000 francs and he went to the police. ^{about gun running and one thing and another - some of it was useful some not.} Apparently they ^{Andersson} ^{Bulliard} knew more than Bulliard about ~~him~~. Then ~~he~~ got a delegation and went to the Federal Council, ^{request} to the Parliament in Berne, and they made an open public ~~statement~~ that this foreign agent, this Swedish national, who had taken advantage of Swiss ^{neutrality} hospitality, ~~he~~ expelled. The Federal Police came in. They banned ~~and there was the general blowup.~~ Revolution. They didn't get very far, except that now it is suspected that ^{Bulliard} he is more or less subsidized by the Swiss police, that he is keeping ~~in~~ ^{going and is} his group, is down to about 15 people, according to Andersson. He obviously has a small amount of money which he is not getting from the Chinese. ^{later} He told Andersson, he proposed ~~that~~ ^{definitely} Andersson retire from politics, if he would ~~he would~~ be paid the sum of 5,200 Swiss francs. The reason for this was he wanted to keep the mimeograph machine that ^(Andersson) he had given him and he was deducting ^{The price} I think he wanted 7,000 francs altogether for his exit from politics.

but he was willing to deduct the price of the mimeograph machine.

He didn't receive that either. So he can't be considered very (important).

At one point, to show you how silly he is, he was in contact with Kevin ?

DELVIN ?

Delman of Radio Free Europe, in Munich, asking him to organize a meeting

for him there. This, I found out ~~thru~~ through the Congress for Cultural Freedom people. *With his copier (?) I found out (?) he has many ties with his furniture*

business and his wine business. He also sells wine.

and persons involved in

((Relationship of Revolution with the ~~New Leftist~~ Leftist review in Great Britain))

They didn't particularly agree with the views of Revolution but they were sympathetic nevertheless. They are ~~leftists~~, some inside the Labor Party,

people like ~~Harbi~~ *Belagh* Thomas ~~Barth~~ *Barth*, one of the economic advisers, *They are very well connected here (Rabson City).*

They helped us here for a while. Hamsa Alavi had friends (among them).

Dennis Phombeah also knew the editors, Perry Anderson, Roger Murray, who

is now in Ghana, professor Hodgkins of the African Study *Institute in Accra*

There was no connection other than that, sympathetic cooperation.

They were willing to help. Their views are quite different. They're not Communists. We weren't Communist either.

((They didn't buy space. You just swapped ads))

Yes. That's a normal arrangement between magazines. You exchange advertising.

((Movement for Colonial Freedom))

with Movement for Colonial Freedom *it was* the same thing. We got very little real

cooperation from ~~them~~ Movement for Colonial Freedom. We exchanged

ads, they promised to accept subscriptions on our behalf but John Eber, *who*

who is the Secretary, was very much afraid that he might lose Algerian

support, because Movement for Colonial Freedom ~~and~~ depends on getting

support from all different African countries, Asian countries, etc.

Therefore anything that might be anti-governmental in terms of Algeria

he was very much afraid of. He is an ex-Communist. He told me - "What are

you doing going around with Phombeah? He has been here with Harbi, the

weeks before you come with him. Which side are they on?" Phombeah walked

in just as he ~~was~~ was saying this, and overheard it. He *(then)* was very

embarrassed, *but* he had to go on with it. Phombeah said, "I'm just helping all the brothers- -" (laughing) He was hopeless.

I have both children home now. This is mid-term, so the little boy is out.

My exact address ³⁰Stockley ^{eight}Hall an apartment house on Prince Albert Road, 21-31 entrance. 4th floor.

(Cannot give definitive answer for some time, would advise- play it reasonably safe, maintain access you have or could ~~re~~ reestablish.)

My problem ^{is} short-range. I need money by next week. I have people who want me to write things. The things about Revolution, nobody particularly will care about. That's no embarrassment to anybody. Not even to the Chinese. Andersson said in fact they would be rather pleased with it, if somebody would finally get this off their backs, because they can't say anything at all. I'm committed to write the article for Encounter. There's a letter ^{in time}, which is appearing in the current issue of the China Quarterly. The question is what to do with the Atlantic Monthly people.

I've got to arrange something quickly. I didn't expect the situation to crop up quite so quickly as this. It was relatively well taken care of when I left here, with my brother-in-law but my wife has gone and ~~fixed up, loused up~~ some things with her brother which makes it extremely difficult. I can probably get some more money, but not very much more out of the Encounter people. They have already given me a large sum of money, more than they expected- ^{then} expected Atlantic Monthly to come through and pick up ~~part of it~~, which they never did. Now it is a question of exchange of letters. ^{Just one or two mis-steps and the whole thing...} So far as Revolution concerned, I can continue this article, but I have the problem of getting money. That should be self-evident.

Anyway, I shall try to hold things off. I'm going to try to see if I can arrange something as a temporary emergency measure, this afternoon. If I can and if I'm successful, then everything will be all right ~~for~~ till the end of next week.

(I can let you have \$200 this afternoon.)

That would certainly be a great ^(help). That would be very helpful. That would solve my needs-- Thirty-five pounds. How much is £35, in dollars?

((Under \$150.00))

That's what ^(the amount) I need. That's what I actually need, immediately. If I take care of that I'm off the hook until next week. Now I've got to go and clear myself with Lasky of Encounter. You haven't been in touch with Lasky in any way, have you, with these Encounter people?

(No)

Well, somebody has. Some very strange - you see ~~some~~ the Congress for Cultural Freedom are sort of pushing in the background, and I know vaguely that they have the idea that maybe, that I might like to take a ^{long-term} job with them in Paris. Personally I'm not terribly keen on some of the things the Congress for Cultural Freedom does. Some things are not too bad, besides the pay. But worse still, my wife would just about blow sky high over the Congress for Cultural Freedom, even though she knows Chi Quarterly and Encounter were subsidized by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Encounter is no longer. But there has been a lot of hankypank going on between them. Even the letter - I told you about the letter. They did everything possible to try to keep the editor of Chi Quarterly ~~to keep~~ from printing the letter, telling him all sorts of reasons, that it would blow my cover completely, and then they ~~the~~ money that I got from Encounter, Lasky said well, maybe you won't write anything at all. I don't know, why ^{they} give me any money at all, send me off to write. .

((I don't know. You're talking mysteries to me))

As I say there are various people who are hovering around and since I've been back, now here ^{is} the truth, he ^(Lasky) hasn't bothered to really, to find out what I have.

((Couple of questions occur to me-- you mention the possibility of going to Paris to work for Congress for Cultural Freedom. . . Would you also be interested if things worked out, in going back to Algeria))

Oh, yes.

(To stay)

Sure. Certainly. All I need is a proper cover, ~~one that is not a~~ ^(not) that's very hard. The suspicions of these groups are extremely slight. There was a fellow we haven't mentioned. You've probably heard about Dr. Robert Ramsey who was an American who was in Zanzibar. He's now locked up in jail in Algeria. He may be a Negro although I doubt it. I've never met him. I think that he's white, ^{a liberal,} member of the NAACP and all sorts of things. I forget what he's a doctor of ~~not~~ M.D. ~~He was~~ He was sending out ^{with} ~~with~~ letters in favor of the Zanzibar revolution. Then he claimed he was expelled from Kenya by sinister forces. He didn't have a US passport. He was here without a passport, For a short time the ^{British} National Council for Civil Liberties gave him some support and the next thing I knew he was in Algeria. Now what is game is, and whether he is just a crackpot God knows. Everything ~~Revolution~~ and revolutionary movement brings ~~forth~~ forth such a bunch of screwballs as one can only see inside

14-00000
a madhouse, you know. ²

((He's now in jail?)),

Now in jail, ^{in Algeria} no charges against him. I understand the US Embassy is trying to get him out (laughing). I don't know whether Dr. Ramsey was actually an agent of some kind, although he had too many confusions to be really a good agent. Yes, too confused. There was too much wrong. In any case, what I found was that people were generally, ^{not very suspicious} if you had something to do and didn't live too lavishly, though Africans don't question too much on money. This business of ~~the~~ feathering one's nest goes on all over Africa, apparently in Algeria now more than ever. Andersson said there are large transfers of money ~~into~~ ^{which is true} Algerian francs into Switzerland, being bought up by the opposition even still for their own purposes, one day.

Yes, Algeria would be ~~fine~~ fine-- provided I could find some reasonable - any kind of a newspaper assignment, a vaguely Left thing, better than anything else. but the more innocuous the better.

