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# The Sun

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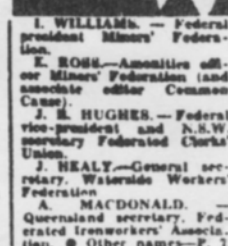
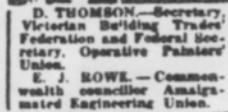
## MENZIES NAMES, DENOUNCES FIFTH COLUMNISTS REDS TO BE OUTLAWED,

"We're not at peace"

## BANNED FROM ALL POSTS

CANBERRA, Thursday.—The Prime Minister (Mr. Menzies) introduced his historic anti-Reds Bill to a tense, packed House of Representatives tonight by denouncing Communists as fifth columnists known Communists.

Named  
by  
P. M.



# MENACE

A film by John Hughes

After twenty-five years, now the truth can be told.  
The 1950s - perhaps the most embarrassing period  
in Australian politics - Menzies' McCarthy era.

### Protest 'damp squib'

CANBERRA, Thursday.—The protest against the Government's Communist Party Dissolution Bill today turned out to be a damp squib.

side Parliament House most of the afternoon but only the main door was open and attendants and police admitted only people with legitimate business.

### OPPOSITION HUSHED

There was not a sound from the Opposition as Ministers cried, "Hear, hear" when Mr. Menzies rose to deliver a 35-minute speech and named 53 known key Communists.

Mr. Menzies said the argument that Communists would be driven underground could not be taken seriously because their planning was now done by stealth in secrecy. They were underground already.

Menzies' Full Speech pages 2, 6, 7: Special Pictures, centre pages

## CREDITS

Direction.....John Hughes  
Camera.....Gordon Glenn, Margo Nash, Rod Bishop  
Editing.....Peter Tammer  
Assistance.....Gail Hagland  
Stills.....Andrew Scollo  
Sound.....Lloyd Carrick  
Research.....Julie Suares, John Hughes  
Participants.....Dorothy Gibson, Lloyd Edmonds,  
Pat Counihan, Ralph Gibson,  
George Lees, Noel Counihan,  
George Selaf O.A., Bon Laurie,  
Ted Laurie Q.C., Stella Lees,  
Cast of Golden Holden (APG),  
Robyn Laurie, Mick Counihan.

MENACE Rated G. 16 mm. Colour.

Australia 1976.

Distributed by the Australian Film Institute.

// Photos courtesy of the Herald and Weekly Times Ltd.



## The Original MENACE

Early in the Cold War decade, the original MENACE was produced by the National Films Council of the Motion Picture Industry of Australia. The supposed Australian organisation was administered by the Managing Directors of the Twentieth Century Fox, GUO and MGM organisations. Its official task was the production and distribution of Australian Government films. MENACE was made from the material donated by the Fox organisation, funded by the Hoyts organisation and allegedly commissioned by the News and Information Section of the Department of the Interior.

The 20 minute film was released for use in all theatres in Australia. During the research for the 1976 MENACE it was believed that as the Department of the Interior (Films Division) had made the film its successor, Film Australia would hold the rights. However, it turned out that although Film Australia holds the negative for the original MENACE, the decision as to its availability and use resides with Twentieth Century Fox. During the production of the 1976 MENACE, the Fox Corporation refused to allow the use of the film as an historical document in its present form.

## NOTES ON PARTICIPANTS

(in order of appearance)

DOROTHY GIBSON was active in the Movement against War and Fascism from 1933 onwards and was a founding member of Melbourne's Spanish Relief Committee. She has worked in the peace movement and in the struggle against Fascism ever since that time. She taught in a Melbourne experimental school, St Andrews, in the 20's and has also taught in Soviet schools in London and Moscow.

LLOYD EDMUNDS fought in Spain with the International Brigade. He attended the Socialist Sunday School in Melbourne (1906-1920s). At University in the early 30s he was one of the early members of the Labor Club, later to be expelled from the Labor Club, for his support of Maurice Blackburn.

PAT COUNIHAN worked in High Schools in New Zealand during the 30s, where she found "...respectable view was really a pro-Nazi, a pro Hitler one." She worked as Treasurer of the anti-conscription movement in New Zealand and after the war participated in peace movement organisation. At one stage her books were buried in a back garden in order to prevent confiscation during security police raids.