((You said once before, you fit well in Algeria, you didn't fit well in Black Africa))

I could move throughout Africa, but one has to ^{start} ~~start~~ ones - thing. ~~(something)~~. For instance, for me to go to Ghana would create, ~~at~~ ^{at this} point, innumerable suspicions, but to go to Algeria ^{where} I have people like Georges Arnaud ^{who is a very close personal friend}, they ~~would~~ ^{would} welcome me, ~~and~~ ^{and} try to find something for me to do . .

That would be easy, to arrange. And from there, ^{ANC} I have South African friends ~~in the~~ with both PAC and ~~ANC~~, I have very good contacts. Wherever they have offices I can move inside. But one has to have some reasonable sort of thing. On this trip I ~~was~~ ^{used} some of the Afro-American journals, the magazine (Encounter) which was quite successful in some places. I ⁱⁿ fact Griffa said, "why don't I have this magazine. They send it to Berges and don't send it to me." Nevertheless with Griffa there was some suspicion. And I had the opinion-- ~~I~~ I'm not paranoid and I don't like playing cops and robbers- or go for cloak and dagger stuff, but I had the opinion that somebody was watching me, was following me when I left there, which was one reason why I didn't see all the people I was going to see.

I knew some Trotskyists there who (could) give me some stories about Griffa's organization - they're on the fringes of it, etc.- but I just didn't go to see them because I thought that Griffa might have someone watching to see where I was going. He wouldn't like the connection with Trotskyites, anyway.

14-00000
(I'll be away. . closed on Monday. Washington's birthday))

Oh, my God, is it?

((You'll have to buy a cherry pie this week end))

The kids know all about the cherry tree.

((Can you come on Tuesday))

Yes. But my coming in and out of this Embassy is not the best thing ~~in~~ in the world. Right ^{over the ears} ~~all day~~ ^{are} the Indonesians, whom I know. Around the corner are the Cubans who know me very well. All it would take is one Cuban to see me walk in here.... I can always concoct a reason but . . I don't know how many people are watching. For one thing, ^{certainly} ~~take~~ the British Home Office, they've had me under surveillance ever since I've been here . There's no doubt about that. I got a tip on that from ^{Jim Ennals} Mark Engel of the National Council of Civil Liberties. . .
British may be allies and all, but not all....

As far as my wife is concerned, she is by no means a dyed-in-the-wool Communist. She is not a Communist at all, never has been, but *she would not like that in the slightest.*
. . I can't get her to understand. .

14-00000

Editorial signs

(()) query or comment by interviewer

() editorial insert

----- or - - - omission

. . . incomplete statement

-- dash

Taspe No. 3 Gibson

((What do you think about that - Malcolm X))

I could have told you it was coming.

((Well, you did. You didn't single out Malcolm X))
it becomes make

Now comes the real thing. It's going to ~~affix~~ the Algerian struggle.

You remember the Algerian struggle throughout was marked by clashes between the MMA and the FLN right up to and after the Independence. And this is what is going to happen now in the States, as far as I can see. But what I don't really like is -- there are so many small groups, uncontrollable little groups, kids, fifteen-year-old kids who are planning to shoot the President, and that sort of thing. You don't know how far it goes.

So the idea of being a leader- ^{leading what, at this point.} leader of what? As to Black Ghettoes,

there this thing-- I don't know (who responsible).

((Do you think that was Elijah))

I'm not at all certain. There are many, many, many people who would be glad to see Malcolm out of the way. For one thing, it does resolve a certain problem and that -is, there was a clash, certainly it was going to come about between Williams's group and Boggs' men in Detroit and Malcolm X, people who were more committed to an armed struggle. Malcolm's major contradiction was that he ~~didn't~~-- logically, what he was preaching ^{he} would have led even to negotiations with Washington, to some kind of arrangement, or else to an armed struggle, an underground struggle. As soon as you have a vocal leader who is exposed and who is in the country, one hand he knew what was happening. He was very much aware of this proliferation of groups and activities, like the little business of Walter Bove, which ^{really} ~~was highly innocuous, in comparison~~

highly symbolic and almost innocuous, in comparison with some of the things His trips abroad, most of his trips abroad were in a way - he wanted to create unity by contacts with Williams and other people, but here, in Europe and Cairo. One of the problems that he had was simply in getting ^{see} to Williams. He didn't want to go to Havana. He probably could have brought an extraordinary amount of pressure on the State Department to allow him to go as a journalist or something like that if he really wanted to. But he didn't want to, because he didn't want to be exposed on political issue which might have cost him support. So where was he going to see Williams? Prague, perhaps, Moscow. But he didn't want to go to Eastern European countries either.

((You said that one of his ^{aims} might have been to negotiate with

Washington))

Exactly. At first the whole idea was that there was going to be a Black State. This was originally. But no one had any real. . . except for Elijah Muhammed's people -- I think that some of them did have. You saw the London Times article today? One of the things that disgusted him with the Elijah group was this talks with the American Nazi Party and with the Ku Klux Klan, particularly with the Klan, to buy a county, if you will, a county in Georgia, which the Ku Klux Klan was going to sell. They were going to see that all property in the country was turned over and this was going to be the nucleus of a Black State. He felt that the Muslims were seeking to perpetuate segregation for their purposes. He really was not a segregationist nor did he at the end believe in -- he wasn't a racist.

This is whole thing, backing away from a religious point, from a racist point trying to find some modus vivendi for a modified Black nationalism. But he wanted to talk this over. ~~Thixixxixix~~ I don't know if he ever had any contacts with anyone beside New York City and State officials and police. He had rather good relations. He was extremely moderate in person and you could talk to him. I think this is what he really wanted or what would have come out of it. He just wanted the contact - to feel that there was somebody opposite him. To a lot of these people, ~~thixx~~ a lot of the stink could be taken out just ~~he~~ by talking to them, not necessarily with publicity.

for benefit

((If he wasn't involved on the racial or theological grounds, what was))

Not a racist. For instance, it is said that the Muslims are anti-white and there is an anti-white element, and particularly ~~and~~ an anti-Semitic directed element, against Jewish shopkeepers. Obviously the Jewish shopkeepers, being exposed, being in the Gheto, the resentment comes out against them. In New York it comes out against the Jewish element in the garment district. as many Negroes work in the garment district. It is unskilled, underpaid. and sweat shop type of thing. I must say that Malcolm sometimes played this tune himself. He knew it was facile, and also it pleased the Arabs. ~~ixixixix~~ from whom he received considerable support.

{(You mean the Cairo type Arabs?)}

Yes, the Nassertype. I don't know how much support he ever received financially, but I think they did receive support. And also the Black Muslims did receive support at certain times. It was no accident that he set up a headquarters in exile in Cairo. He did go to Ghana and I know that in Ghana he was attacked by the orthodox Marxists. They are the first to launch an attack, for Black fascism or something. I feel that he was evolving, trying to get out of a box. His reaction was that of a Negro who

goss up in a Ghetto, who becomes a criminal under pressures, he is intelligent he is extremely intelligent. Not an intellectual but far more capable as an organizer say, than Williams. Williams is utterly hopeless. And He is not slow to catch ideas, but he has certain fixed ideas which have developed, certainly under pressure. Malcolm was moving and he as a figure could have done a lot too.

((Was this a maturing))

Yes, a maturing, a process of facing reality also. I suppose this is an explanation to a large extent of why there are so many children who are young kids, who are really involved in the nationalist movement. They're facile, frustrated.

They don't know what else. They feel that the older organizations are incapable of doing anything for them. There is a class thing. They feel that there is sort of a Black bourgeoisie for whom there is now in general a possibility of integration, but they who live in the Ghettos, who go to the bad schools, who come out of poor homes and so forth, by the time they're sixteen, ^{their} ~~they~~ their hope of, the real hopes of integration, of being something in contemporary American society, is dead. It's this whole business, the motivation in schools, the good schools, the housing and the family even. If a child grows up in a home where they don't have books- there is a great difference between a Jewish child in the Lower East Side, ~~and~~ no matter how poor that family, motivated by a ~~long~~ long Jewish tradition, ~~and~~ and a Negro child or a Puerto Rican child, Middle Class ideals are beginning to sink down into the ~~Jewish~~ Negro community, but among Puerto Ricans there is an even greater gap, so I understand, -----

Many of these Negro kids, they just feel this enormous wall around them, and one of the things that I am most aware of, even-- when I was a child, I grew up in Philadelphia. Many of my friends were white. We lived in a neighborhood in West Philadelphia which had Negro and white Irish, ^{Catholics} ~~Catholics~~, Jewish people, Italian, in proximity. Lived in the same block. That neighborhood now is solidly black. The school I went to was always mixed. Now most of these schools are black. There is ^{de facto} more segregation today, through real estate, through housing, than there was 20 years ago.

((Is this intentional or is this because this was an area that was mixed and where a Negro could move in and so Negroes did.))

Yes. One of the problems is that around most American cities the city line marks the end of expansion for Negroes. They can't move into the suburbs. A middle class Negro who has money can move into the suburbs. And what areas they can move into are filled up. The whites flee out of

the city, xX

((Washington would be the primary example of that))

Washington is that much more complicated because you are in the midst of the Southern States. Except that I notice, I have relatives that live around Washington. As a kid I used to go to Washington every summer. And going out towards Chevy Chase and Montgomery county, the Maryland side, there is a certain desegregation that has gone on. Obviously on the Virginia side it is the opposite. Also the Maryland counties to the South. That is a more segregated area. That is also the history-- the sort of slave line. in Maryland before the Civil War sort of went where Washington is now. across the State, to the South were they grow tobacco there was slavery, to the North there was no slavery. And there was a great deal of intermarriage- not intermarriage but racial intermixture. I have relatives who are to all intents and purposes white. When I was a child and went there in the summer, I really had no real awareness of race. It was a curious background of interracial mixture, that had gone on just before and after the Civil War. Now that has changed considerably. That's in Montgomery county.

I brought the address book.

((It's extremely interesting to consider the racial problem at home but I would like to finish this up.))

Yes. What sort of addresses do you want.

((The people we talked about))

This is Hassan Riad. Amou is his name, we may have Amser. Boit postale

3186 - Dakar, Senegal

M. Amiabel. was a Canadian, former Communist. He was setting up, he did set up a pro-Chinese group near Vancouver. Apparently there was considerable activity there. (6323 Marine Drive, Burnaby 3, B.C., Canada)

This is address of the Mulana. To the best of my knowledge Verges never heard from him yet (Bhashani - 40 Janata Weekly, 16/20 Naba Roy Lane, Dacca 1, E. Pak.)

BOSGRA Is a very interesting person, in Holland. He is a man who works with Andersson occasionally. He is not a Communist, is a vague Leftist with the Christian Pacifists, the Pacifist Socialist Party, in Holland, which has gathered in a strange grouping of Leftists. He has and Algerians. contacts with the Angolans. He goes to Algeria quite often. I have a feeling he is somewhat connected with the Curiel people. (Vinkenstraat 13" Amsterdam (Angola Comité))

Michel

Chartain xix, you know. He is secretary general of the *Partie Social-*

iste de Quebec and is of course very much connected with the Cubans. And

has had a great deal of contact with American Negro groups of the Left.

- *GLN*, Congo, in Brazzaville. It's so open, and so obvious, you know.

They used to send *things* *CUELLAR* - (*Apantado Gera 13777, Zone 1*

In Colombia, Alfonso *Quella* - this address is where they receive
Not(?)

special materials. Things that they think will get by the censorship.

These things came from Peking. They came to Revolution.

* The one great advantage of Revolution was if one watched it closely

you could find it . . . at one time, not any more, but certainly in the early

period, they weren't told by the Chinese to come there but they had

seen Revolution on sale. (*Orlando LINERO. Calle 56, No. 63-30, Barranquilla, Colombia*)
17

Colonia Anahuac Mexico D.F.

Federico Emery, was a Mexican settler, who had been in Peking and was
be citizen

supposed to representing the Mexican Marxist-Leninist group, the pro-

Chinese group. (*Tizoc 419, Col. Anahuac, Mexico 17, D.F.*)

Jurema Finamour, this poor Brazilian. who was involved in a most vague

way. Verges put this person's name- I don't know whether it is a man or

woman- think it's a woman- on the magazine, actually never received anything

anything from her. I heard later that she was pro-Moscow, certainly not

pro-Chinese. She's probably in jail now, after the coup down there.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

M. *FALLOT* *MacJean*. This is the fellow who was Communist leader in the
still

Haute Loire, who is the only one who is still supposed to remain in contact.

Le Chambon sur Lignon, Haute Loire Everybody knows Mrs. *Ginswardene*. The

Russians claim is parachuted everywhere. (*P.O. Box 300, Dept 245, Peking*)

✓ *Gregorio* Goldenberg, in Peking, is Chilean. He works, think he works,
inside of the Foreign Languages press. He is correspondent for El Mundo.

of Havana. At one time he was correspondent for the Cuban radio. He was

a very curious fellow. He wanted to set up a Spanish edition of Revolution

with Chinese money and offered to do this, when he came through Paris,

about a year ago. Verges managed to avoid ever giving him any answer

on this. He actually offered to bring the money. for this.

✓ *Han Su-yin*. Very interested in the magazine. She sent

material from Cambodia and Verges does have some contacts in Cambodia,

someone in the office of *Norodom Sihanouk*. A Frenchman, I think his name

is Mayer. He was close to the chief of state.

Hunter
Elpheus Hunter. W. A. *Hunter*. Anyone would know him in Accra.

Misc
undoubtedly Charles Meyer, well-known
liar in Phnom Penh

His group at the university of Ghent, which no longer exists, so I'm told.

MASAO KITAZAWA - 20 Mohamed Said Fiat 81, Cairo
gave, was the Japanese representative to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. He used to pass through Paris quite regularly. I don't think he is there any longer. Was much interested in the magazine. He used to use the pseudonym of Walter Johnson sometimes.

~~Ab~~ Karina? was one of the leaders of the SWAPU group of Southwest Africa.

used to send in articles. I knew him personally from New York.

has been going back and forth between Peking and also East Germany and West Germany. He's playing all sides. on this Southwest Africa thing.

Corenjizi is the head of SWANU, the other Southwest Africa group. (SWANU & SWAPU) There's unity. . once there was a struggle between Karina and Cochinina. Cochinina was virtually eliminated. Karina is an American agent, and so forth. The last story that I heard about Karina was that he was working for the Peace Corps in Bechuanaland. These are the stories that they circulated. Karina has been unable to hold up his end of it. He is kind of sulking. And violence hasn't helped him at all. Karina has embarrassed people over and over - monomania for his work.

Abdul Rahim KARIM (190a Finchley Rd., Lond NW3) special representative now, in London, for Verges. He is in Singapore. His article on Malaysia, against Malaysia, was greatly appreciated by the Indonesian government and a large number of copies of the issue of Revolution which contained it were bought up and it was later reproduced. We received from Indonesian Embassies all around subscriptions. orders for that issue. Subscriptions came from the UN, their missions to the UN, perhaps here in London.

Julian Mayfield Academy of Science, P.O. Box 2848, Accra. Mayfield in Ghana doesn't use this address as often as he used to. because he is now editor of something called the African Review. It is a new magazine..

F.M. MOLL - Amstelkade 159, Amsterdam. I never quite figured him out. He is a Surinam national. in Amsterdam. He is close to almost all the Left parties. there. He pretends to be Marxist but claims that he is not involved in the Sino-Soviet schism. He doesn't want anything to do with that. That is the reason he never wrote anything for the magazine. though I did see him. x

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Carlos Moore. I have no address for him. He is an Afro-Cuban boy whom I first met in New York. He is in Paris and you might be able to reach him through Presence Africaine. He supposedly was writing a book about Cuba. He was very much involved with Robert Williams, with Malcolm X, he is extremely young but very active in many --- . He is of Jamaican origin. There is a Jamaican minority in eastern Cuba, in Camaguey and Oriente Province. That's how you get names like Moore, etc. His father and brother live in New York, his mother is still in Cuba. He went back to Cuba after the Bay of Pigs, and went to school there. He became very disillusioned. He left, claiming that there was racial discrimination and so forth in Cuba. ^{very, very anti-} He went to Cairo. He managed to get out, and he went on a Yugoslav ship, I think or a Greek ship, and got to Egypt. He had met some Angolans. ^{through} of the UPA who had been in Havana and they took care of him for a while until there was a split inside of the UPA, and the fellow who was there quit and went to Switzerland. He brought Moore out to Switzerland. Then Carlos wound up in Paris, where still is, to best of my knowledge. He supposedly has written an article for Presence Africaine which is violently counter-revolutionary. He claims there is no revolution. His position, is relatively bizarre. It's not terribly justified. But what I think is, that here is a case of Black Nationalism in the States being transported to Cuba. What he claims is that the only Cuban revolution that remains to be made that would be valid would be a black revolution. and that really the population of Cuba is overwhelmingly black, or of African descent, and that this has been a plot that has gone on for generations even now with Fidel Castro, particularly Dorticos, he claims, the white leadership has been able to perpetuate itself regardless of the political thing. This is his theme. He is interesting but extremely wild and emotional. I think it's a case where the intoxication of Harlem never went off. Anyway he might be worth talking to.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom people were going to try to get in touch with him but they weren't any too convinced that his thesis was correct. I don't think so. He claims of course that I am completely blinded by my pro-Castro sympathies. He claimed that Williams was very unhappy for racial reasons in Cuba. I thought that Williams was simply unhappy. He couldn't speak Spanish. He was under pressure from the American Communists and Soviet Communists that didn't like him, the old Cuban Communists, which was one of the reasons for his whole-hearted turn towards Peking. That was the only way out. And he wanted to come back to the States.