RALPH GIBSON joined the Communist Party in 1932, the year that Governor Game sacked the Lang Labor Government in NSW ("Kerr fashion"). He edited the Party's paper, Guardian, for many years and held other leading Party positions. He was the first witness for the Party at the Royal Commission into Communism in 1949.

GEORGE LEES came into the movement during the Second World War, his work at the aircraft factory and the struggle against Fascism led him to study Marxism. He was involved with the Melbourne University Labor club in the post war years and been engaged in the Union movement ever since.

NOEL COUNIHAN took part in the free speech struggles of the 30's and was well known as a public speaker during the Party's wartime illegality. He contributed weekly cartoons to the Guardian during the 40's and has been acknowledged as one of Australia's leading painters.

GEORGE SELAF experienced the Depression years as an unemployed youth, studied politics and joined the meat industry in 1936. He led the Victorian Branch of the Australasian Meat Employees Union from 1947 until 1969 and was called before the 1949 Royal Commission to give evidence. He was awarded the Order of Australia under the recent Labor administration.

BON LAURIE came into the movement during the war years and was active in a local Party Branch. She was instrumental in establishing kindergartens and child care facilities. Her second child had just been born and she was in hospital when she read of Sharpley's defection in the Herald. She was active in the peace movement and worked for humanitarian social change all her life.

TED LAURIE Q.C. went to the Bar to work for the Left in the Courts. In 1943 and 1946 he stood against Menzies in the Kooyong electorate and represented the Party at the Royal Commission and at the High Court during the challenge to the CPBD.

STELLA LEES became involved in the labour movement in the 40s. She was one of the thousands of people who put their private lives aside to struggle against Menzies' cold war plans for Australia.

MICK COUNIHAN was born in 1946, he was at school in Victoria during the 50s and is now one of the editors of the Melbourne Journal Intervention.

ROBYN LAURIE was also born in 1946 and now works with the Australian Performing Group (Pram Factory) in Melbourne.

A.P.G. (Pram Factory) members are seen in a performance of the 'break out' sequence of Golden Holden, January 1976.



## EXCERPTS FROM DIALOGUE

"If the referendum had been won well, there wouldn't have been only the communist party would have been affected it would have been the left wing of the labour party and anybody who was progressive - anybody who was opposed to the establishment and who wanted to do something in the interest of the working class they would have been branded, it would have been a sad and sorry day for Australia."

George Selaf

"...first of all it banned the Communist Party without trial, without right of appeal, or anything else, and seizure of its property and so on; secondly, any organisation that was substantially influenced by communists, could be outlawed. A Communist was defined as anyone who supported Communist policies, you know it was communist policy - preservation of peace, it was communist policy - socialisation of industry and so on. So that was a dragnet clause. Anybody who carried on after the ban, any work in which the Communist Party engaged or could have engaged, would be liable to five years. Anybody could be declared, that was a great phrase of Liberal, if in the opinion of the Government the activities were prejudicial to national defence or the carrying out of laws of the Commonwealth, or something like that. And if I were declared, I would be ineligible for any office in any trade union and any public body, that was specially aimed at the militant trade union leaders - it was designed to get rid of them in one swoop. And on top of that, when Menzies put the question to the referendum, it was not only to give him powers to pass the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, but to make any acts in respect of communism and communists, as Evatt said, that could be an Act to seize every communist and socialist in Australia, and execute them without trial or keep them in a concentration camp at the Government's pleasure, or whatever it might be, and it was a very sweeping Bill indeed."

Ralph Gibson

"Actually the scene at that time, looking back on it today, was incredible. The depth of feeling that the Party was going to be outlawed and people were going to be arrested overnight and put into concentration camps was very, very deep.

I don't think that the Party leadership believed that the High Court would declare the Act invalid, because their whole campaign through the course of the Court case was based on the assumption that the Bill was going to be declared valid.

Of course, they had some good reason to think that way, because before the case in the High Court came on they had sought opinions from no less than 10 leading Constitutional Lawyers and the only leading Constitutional lawyer who said the Act was invalid was Bert Evatt.