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The FBI was in no mood- we could probably have arranged ~~something~~ ^{werent} that is that he was a fugitive, if the Federal thing ~~wasnt~~ ^{most likely} going to be held against him, that Rockefeller wouldn't extradite him ^{to} New York. There were talks on this. A lawyer by the name of Conrad Lynn had discussed this ~~with~~ ^{a party called} a Negro lawyer who was connected with the Freedom Now Party, another Black Nationalist group, but with basically a Trotskyite front. It was put up 99% by the ^SFWP which was one of the reasons for its failure. This lawyer was well aware of Williams's desire to come back to the United States if he could stay out of the hands of a North Carolina lynch mob. The one talk I had with the FBI people convinced me that they were in no mood whatsoever, even though they realized what the situation was.

(Pan African Press - P.O. 8364 - Pinto, Private Box 8159, Nairobi)
Pinto is a very curious fellow. Pinto is a man who is close to Kenyatta. In Kenya. who has or is involved with ^{the} ^P Pan-African press, who is not hooked up with Odinga, not openly in any case, but who is sort of playing all sides, looking for hand-outs. I understand that he ^{sumo} received substantial help from Russia, so that he has shown more Muscovite color than any other.

William ^{J. 48 Balcombe, Lond NW7} Pomeroy ^A is the American who was captured with the Huks in the Philippines, you remember? He lives here in London, more or less retired from politics except that he writes. That's how he earns his living. But he depends more or less on the good graces of the British Labor Party the Left of that party and the British Communist Party to stay here. What he has to say about the failure of the guerrilla campaign in the Philippines and the present Leftward turn in the Philippines ^{Progressive} ~~apparently~~ --- There is an outfit called the Philippine Review which I think we (Revolution) gave publicity to- here it is- - the Progressive Review. It is connected with Pomeroy. They are about as Communist as they can get under the present ^{and an} law of the Philippines. They have hopes of what they call ~~the~~ Anti-Imperialist ground swell, in other words, an anti-American trend in the present government. They felt that the anti-Malaysia campaign might help, and the editor has been very much in contact with the Indonesians. He has been to Djakarta on several occasions recently. He is in contact with Pomeroy. Pomeroy's position is one in which he has to be very careful ^{of what he says} because the British Communists will dump him. His wife is Philippine. She can't get an American visa, so they have to live here. This makes him the captive of a certain part of the British Labor Left and the British CP. His book, The Forest, was published here and in the States by Communist publishing houses. It is an account of the guerrilla campaign in the Philippines, at least his personal account, but he pointed out to me, that it is also an account of its failures. He has tried to keep out of the Sino-Soviet thing but I have

a feeling that if the situation in the Philippines changed both he and his wife would like to go back there. This is what he may be going (working for) through his contacts with the Progressive Review. I don't know how far they have contacts with the people inside the Philippine government but they claim to have.))

Shashikanth R. - 8 Mochav Kanji, Dixit Rd, Bombay 57.
A Patel was an Indian from Bombay who wrote several among other things, articles. He is a business man and I imagine a rather successful business man. He is on the fringe of the Indian Communist Party and now involved with the pro-Chinese wing of the party.

Madgokhandi Modhav Kanji - Dixit Rd Bombay 57

Strelkoff address - 151 Ave. Suffrin, Paris 15, Phone 54 F 3436

Miss C.J. SMETHLAGE

Non-lage from Amsterdam is the head of the Cuba group. the com

Cuba committee in Holland. She is very prominent in this Pacifist Socialist Party. She is very ^{has been to Cuba} ~~is~~ despite her advanced age

she is seventy-some, and very active. She

Brila SKARD, 10 GOMNAES, C 14 Studentbyen, Oslo, Norway
Sklaar is a student leader in Norway. I think she is

now a member of Parliament. She did a lot of publicity for the magazine.

Dr. Leiva Samper-

HOEC representative in Paris

He is a doctor, a cardiologist and seems to be quite a distinguished one. He is a heart surgeon. (129 Rue de Tolbiac, Paris 13+ Phone POR 47-39 (hospital))

Schwartzberg is my lawyer in Paris.

SINE - 35 Rue de Chilly - P. TRI 73-32.

Manuela SIKES

is a member of the Liberal Party, (U.K.) She's a standing

candidate for Ipswich, very pro-Cuban and pro-Algerian. She's got a lot of influence inside the party because of who she sleeps with. I don't

know who it is, but I've heard an awful lot of stories.

Venturelli, Calle E, #158 1-B, Pedada Havana
Jose Terrelli Havana, is a Venezuelan artist and member of

supposedly very very interested in the magazine.

He is a friend of ~~XXXXXX~~ Martha Dodd, you may find on the cards the magazine was going to him c/o Martha Dodd at the Havana Libre hotel.

direct

Martha Dodd had no contact with the magazine. She ~~was~~ reportedly had taken quite a pro-Chinese position but to be so hopelessly compromised with the Czechs and Russians that she can't say too much except en cachet, to everybody she meets, especially young people. Whether this is her real attitude or not, I don't know. She might also be doing this to gain the confidence of people. There is no question that Venturelli is her very close friend.

Costas Veropolous (?) is a student group leader from Greece, who edited a magazine in Greece called Africa Asia Latin America. It was a cut-down version of Revolution and represented for the Greek youth, the left wing of the EDA

who were unsatisfied with the reformist tactics the Social democratic tactics of the ^DEPA and EDAMx youth. He got in contact with the magazine he wanted material to reproduce in Greek. I suppose he did. I took one year of Greek and I know nothing of modern Greek, I could just about make out the title.

Pierre *Vallenty* (?) is a Canadian Communist who was setting up a thing called Revolution Quebequoise. He was dissatisfied with Chartain. He had been ~~xxx~~ close to Chartain and he was going to be holier than Chartain. He worked for La Presse, which was on strike

Sydney *NANASINGHE* was a Ceylonese Trotskyist is member of the tenth committee of the ^{Lanka Sama Maja}~~Lakshana Samaya~~ party before it split. the militant part of it split. He distributed I think 25, ^{to 50 -- more likely 25} copies of Revolution, each issue. I understand that his group of the Trotskyists were more pro-Chinese

than the pro-Chinese wing of the ~~Ceylonese~~ ^{Chinese} Communist party. He tried to get us to take their magazine in exchange.

That covers all of the real addresses that I have.

((At this point let's take stock of you. Is your kid back in school?))

Yes.

((You're not under pressure))

No. Thank the Lord, I've got that off the hook for a little while.

22 ((You have largely answered the question- What is the function of the Advisory Board of Revolution))

Nothing more unless it was to give prestige to the enterprise. This is why it keeps growing larger and larger. First it started out as an editorial board, then he changed the title, to advisory board. then he calls it permanent collaborators. I don't know why. He claimed that under French law you had only exemption from seizure if you were really French - - now I do know what it was - - one issue of the magazine was seized in France. That was No. 7 which had Ho Chi Minh on the cover. It wasn't seized for Ho Chi Minh, but because of an article on Reunion and the French West Indies. It was a platonic seizure, more in the way of a warning. The seizure order came down after the magazine had been distributed. There were virtually no copies picked up-. Undistributed and returned copies were seized but the money wasn't seized. That's about the nicest way you can seize a magazine. It was a warning. And he felt that an editorial board made up of foreigners didn't give him enough protection in France. That was the reason for changing to permanent collaboration.