Fred Patterson, Max Julius and myself, who were all connected with the Party recommended it was invalid, but the only support we got from established constitutional lawyers was from Bert Evatt...

...and the scene in the High Court when they gave their judgement in Melbourne - the High Court was packed. If the Secret Police had wanted to, they could have rounded most of the leading Communists there up, if the judgement, when it was given had been against the Party. But the feeling of relief that went through the community. It was absolutely outstanding and from then on, the whole political atmosphere seemed to change, right throughout Australia.

It was, really as though the cold war had been suddenly defrosted."

Ted Laurie, Q.C.



## CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1936 (July) Franco leads a revolt against the democratically elected Spanish Republic. German Nazi and Italian Fascist troops sent to support Franco. - Committee against War and Fascism and the Spanish Relief Committee established in Melbourne.
- 1937 B.A. Santamaria secretly establishes the (Catholic Social Studies) Movement - later to incorporate the Industrial Groups and form the basis of the DLP, splitting the Labor Party in 1954.
- 1938 (Feb) Hitler seizes Austria and demands border territories from Czechoslovakia.
- (Dec) Menzies (leader of the United Australia Party), "I thought myself it was a great thing for Germany to have arms".
- 1939 (Sept) Britain declares War on Germany, Australia follows.
- 1940 (April) Menzies, - "I have a great admiration for the Nazi organisation of Germany. There is a case for Germany against Czechoslovakia. We must not destroy Hitlerism or talk about shooting Hitler..."
- Chief Justice, Sir John Latham appointed as Minister to Japan.
- (May) Menzies bans the Communist Party under the wartime National Security Act following recommendations from Military Intelligence.
- (Dec) Radcliffe and Thomas jailed for distributing "communist propaganda".
- 1941 (June) Hitler invades the Soviet Union.
- (Aug) Menzies forced to resign as Prime Minister when members of the House of Representatives cross the floor.
- (Oct) Labor Party takes office under Prime Minister John Curtin.
- (Oct 21) Ratcliffe and Thomas released.
- (Dec) Australia declares War on Japan.
- 1942 (Dec) Evatt, as Attorney General, revokes wartime ban on the Communist Party.
- 1943 In the Victorian State elections the Communist Party stood nine candidates who polled 39,000 votes.
- (Aug) In the Federal elections Labor returned to power.
- (Sept) First issue of the "Movement" newspaper Freedom.
- 1944 (Oct) The Liberal Party formed from the United Australia Party and other anti-Labor factions.
- 1945 (May) Germany surrenders to the allies.
- (Aug) Japanese Government surrenders.
- Commonwealth Bank Bill and the Banking Bill passed to extend the power of the Commonwealth over the private banks.

- 1945 (Aug) Hitlers Intelligence Chief of Foreign Armies East, General Gehlen, flown to Washington where he has conference with Dulles (first D.C.I. of Central Intelligence Agency.)
- (Sept) Formal Catholic hierarchy support to the "Movement".
- (Nov) U.K., U.S. and Canada enter the secret 'Quebec Agreement' for the exchange of atomic, chemical and biological warfare research. Australia is excluded until security and intelligence systems acceptable to the U.S. are established.
- 1946 (March) Churchill speaks at Fulton, Missouri, announcing the formal establishment of the 'Cold War', making famous the Goebbels term "Iron curtain".
- U.S. begins to fund the Gehlen Organisation.
- Colonel Charles Spry becomes Director of Military Intelligence in Australia.
- Country Party policy includes the banning of the Communist Party in its platform.
- (Sept) Labor returned to power in the Federal elections.
- 1947
- Woomara Rocket Range established and the Defence Projects Act introduced to intimidate strike action against Woomara.
- In U.S., the C.I.A. formally established under the National Security Act.
- (Aug) High Court finds Section 48 of the Banking Bill invalid. Chifley announces the Labor Governments intention to nationalise the banks.
- "Movement" newspaper Freedom become News Weekly.
- (Nov) Labor Government in Victoria defeated in the State Election following refusal of supply by the Upper House.
- 1948 (Jan) Strike breaking Essential Services Act introduced into Victorian State Parliament.
- (Feb) High Court hearing on Bank Nationalisation begins.
- State of Emergency declared in Queensland following a rail strike.
- (March) Harrison (L.C.P.) "The Liberal Party has pledged itself to ban the Communist Party".
- Archbishop Mannix calls to parishoners to "Fight Reds in Unions".
- (April) Queensland Industrial Law Ammendment Act passed to allow police to arrest without warrent.
- Militant workers in all States rally against repressive industrial legislation.
- 1948 (Aug) High Court finds the Bank Nationalisation legislation invalid. Chifley announces Labor Party intention to take it to the Privy Council.
- (Nov) Victorian Government forced to shelve the Essential Services Act.