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They certainly are quite active. For instance, the Colombian I mentioned-- I still can't think of his name-- but his daughter was put in an Albanian school. Poor girl, about eleven years old, and she didn't know a word of Albanian and most of the Albanians didn't know Spanish. She has managed to suffer through a year of it. & It is very interesting to talk to this little girl, now about 12, she was in Cuba, where you might think of the revolution as extremely informal lax in many ways easy-going. It's a libertarian type of revolution. Certainly it hasn't had the puritannical type of after-period that one finds in most revolutions, certainly in ~~and these the puritans~~ in China which proves a great obstacle for the Africans who go there. They are virtually unable to keep African students because of the fact that there is no sex. They used to let them go to HongKong and they would all come back with syphilis and gonorrhea to the great disgust of the Chinese. This girl, who seemed to ~~think~~ like Cuba, in Albania was shocked by the degree of formality of relationships and for instance she said that at the beaches -- in Cuba all the beaches were open, anybody can ~~go~~ go to the beach. In Albania they have, as I suppose you find in many Communist countries, high officials, middle officials, low officials and then just plain working people. ~~(and~~ ~~separated~~). This to her was ~~a~~ (shocking). She wasn't aware of politics as such and that is what made talking to her so interesting.

((What do you think of Cuba nowadays?))

I know one thing, that the ~~PS~~^P has virtually been defeated in every way, the old Communists. I was ~~very~~^{very} much involved, obviously, the Cubans ~~are not~~ who were my friends ~~were~~ Communists. I suppose that one of the things that made the Cuban revolution attractive was that it wasn't doctrinaire. For Americans, college students, the young people, ~~it~~ after all of the years of disenchantment about revolution as such, the Cuban revolution looked like a romantic thing. It was extravagant. All these bearded fellows coming out of the mountains, and anyone who went to Cuba couldn't help but feel the contagion.~~mf~~

((I think there was a sympathetic feeling within the States because it was not alien to our own revolutionary background, the idea of little men ~~hiding~~ behind trees shooting at the Redcoats.))

Right. Only they were shooting at Batista's troops who were armed by the United States. This is one of the things that many Americans are unable to realize, how deeply involved the US is with these military regimes. It has obviously been exploited from ~~the~~^{an academic} point of view, but from the popular imagination, we just don't think of it.

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The Fidelista youth were not Marxist. They are more so today than they were before, but they have had this experience of dealing with the United States -- I have had a lot of arguments with them about it. For instance when they came to the United States in - 28 March of 59, you remember, Felipe Pasos (?) came, Fidel went to Washington and he went to New York and it was extraordinarily badly handled. Christian Herter wouldn't see him at the State Department. He insisted on taking a hotel suite, rather than do that. Certainly it wasn't an official visit but a lot of people have gone to Washington xxx. . . Then it was a question of whether the Cubans wanted money or not. The Cubans claimed, . . . that they asked for \$3,000,000 on short term credit, just a stop-gap and that this was turned down cold. until they ~~had~~ made some guarantees about American property. From that point on I think that their attitude towards the United States was one of expecting, looking for the worst.

They were able to work out a few arrangements with ~~xxxx~~ American companies concerning take-over. Each time, they were vetoed by the State Department or someone else, who said don't go into this, because we want to have a solid front, no one should make an agreement with them otherwise.

It was provocation and counterprovocation. They would do something then there would be American ~~xxxx~~ reaction, then a Cuban counterreaction until it was real escalation, diplomatically, to the point at which it fell completely into the hands of the Russians. That could have been short-circuited and prevented. They really are not happy where they are now. They want some independence, ^{U.S.-C.-U.S.} ~~or even~~ the Soviet Union. Ideologically they are not very happy with the Russians. They have managed though to maintain incredible independence, not signing the nuclear test ban agreement, they have never made any anti-Chinese statements at all, though Fidel came very close-- he did in one of the statements where Khrushchev mentioned peaceful coexistence, and said that there had never been disagreement with the Russians over the missiles .xxxxxxx In actual fact they were boiling. They were furious about the missile business. This left a bad taste in their mouths. The Escalante business, you know the ^{first attempt} ~~president~~ of the old ~~PSR~~ ^P ~~was going~~ ^{to} to take over and create a faction which would displace the romantic revolutionaries, if you will. It failed but that didn't mean that Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and more capable technocrats inside the party didn't continue. They failed. Now Carlos Rafael who had the highest place of the old Communists is out as you know. And almost all of them went out at this point.

✓ I am always struck by - Grippa said, for instance, of Guillermo Cabrera Infante, the Cuban Cultural Attache in Brussels, whom I know very well, that: "he's an anti-Communist". Which is true. He is a nationalist. That's all. And that's the one thing that keeps him there. But he and many of the people like Carlos Franqui and around Carlos Franqui and Haidee Santamaria. her husband, who is the Minister of Education, they are liberal, in their views about the arts, they are non-dogmatic, non-doctrinaire, Leftist if you will, but Leftist by situation and circumstance. They represent, if there is anyone in Washington who still has a sober mind/who is not completely filled with venom/or - and/frustration- about Cuba, they would, I think, represent the real hope of reaching a modus vivendi in the future. They are the real heirs, I think, the people who will take over. I do not think the PSP can do it. They have the mass support in the country behind them. ^{It is always said, that} If anything ever happens to Fidel ~~there is~~ and the slightest suspicion that it was done by a Communist, there wouldn't be a Communist left alive in the Island in ^{about} five hours. These were many people who felt that the Communists would have liked to do this. At one time it became almost a hysterical rumor spread around that the Communists wanted to kill Fidel.

The bitterness that I found against the old Communists was because they were compromised with Batista. Even now, this explains their pro-Chinese stand. But that can't go very far, either. Because they are not doctrinaire. The Chinese have been extremely flexible in dealing with Cuba - they can't offer them very much - and they can't push them, so they have been easy-going. - - - The handling of the October crisis between the Russians and the United States when they got ~~him~~ together over the heads of the Cubans, was an insult. Being a small country and semi-colonial, it was a colony, it has an exaggerated sense of its national rights. This was, in terms of Cuba, not the world ~~xxx~~ situation in general, for the ^{perhaps} it was the only way to solve the October question, it seemed to be the only way, but in the terms of Cuba that was one of the grave mistakes of the Russians. The way they handled it. They didn't seem to soften the blow for the Cubans.

((They're very sensitive people.))

Right. And they've never forgotten it. They have nourished lots of hopes about DeGaulle and the possibility of trade with France. Trade is increasing, ~~but~~ they've tried desperately to get DeGaulle to visit Cuba which he wouldn't do. He would do lots of things against Washington, but there are certain limits (laughing), and that's one of them.

I know that's one of the things in back of their minds, in Paris.
Every French delegation to Havana, even one just recently, I heard that
Fidel went around saying- why doesn't De Gaulle come and visit us.

There is a Gaullist group, France -Cuba (?), not the Communist,
but there is a Communist organization, There is also one inside of the
government party, and they have made recommendations for increasing trade.
One of the things also encouraged is the increase of Spanish trade.
Ironically one of the heroes of Cuba is Franco, because he continued
and they say "You know, when we go to Madrid, there is never any trouble from the small-scale
trade." I have a feeling that the Spanish
attitude has some influence on the French. I would imagine that they hope
that eventually this will be communicated to the West Germans.

Cuba certainly, I feel, if they did have ~~some~~ diversification of
trade and an opening horizon -- because so many problems with the United
States become emotional problems that no matter what the head of the
State wants to do, you've got the problem of how to put it before the
Congress and public opinion, which has been so sensitized to it that this
is the problem of American statesmanship that you don't have in any other
places. De Gaulle, for example, say "the people? They're nuts." but even he wouldn't go beyond a certain
point.

Another thing, Algeria. Probably only DeGaulle could have reached a
settlement.

((In two minutes, that's your prognosis for future ~~US-Cuban~~ US-Cuban
relations.))

It depends very much on the United States. I think, I know, there are
elements in Cuba who are more than willing. But they don't want to be
pushed. The trouble is that when a Cuban talks to America, the next question
is "when are you going to get rid of the Red regime," or something like that.
That is the end of ~~the~~ the dialogue. I would ~~imagine~~ imagine that it
would have to be through talks. I understand - this is one thing that this
Carlos Moore, the Afro-Cuban boy who is extremely anti-revolutionary-
he says he wants a real revolution. He worked in the Foreign Ministry
at one time. ~~He~~ What he used to claim that Dorticos and ~~ppp~~ people around
Dorticos are very very anxious for a rapprochement with the United States.
That they would love to have contact. I certainly know that Dr. Roa, Foreign
Minister, wanted somehow to have contacts, more direct contacts. He ~~has~~
had a problem too, that in public he couldn't say anything, and whenever
he was in New York he was boxed in.

((I don't want to start a debate but you say that the -- when are you
going to get rid of the Red regime-- this is ~~the~~ a reflection of the

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Similarly, isn't sensitivity that you spoke about. ~~the Cuban population sensitized in such fashion as to come up with a comparably provocative and and dialogue-ending remark.))~~

the
It seems a little bit less. One of the problems is that of Cuban immigration. There isn't in Cuba, to the best of my knowledge, a broad anti-Americanism. Always in even in Fidel's speeches, he makes a distinction between the American government and the American people. ~~Then~~ There is a very open ^{of immigration} nuance about the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. They may be counter-revolutionaries but they also happen to be uncles, cousins, nephews, and almost everybody has some one among them, from Fidel on down.

((The exiles in Miami and elsewhere))

That's right. They are relatives. Just as the treatment for instance of the people at the Bay of Pigs- which was extraordinary. In many countries they would have been -- ^{in Cuba} in our country, they would have taken them all out and shot them. There they weren't allowed to beat them; they said they "had been misled" and so forth. This ~~wasn't merely~~ ^{wasn't merely} for propaganda, this was a feeling. I have seen it happen over and over again. They might shoot someone. They did, they shot three people, a Batista sergeant and some others. It was an incredible gaffe ~~to include~~ among these people an old Batista torturer. He was shot ^{and was protected}. I have been told by people who have been there recently that you have only to say that you are an American to get a sympathetic audience around you immediately. People want to discuss with you, why did they do this, that. You see they can hear Miami. They listen -to the American radio all the time, and they listen to Radio SWAN. I heard Radio SWAN in Cuba. Radio SWAN ~~was~~ ^{was} a CIA radio operated off of Swan Island off of Nicaragua. ^[actually off Honduras] and island which is claimed by Nicaragua but in actual fact is possessed by the United States ^[Honduras] (laughing). The Nicaraguans have never been able to persuade us to leave. We just have some sailors on it. They built this enormous radio which broadcast to Cuba. It wasn't an official radio. It was called Radio SWAN. It was a CIA operation. It was so crude, it was really pathetic, the type of thing-- people are starving, that type of thing. Now this was directed at Cuba and when you have propaganda like that - ~~it~~ it is very little that can be confirmed. You say people are starving, and they are able to go out and buy something. There was a lot of racist material in there about Congolese troops stationed in Central Cuba. There were no Congolese troops. This sort of attitude came out later. During the time of the Bay of Pigs operation ~~the~~ the press releases were incredible. This isn't good propaganda.

going to be Machiavellian, my God you don't do it like that, you know. The best propaganda is the one that comes closest to the truth, that just slightly goes off, you don't have to push the point.

In any case, I do feel that there are an enormous number of people in Cuba and inside of the government, particularly among the old 26th of July ~~maxxxxxxxx~~ people, who would be - - they don't want ^{to make} a capitulation to the United States. They want an independent government. They would like trade. They would like to get out of the dependence on the Soviet Union such as it is. They have managed to keep from being swallowed up by the Russians just by enormous effort on their part.

Do you
((~~xxx~~ think that both sides have committed themselves so far that it is impossible to have any kind of rapprochement or normalization of relations without a feeling that one side or the other or both, had been forced to capitulate?))

I think as one point this was true, but I should have made one point. If I don't think it's true any more.
in there has been
To a certain extent, recent months ~~maxxxxxxxx~~ brought a sort of cooling down in Cuban'-American relations, though there have been continued charges about Venezuela, and it is certainly true ~~thats~~ that the Cubans were encouraging the Venezuelan FALN. They certainly gave financial support not so much in the way of arms, I think, but money, and in a guerrilla campaign you get your arms anyway from the police and the army, from the army that ^asurrounds you. That's the easiest way.

I have the feeling, nevertheless, that the Cubans are somewhat disappointed, disillusioned, about their ability to agitate these revolutionary groups elsewhere in Latin America, their ability to carry any effective revolution, out ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ just as the Alliance for Progress has proved to be a great disappointment to many people in Washington so has the Cuban open solidarity with other, almost any, revolutionary movement in Latin America, proved a disappointment.

On the other hand, the Cubans are not going to issue a statement saying export revolution. in that we will not ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Certainly the first year of the (Cuban) revolution, they ^{did some} ~~had become~~ extremely ~~insane things~~, with expedition to Haiti, expedition to Santo Domingo, expedition to Panama, remember, and they had to send people in to Panama to get them to surrender. ^{It was totally ineffective.} The people in Santo Domingo were just slaughtered. In Haiti they were slaughtered also.

14-00000
((Probably got them by Black magic in Haiti))

A messy situation. On the other hand, every once in a while Duvalier makes overtures. He's not beyond anything.

Well, if you want to get in touch with me again, you have only to give me a call. I don't imagine that anything much will happen. If I'm not there just say that Earl called, or something like that. But do avoid giving this address or telephone number. I imagine with my wife working now for the ^{Tunisian} Indonesians

((It would be someone else answering))

^{me.}
It would be ~~thxmxtdx~~ I don't think I'm quite going to set up shop down ^{with} Leo Labedz ^{& Company} right ~~away~~.

((Again, I do appreciate your cooperation))

No. Thank you.

ORG: A. GOODRICH
 UNIT: CI/IC/G ☐ INDEX ☒ **SECRET**
 EXT: R-1176 ☐ NO INDEX
 DATE: 8 MARCH 1965 ☐ FILE IN CS FILE NO. Gibson's 201

ROUTING	
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TO: LONDON

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

FROM: DIRECTOR

CON: CI/IC 2 INFO WE L ADDP FE L CA 2 CA/0 4 8 MAR 65 21 072
 AF 4, CI, C/OPS, FI, FI/INT 2, VR, FILE

TO: LOND INFO: PARI PALP CITE DIR SIG GEN

R I C O P Y

KUDESC LCHARVEST QKOPERA

REFS: A. LOND 6396 *

B. OELA 42604

C. LOND 6360 *

90655

1. APPRECIATE ADDRESS LIST RECEIVED HQS 4 MARCH.
2. DO NOT WISH YOU ACKNOWLEDGE HAVING IT TO SMOOTHERS FOR TIME BEING.
3. REF C PARA 1: APPROVE YOUR PASSAGE SUMMARY OF TRANSCRIPT YOUR DEBRIEFING OF GIBSON INCLUDING DETAILS ON REVOLUTION ORGANIZATION AND HOW IT WORKS. HOWEVER, DO NOT PASS INTELLIGENCE OF POTENTIAL OPERATIONAL VALUE.

END OF MESSAGE

ANALYST	AF/1/A
PS	
ABSTRACT	INDEX

* 16552

* 14617

CO/OPS ☒
 AF/CI ☒
 CA/3 W. Raymond (by phone)

201-306052

John G. Roberts
 DCWE (BC)
 RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS
SECRET

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 declassification
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John G. Roberts
 WE/BC/H

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R I C O P Y

5 4 3 2 1

INDEX ☐ YES ☒ NO
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 REF TO FILE NO
 FILE NO ☒ DET TO REASON SECRET
 DESTROY ☐ SAC Balt
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 PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED
 FROM LONDON
 ACTION FE 8 ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBES UNIT TIME BY
 INFO
 VR. FILE WIR 6 ADDP G1 C/OPS C/1162 F1, FILINT 2 AF 4 0920/04
 R

SECRET 031139Z
 DIR INFO PARI PALP CITE LOND 6360
 Y KUDESK LCHARVEST
 REF DIR 65977*

AF-1 PI
 DE
 ABSTRACT INDEX
 3 MAR 65 14617

1. GIBSON DEBRIEFING COMPLETED 23 FEB. STA DOING ROUGH
 TRANSCRIPT TAPES AND PREPARING OPS DISPATCH, TO BE POUCHED NEXT
 FEW DAYS.

2. WHILE REF QUESTIONS NOT PUT TO G, HE DID MAKE COMMENTS
 ON SMITH AND GRAHAM, WHICH IN TRANSCRIPT. NO MENTION OF SHLEIFER.
 QUESTIONS CAN BE INCLUDED IN SUBSEQUENT MEET WITH GIBSON, HOWEVER.
 ASSUME ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS WILL DERIVE FROM MATERIAL NOW IN
 HAND.