- 1949 (March) Chifley announces the establishment of the Australian Security Intelligence organisation. (A.S.I.O.) headed by Justice Reed.
- Australia secretly becomes a party to the Quebec Agreement.
- (April) Cecil Sharples's articles appear in the Melbourne Herald. Victorian Premier Hollway announces a Royal Commission into the Communist Party in Victoria.
- (May) Leading Victorian Communist Ken Miller framed on a hanging charge of allegedly sexually interfering with a young girl. The case is thrown out of court when the girl says in her evidence "...someone told me to say it."
- (June) Victorian Royal Commission begins to sit.
- Miners Federation calls a nation wide stoppage over wages and conditions.
- Chifley's Labor Government Passes National Emergency (Coal Strike) Act. Eight Union officials arrested and imprisoned.
- Chinese revolution firmly established by Chinese people.
- (July) Privy council rejects appeal on the High Court's Banking Bill decision:
- Marx House in Sydney raided by Security police.
- A.C.T.U. supports the Federal Labor Party against the miners.
- (Aug) Troops brought in to work the mines.
- (Sept) Private Banks offer their employees leave with pay to campaign for Menzies in the coming Federal election.
- Catholic Church issues 200,000 copies of its "Social Justice Statement".
- A.C.T.U. conference in 1949 includes alleged C.I.A. labour attached Werner.
- Labor Government revokes the right of the Communist Party to radio air time during the election campaign.
- (Oct) Leading Australian Communist Lance Sharkey sentenced to three years jail under the Crimes Act for alleged "seditious words".
- Privy Council publishes their reasons for rejection of the Banking Bills appeal.
- (Dec) Liberal Country Party Coalition defeats Labor in the Federal election. Labor maintains a majority in the Senate. Menzies becomes the Prime Minister.
- 1950 (March) Colonel Spry replaces Justice Reed as Director of A.S.I.O. Australian Secret Intelligence Service (A.S.I.S.) established.
- Menzies' Minister for the Interior Kent-Hughes declares, "Australia must become the 49th State of America".
- Albert Burns sentenced to six months jail under the Crimes Act for "seditious statements".
- (April 27) Menzies introduces Communist Party Dissolution Bill into Federal Parliament.
- (April 28) Report of the Victorian Royal Commission released.



- 1950 (May) Communist Party Dissolution Bill goes to the Senate.
- (June) Korean War breaks out, Menzies announces Australians are to join the United States in Korea.
- (Sept) McCarren Act in the U.S. introduced into Congress - it parallels Menzies C.P.D.B.
- (Oct 17) Dissolution Bill passes the Senate.
- (Oct 19) Communist Party and ten trade unions announce their intention to challenge the Bill in the High Court. Their request that the Commonwealth be restrained from implementing the Act is refused.
- (Oct 23) Communist Party headquarters in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Hobart and Darwin are raided by Security police.
- (Nov 14) High Court case opens - Evatt, deputy leader of the ALP opposition appearing for the Waterside Workers Federation.
- (Dec 2) Menzies suggests a need for the U.S. to use the Atom bomb in Korea.
- 1951 (Feb 14) Menzies returns from London and Washington. John Foster Dulles (U.S. Secretary of State) arrives. Menzies announces "Australia must be ready for war within three years".
- (March 9) High Court judgement announced. Of seven judges 6 declare the Act invalid. The dissenter is Sir John Latham. (President of the Australia America Association in 1951 and President of the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom in 1954).
- (March 16) Menzies requests the Governor General grant a double dissolution.
- (April 10) Menzies praises Mac Arthur's suggestion that the U.S. should launch an attack on China.
- (April 11) President Truman dismisses Mac Arthur.
- (April 28) Elections for both Houses result in a decreased majority for the LCP in the House of Representatives but control of the Senate. Menzies calls for a Referendum to allow him to change the Constitution and make the C.P.D.B. law and to make any other laws with respect to "communists and communism".
- (June 1) Waterside Workers and Seamen's Union offices raided by Security police.
- (June 13) Ben Chifley, leader of the Labor Party dies and Bert Evatt becomes ALP leader.
- (July 5) Constitutional Alteration (powers to deal with communists and communism) Bill introduced into House of Representatives.
- (July 7) A.S.I.O. agent Bialoguski contacts Petrov. (another story)
- U.S. Consular official supplies Sydney University Liberal Club with £1,000 for Yes campaign.
- (July 9) Australian Public Opinion Polls show an 80% "Yes" vote for the 'Red Bill'. Every Metropolitan and Provincial newspaper (except the Argus) supports Yes vote.
- (Sept 22) Referendum day - Menzies 'Red Bill' Referendum defeated by a narrow No vote (50.4%).

1952 (March)

Australian troops leave Australia for Korea.

(Sept 24)

Menzies: "The benevolent commands of a Great Empire are good for mankind, if that is American Imperialism lets have more of it!"

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# CIA DAYS—A RECOLLECTION

DURING world war two I did a couple of stints, in "rest" periods after tours of operational flying and later on becoming medically unfit for air crew duty, with some fairly high level intelligence outposts in England. My duties brought me into working contact with french, US and other outfits of a similar kind, with some of whose members I came to enjoy friendly personal relations many of which continue to this day.

I was never in the direct espionage game. My jobs were primarily counter intelligence, on the one hand, and intelligence assessment on the other. There were secondary jobs, from time to time which, all added up, gave me a rather broader than deep view of the entire "intelligence" spectrum than most people manage after a very long time in the game.

With that background, I was not greatly surprised when a US consular officer telephoned me out of the blue, while I was working with the *Sydney morning herald* a month or two before the referendum on the Communist party dissolution bill, mentioned that he was a friend of a former colleague who had stayed on "in government" and invited me to luncheon.

I called him back at the US consulate to change the date. We duly lunched. There was no question that he knew my former colleague — or that he knew a great deal about me and some of my wartime employment.

He also knew that I was president of the Sydney University Liberal club (as the Liberal party branch was called). What is more, he knew a great deal about the members of the committee of the club and their

attitudes about the forthcoming referendum. He knew we were — despite our considerable membership — short of funds.

He shared my horror that Gordon Barton, my immediate predecessor as president, was publicly opposing the referendum. He offered to find people who would subvert our worthy efforts to ensure a "yes" vote, and asked what kind of money we might need.

I did not know, but thought something of the order of, say, £500 would be helpful. He was surprised that Ash street had not come up with such a sum. I explained that one of my colleagues (now a leading member of the Hong Kong establishment) had managed to touch Ash street for £200 already.

I explained briefly the sort of thing we could do given the necessary money, and arranged for him to meet the acting treasurer and another member of the committee the following day. He met them.

Two days later they met him again, then came down to see me in the *Herald* with a donation in cash, neatly tied in a brown paper package, from "a group of men who like to see students doing the right thing".

The amount was £1000. We spent a lot of it, after a committee meeting, on printing — dodgers and pamphlets printed by the *Land* and John Fairfax as a straightforward commercial proposition — and the rest on meetings, hiring amplifying equipment, travelling and other necessary things.

Personally, I did not take much to that consular officer. We were on rather different wave lengths.

However, in due course I felt bound to return his luncheon invitation. It then emerged that he was using his consular appointment as a cover for other activities which, though not strictly to be described as "espionage", amounted to intelligence gathering in the political field plus what my chinese friends would term "cultural aggression". It further turned out that his boss in Washington, to whom he reported directly, was actually my former US air force wartime colleague himself.

It was not until many years later — in 1969 — that I established, during a visit to Washington when we met and had a meal together for the first time in over 20 years, that my old colleague held a not junior post in the CIA, which he had joined shortly after the war ended, following a stint in Japan and then the NSC at home.

My direct, personal contacts with the CIA since then have been many. I don't propose to list them all, because they would — will, that is — make quite a good book. For the same reason, you will note, I have mentioned, and shall mention, no names.