SECRET

CFN *QUESTIONS FOR DEBRIEFING

201-306052
 3 MAR '65

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET

PROCESSING

TO	Chief, FE	PROPOSED	INDEXED FOR INDEXING	ACCOMPLISHED
INFO	Chief of Station, LCPIFIT; Chief, KUNOLF; Chief, KUDES; Chief, FE	XXXX	NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
FROM	Chief of Station, London		ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
SUBJECT	LCHARVEST/KUDES/KHSPAWN Revolution Mailing List		ABSTRACT	
ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES			MICROFILM	

1. Transmitted herewith is one copy of the cards that constitute the mailing list for Revolution. These were borrowed from Richard GIBSON and copied in the station. GIBSON's wife, who compiled the cards and was responsible for distribution of Revolution (and to whom, therefore, they more properly belong) is not aware that GIBSON has "loaned" the cards out. They were returned to GIBSON's flat the same day he brought them in for copying.

2. We have not made any attempt to count them. There are several thousand. A few comments will be in order about some of the marks and notations that appear on the cards.

3. One general category is "Promotional". The first bunch of sheets - about twenty, it appears - are in this category. They are marked "Promotional" or "PR". These were sent out gratis either to induce publicity, or to encourage new subscribers, or to make friends happy. (Presumably, Robert WILLIAMS and several others are in this category).

4. Thereafter, the cards run in categories of one sort or another, with given countries generally lumped together. Those where the address was obviously stapled onto a card are some of those that were taken from Frene GINWALA's Spearhead mailing list. Some are marked "ex-Spearhead"; which means that the name came from the Spearhead list, and the person subsequently subscribed on his own, after a little promotional treatment.

5. The coded symbols, unfortunately, GIBSON could not explain, since this was his wife's territory, rather than his own. The first set of letters obviously refers to the country (e.g., UK/). Other numbers and letters are not clear. The name that appears apart from the name of the subscriber usually indicates who arranged the subscription (this may be an agent, or something like a gift subscription). For instance, S. V. LEE is Sheldon LEE, who handles

AN 5/7/65	AF 1
ABSTRACT	

GROUP 1 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification
CROSS REFERENCE TO

DATE TYPED 25 Feb. 65	DATE DISPATCHED 2 MAR 1965
DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER 201-306052	
OELA-42,604 HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER	

CLASSIFICATION
SECRET

EXCLUDED

SECRET


OKLA-42,604

some subscriptions. Expiration dates are obvious. "Private" merely means that someone ordered a subscription directly, himself, rather than through an agency.

6. Any further questions relating to the list can be included in any subsequent contacts with GIBSON. If they merit inclusion, and if it seems likely that we will know the answers.

7. We note that the list's accuracy cannot be guaranteed, especially after the time when the GIBSON's parted ways with Jacques VERGES.

8. At some time, the SMOOTHERS may ask us for this list. We would appreciate being advised as to whether Headquarters would like us to acknowledge having it.


George H. KATZENBACH

Attachments:
Herewith

Distributions:

2-Chief, WE w/att h/w
2-COS, LCPIPIIT w/o att
2-Chief, KUWOLF w/o att
2-Chief, KUDESK w/o att
2-Chief, FE w/o att

SECRET

ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNIT: CI/ICG
EXT: 5928
DATE: 18 Feb 65

MESSAGE FORM 31

SECRET

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☒ FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201 - 306052

ROUTING	
1	5
2	6
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4	8

TO: LONDON

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

18 Feb 65 20 42z

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: CI/IC 2

INFO WE, LFE, LFI, ADO, DOP, WH/SA 8, FI/INT 2,
CI, CI/OPS, JR, FILE

TO: LOND

INFO

CITE DIR

KUDESC LCHARVEST

86097

RE: A. LOND 6129 (IN 81502)*

B. DELW - 21869

1. IN ADDITION QUESTION THIRTY-SIX REF B, WE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN DESCRIPTION GIBSON'S CURRENT CUBAN CONTACTS AS BASIS FOR FOLLOW UP REQUIREMENTS. SPECIFICALLY HAS G BEEN IN TOUCH RECENTLY WITH ANY CUBAN OFFICIALS WHO SUPPLIED INFO ON CUBAN INTERNAL SITUATION, STRUGGLE BETWEEN CASTRO AND OLD COMMUNISTS, STABILITY OF CUBAN REGIME, OR CUBAN SOVIET RELATIONS?

2. BELIEVE PROBING INTO HISTORY G RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE SHOULD BE AVOIDED AT OUTSET SINCE THIS APPEARS TO BE AREA WHERE HE MOST SENSITIVE ABOUT GIVING POTENTIALLY SELF INCRIMINATING INFO AND FURTHERMORE OF MARGINAL VALUE.

END OF MESSAGE.

*Lond query re rqmts on Gibson's Cuban contacts if any.

John Caswell
DCWE(BC)

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

WH/SA/EOB
WH/SA/CE R T
AF/LA
ABSTRACT

C/WE/BC/U

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

FORM 1-64 1389a

OBSCURITY PREVIOUS EDITIONS

SECRET

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SECRET

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(35)

INDEX ☐ YES ☒ NO
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO 201-306052
REF TO FILE NO
FILE NO ☒ RET. TO BRANCH ☐
DESTROY ☐ NO ☒ YES

1176

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☐ DUBBY

18 FEB 1965

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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FROM		PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED	
LONDON			
ACTION		ADVANCE COPY	
ME 8		<input type="checkbox"/> ISSUED <input type="checkbox"/> SLOTTED <input type="checkbox"/> TUBED	
INFO		TIME BY	
VR, FILE, FE6, FI, ADDP, DDP, UNK/EA 8, FI/INT 2			

SECRET 161247Z

DIR CITE LOND 6129

KUDESK LCHARVEST

REF DIR 84695

OELW 21369

NOTE NO RQMTS ON GIBSON'S CUBAN CONTACTS INCLUDED REFS. IS THIS OVERSIGHT, OR IS THERE REASON FOR NOT FOLLOWING THIS LINE? PLS ADVISE, INCLUDING RQMTS IF ANY.

SECRET

AN	SECRET	AF	1/A
RE	SECRET		
ABSTRACT			

201-306052

SECRET

FORM 1-64 1389

REPRODUCE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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(35)

(laughing) That's right. I think that going into that would take a long time and I'm not that ~~it's~~ also very hard to say, ~~taking contacts~~ ~~making~~ ~~var~~ contacts with the Africans, with the Chinese, you say, look, we need a car, for political work. The Chinese say turn up a car,

take your car. If the US embassy turned up a car, they would say take a car from the US Embassy. It doesn't make them any more American agents, ~~It~~ makes them Chinese agents. It's just a matter of who can produce. Africa is full of poor people. Just as the Negro community in the United States is full of ~~poor~~ poor people. Poor people don't have any sense of loyalty in the ordinary sense of the word. They have a sense of loyalty to their poverty, and colonial experience also mixed in ~~nationalism~~ nation-hood. The national sense is extremely weak. They see things in terms of Western ~~Nigeria~~, former colonial power, that's all.

2 ((Holden Roberto is down here. You ~~always~~ talked about him. I know ~~about~~ about him))

You ought to know him better than I do. (laughing) I met him only once and that was in New York. I had a long discussion with him about ~~what~~ 1 to 3 in the morning, and he was terribly afraid that somebody would think he was a Communist. I tried to assure him I didn't think he was a Communist no matter what (laughing).

((Did he have anything to do with the magazine))

None, ~~not~~ because the magazine, while Verges was there in Algiers, and up until ~~Viriato~~ Viriato da Cruz changed his position, the magazine ~~wasn't~~ ~~follow~~ ~~when~~ was following the MPLA and only changed about with Viriato changed from the MPLA to the UPA.

Holden went to China and I suppose he ~~gave~~ the Chinese some guarantees but I don't know.