The one thing I do want to make quite clear is that it has never been I who has approached the CIA. Always, it has been they who have come to me — and been sent empty away.

My reasons for refusing ever to lend them a hand are many, and all equally, definitively, valid, in my book.

First, I am a british subject by birth, and see no reason to work for any foreign espionage or intelligence agency.

Second, I have not liked most

of the few CIA and other US agents who have come my way, though there are some outstanding exceptions like my Washington friend, who was a Yale man, and another who dropped in on me in Boston and was a former Rhodes scholar.

Third, whatever the faults of our multitude of intelligence services in the UK during the war, and bedevilled though we were with old school ie attitudes, we really were rather more efficient than most people realise, and adopted a somewhat patronising, superior attitude towards our US colleagues which history has justified, and which still affects me psychologically. I suppose.

My CIA contacts have all been so confoundingly hum or, even worse, cloak-and-daggerish upturned-collar-downturned-hat types. Just not british. They grate. The best of them, I hasten to add, are gentlemen. Could almost be british.

(In my experience, our ASIO chaps fall between the two categories. Neither british nor US in approach or attitude. The ex military gents, of course, are mostly so mock british it makes one fair squirm. They are also mostly unbelievably dumb — the sort who'd have been passed over in the rank of Lieut. Col had they not seen the writing on the wall and sent in their papers before that fate.)

Look, I could go on with page after page of hard fact; but a few bald ones will suffice. In 1956 I spent some three months in China with the late archbishop Mowll and a few other ecclesiastics — goods chaps all. A US colonel (rtd.) from the US information office in Hong Kong called upon me before we went in, showed me his credentials, revealed he knew my background, asked me to

undertake a number of small commissions inside China. He was waiting for me on my return through Hong Kong. We had a most pleasant luncheon, after which I addressed some of his staff in the US centre.

I told them frankly what I thought, and as much as I thought good for them of what I had seen — nothing they could not have worked out for themselves anyway.

In particular, I told them how the chinese listened to and laughed at Voice of America broadcasts in the same way people listened to lord Haw-Haw during the war. That was my only revelation. It struck a responsive chord. The colonel (rtd.) burst into a flood of profane words about those responsible, asked if he might quote me, and that was that.

Somehow, someone must have noted on my CIA file that I was a reliable observer of the chinese scene, because periodically, ever since then, each time I've been about to travel to, and every time I've come from, China, a CIA character has shown up and tried to pump me.

I find it irritating. In 1969, I first furnished the International Red Cross in Geneva with details of US PoW and their camps in North Vietnam. A diplomat with the rank of counsellor in London contacted me (goodness knows how he found my address there), and arranged for me to fill in some details for the State department.

This I did shortly afterwards. I had barely left the building when the CIA chap who had attended the meeting propositioned me to undertake a whole string of specific "foreign orders", having learned that I proposed to revisit Hanoi, via

China, for CBS news.

The senior chap in that organisation for whom I was working, of course, wholly supported my refusal to do a damn thing for the CIA or any similar organisation — CBS News is completely "clean", and I am glad of this chance to say so.

How the US embassy approached the late bishop Burgmann, and then one of their CIA types approached the *Anglican*, to moderate, at least, our editorial comment on Vietnam, and the financial incentives offered to us so to do, must wait.

Let me conclude in the vein I like best, with an abbreviated account of my very last encounter with the CIA.

It was in Hong Kong, november 1976.

I was crook, in hospital. I'd been negotiating with an

admirable georgian in the Novosti Press Agency to spend a few months in the Soviet Union, writing about Russia through straight western eyes — I expect to do so yet.

Along came this chap.

He identified himself because I insisted — after all, he seemed to know all about me and my business, so I thought a bit of reciprocity was the drill.

He understood I was going to work with Novosti. Yes. Well, that would give me an unusual opportunity to strike a blow for freedom and all that. So? Then he put the hard word on me, and *actually mentioned the possibility of paying me money!*

I'm usually moderately polite. But this was too much. I choofed him off — fast. After saying I knew all about him from my friends of the KGB.

He was, I fear, typical. They do rather lack the touch, you know.

FRANCIS JAMES