((Mario d'Andrade))

He is the active Secretary - I don't know his official title - of the MPLA, and represents another tendency different from Dr. ~~Neto~~ Neto is the President. He had contacts with Revolution and with Viriato da Cruz. He sought to get Viriato to come back to the MPLA. He is a poet also. They are all poets. They are all former students in Portugal. The last time he came through Paris, ~~he saw~~. After Viriato published his article, in Revolution, he asked for the right of reply which was granted by Verges but he never wrote the article. He could be said to be much more pro-Soviet than pro-~~(Chinese)~~ ^{Neto} if anything. I think that ~~Andrade~~

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION
S-E-C-R-E-T

PROCESSING ACTION

TO Chief of Station, London
Attention: KATZENBACH
INFO Chief of Station, Paris
Chief, LCIPIT
FROM Chief, WE

MARKED FOR INDEXING
NO INDEXING REQUIRED
ONLY QUALIFIED DESK
CAN JUDGE INDEXING
MICROFILM

SUBJECT

DEBRIEFING OF RICHARD T. GIBSON

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

RE: OELA - 42,410, 26 January 1965

1. On 11 February KUBARK Staff Agent Errol S. KULPA, who had contact with GIBSON in 1963-64, listened to reference tape and made the following comments, which may be helpful to Katzenbach. KULPA felt that the GIBSON that he was hearing on the tape had indeed changed rather radically since the last time KULPA had any contact with him or the Revolution. KULPA remembers GIBSON as anti-white and probably (because of this racial orientation) anti-U.S. KULPA is therefore quite suspicious of GIBSON's motivations and advises that extreme precaution be taken in the handling of GIBSON.

2. KULPA's view of Gibson's motivations:

KULPA has strenuous doubts as to any ideological motivation on the part of GIBSON. He recognizes the obvious monetary motivation and feels that this probably plays a large part in the man's being willing to talk to ODYOKE. Another very possible motivation is GIBSON's disaffection with VERGES. Parenthetically, KULPA added that in Algiers and probably in Paris, GIBSON was really nothing more than a name that VERGES wanted on the masthead. GIBSON's primary duties as "editor" were probably in the area of translation. In light of this KULPA feels that perhaps some legitimate information of value can be obtained in the area of the Revolution. Again, parenthetically, it might be noted that KULPA felt that GIBSON was not as "idealistic" as his wife. Where GIBSON might adhere to the aspects of Marxism-Leninism that called for revolutionary change (probably because of his dissatisfaction with a world in which the black man had to endure a certain amount of discrimination), he is not a strict doctrinaire in any of his beliefs. On the other hand, KULPA pointed out that GIBSON's wife (who by the way is a Central European by birth--not British) is idealistic in the sense that she feels her brand of leftism must be internally and ideologically consistent. (This is why she objected to GIBSON's writing for Encounter and why she probably would get upset if she knew exactly what type of game her husband was currently playing with ODYOKE.)

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE...

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	OELW - 21903	15 FEB 1965
	CLASSIFICATION	12 February 1965
	S-E-C-R-E-T	201-306052
ROUTING/INITIAL	ORIGINATING	EXT.
1 - AF/1	CI/ICG A. GOODRICH	dab 5928
1 - CA/3	COORDINATING	
1 - CO/10	OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE
1 - WE/BC/Chrono	AF/1	12 Feb 65
	CA/3	12 Feb 65
	CO/10	12 Feb 65
	WE/BC/U	
	RELEASING	
	OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE
	DCWE(BC)	12 Feb 65

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER OELW - 21903
<p data-bbox="310 300 1295 385">3. We are currently having reference tape transcribed and will forward the transcription to the field as soon as it is completed.</p> <p data-bbox="915 491 1187 566"><i>2511</i> JOSEPH S. TIFFANY</p> <p data-bbox="883 640 1240 725"><i>James L. Griffiths</i> STEWART F. BOLNICK</p> <p data-bbox="310 778 488 863">2 - London 1 - Paris 1 - LCIPIT</p>		
FORM 5-60 (40) 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITION.	CLASSIFICATION S-E-C-R-E-T	<input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED PAGE NO. 2

ORIG: A. Goodrich
UNST: CI/ICG
EXT: 5928
DATE: 12 Feb 65

MESSAGE FORM 33

ROUTING

☐ INDEX
☐ NO INDEX
☒ FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201 - 306052

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TO: LONDON

INFO: PARIS, LCPIPI

☐ DESTROY
☐ RETURN TO BRANCH
☐ FILE RID

12 FEB 65 12 12

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF: CI/IC 2

INFO ADDP WE 6, CA 2, CA 4, FE 6, FI, FI/INT
WH 7, VR, FILE

TOY: LOND

INFO: PARI, PALP

CITE DGR

LCHARVEST/KUDESC/QKOPERA

84695

RE: A. OELW 21369

B. OELA 42410

15 FEB AM

FOLLOWING SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS MAINLY DERIVED FROM REF B TAPE, FOR USE KATZENBACH DEBRIEFING GIBSON (G):

1. G SPEAKS ABOUT VERGES CONTACTS WITH FLN FEDERATION OF FRANCE AND FACT THAT \$75,000 WAS FUNDED TO HIM THROUGH THE FEDERATION FOR REVOLUTION. WOULD BE INTERESTED IN G'S DETAILED COMMENTS ON THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF ALGERIANS IN FRANCE: LEADERSHIP, TIES WITH BEN BELLA, TIES WITH ERSTWHILE ALGERIAN OPPOSITION, TIES TO VERGES, SOURCE OF FUNDS, HOW MUCH SENT TO ALGERIA IN FORM OF REMITTANCES.

2. ENCOURAGE G TO TELL MORE ABOUT HIS WIFE, HIS WIFE'S CONNECTIONS WITH RABAH BITAT AND LATTER'S WIFE, HER POLITICAL IDEAS AND ANTECEDENTS.

3. "VERGES HAS DEBTS AMOUNTING TO MORE THAN \$30,000".

CAN G GIVE US A BREAKDOWN, ESTIMATE?

201-306052

INFO	AF 1/1
ES	
ABSTRACT	

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE...

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FORM 1-64 1389a

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ORIG. A. Goodrich
UNIT. CI/ICG
EXT. 5928
DATE: 12 Feb 65

☐ INDEX
☐ ~~INDEX~~

☒ FILE IN CS FILE NO. 201 306052

RECEIVED
R.D. HHS

MESSAGE FORM

3 52 PM '65
S-E-C-R-E-T

ROUTING

1		5	
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3		7	
4		8	

TO: LONDON INFO: PARIS, LCPIPIT

FROM: DIRECTOR

CONF.

INFO

- PAGE TWO -

TO LOND

INFO PARI, PALP

CITE DIR

P4695

4. WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE G TALK ABOUT HIS CONTACTS WITH ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR CHANDERLI IN GREATER DETAIL. WHAT FAVORS DID HE DO FOR CHANDERLI AND VICE-VERSA.

5. ANY INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION, PERSONALITIES AND ACTIVITIES OF LATIN AMERICAN BUREAU BRUSSELS. ANY INDICATION THIS BUREAU INVOLVED IN TRAINING OF LATIN AMERICANS IN ALGERIA?

6. INFORMATION ON RELATIONS OF VERGES WIFE WITH ALGERIANS BITAT AND KHIDER.

7. INFORMATION ON REVOLUTION BUREAUS ABROAD. HOW WERE STAFFS CHOSEN? WHAT ARE THEIR FUNCTIONS, OVERT AND COVERT?

END OF MESSAGE.

CA/B3 - W. Raymond (by phone)

CO/IO - R. Brown (by phone)

AF/1 - C. Baker (in draft)

5
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John Caswell
LCWE (BC)

John Caswell
LCWE (BC)

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S-E-C-R-E-T

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EXT NO ☐ S-2

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101/101/R

ACTION

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☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED ☐ TUBED

TIME

BY

INFO

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R F1/INT2

R
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S E C R E T 04/1802Z

14 FEB 65 IN 73844

R
C
O
P
Y

DIR INFO PALP PARI CITE LOND 5957

KUDESC LCHARVEST QKOPERA

REF LOND 5867 (N71348) *

ANALYST	
REVIEWER	
ABSTRACT	

1. JAGUAR STATE (SHAME-FACEDLY) THEY NOW LEARN GIBSON DEPARTED LOND 25 JAN FOR ZURICH.

2. OBVIATES NEED FOR IMMEDIATE PASSAGE FUNDS PER REF, BUT WOULD STILL LIKE KNOW STATUS FAIRMAN/GIBSON RELATIONSHIP PRIOR 15 FEB.

S E C R E T

CFN

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* CLARIFICATION INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN FAIRMAN

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✓ Richard Gibson's 201-306052?
Thomas

R
C
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P
Y

201-306052
4 FEB 65

FORM 1-64 1389

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(23)