

Embattled French Empire Faces Unrest in Africa

EDITOR'S NOTE—The tides of opposition beat fiercely against the empire France built on the sides of the world. India is all but a drift, North Africa is shaken by waves of nationalism. William L. Ryan has surveyed the empire in both areas, as well as in France itself. This is the first of a series of articles which he portrays the empire—and how it is changing.

Mohammed Aly herds goats in Morocco. Political turmoil swirls about these peasants at outposts of the French empire, but it means nothing to them. They are illiterate and care little who rules them. They want to be left in peace to eke out a living the way their forefathers did for ages before them. They are in the vast majority. In contrast are educated men like Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, Mohammed Kiouane of Algeria and Allal el Fassi of Morocco. These are nationalist leaders dedicated to driving French political domination out of North

Africa. It is ironic that France educated them. Even Ho Chi Minh, Communist leader who seized the nationalist movement in Indochina, owes much of his education to France. Once native leaders looked upon the French as miracle workers, France was strong and promised them a better way of life. The destruction of French grandeur in the wake of two world wars produced cracks in the French empire that are still widening. Indochina is slipping away in the East. A new Indochina-like problem, this one in North Africa, is brewing.

In today's world of swift communications, propaganda, subversion and rising nationalism, the methods of half a century ago, when France was at the height of her power, do not suffice. "Force no longer frightens us," a North African nationalist told me. "The French mass their troops and play the 'Marseillaise' to impress us with their glory and their power, but we are no longer impressed."

—all these have served to delay Western defense plans so much that the European Defense Community may never come to pass with the unity in which it was conceived. **MOSCOW SKILLFUL** Moscow plays with French politics skillfully. In Geneva, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov made a tough, unbending speech, and the French government fell, to be succeeded by another likely more willing to appease its way out of difficulties.

The postwar period brought further splintering of French political factions, rising Communist power in metropolitan France, in decision in Paris, coincident with the growing tide of nationalism. In the East, the sweep of Red power permitted communism to capture the nationalist movement. In North Africa, the rise of the Arab League gave the once tiny nationalist force the idea that hundreds of millions of Arabs backed its aspirations. Concessions might have satisfied nationalist demands—particularly the demands of moderates who admitted they would need French help for a long time to come. But few political concessions were forthcoming, and the number of moderates grew less.

Today a large section of French opinion hopes to salvage the rest of the union. Businessmen quietly withdraw from Indochina, first hopefully setting themselves up in North Africa, and then, seeing there too the seeds of trouble, shifting them to more solidly held sections of the empire in west Africa. Once again a pattern takes shape. In Tunisia a "liberation army" already is in being. One cannot say for sure how nationalist influence is in it. But it requires only a small group of disciplined opportunists to change a nationalist movement into a Communist one. The world learned that in Indochina.

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Radio Schedule

Program listings are prepared by the radio stations.

KERG CBS 1280 **KORE** MBS 1480 **KUGN** NBC 890 **KASH** ABC 1600

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1954

Mr. Keene Symphony Hall	Gabriel Heatter Perry Como Virgil Pinkley Sam Hayes	Alex Dreier Local News KUGN Calls KUGN Calls	News at 8 Dinner Hour Concert Dinner Concert
My Friend, Irma Lowell Thomas Tenn. Crnie	Harmontes News, Headline Records at Random	Fiber McGee KUGN Calls KUGN Calls	Wayne King Show Henry Taylor Headline Edit.
Peter Lind Hays	Tell Me Dr. Home Fires Let George Do It	Morgan Beatty I Man's Family Railroad Hour Voice of Firestone	Concert Moods Timber Trail Voice of Firestone
World News My Best 50 Yrs. World of Music	News of Air Mutual News NW News Rand. Records	Telephone Hour Telephone Hour Bandwagon Bandwagon	Top Pops Top Pops Doorway to the Future
Record Show Record Show Marino Reserve Rhythmic	Fulton Lewis Frank Edwards Hurdle News Rand. Records	Reporter These Records These Are Records	Late News Top Pops Top Pops Top Pops
Symphony Hall Symphony Hall This I Believe	Unexpected Records at Random	These are Records Records	Top Pops Top Pops Top Pops

TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1954

News, America Serenade in Morning Farm Spotlight AG & 4H	Coffee Clock Coffee Clock Coffee Clock AG & 4H	World News Yawn Patrol Yawn Patrol	News, Rhythm Rhythm Rndup News, Rhythm Rhythm Rndup
World News Local News Frank Goss Harry Babbitt	Hemingway Breakfast Gang News of Night	John Lee Wills Songs of West Local News Knox Manning Rhythm, D. Bell	Rhythm Rndup Rural Roundup Bob Garred Rhythm, D. Bell
8:00 Clock Serenade This I Believe Churches Speak	Cecil Brown News Haven of Rest Haven of Rest	KUGN Klock KUGN Klock KUGN Klock Unity Viewpt.	Breakfast Club Breakfast Club Breakfast Club Breakfast Club
On Sunnyside Ma Perkins Dr. Malone Ladies' Boutt.	Rand. Records Stork Club Springfield Quiz Rand. Records	World News Coffee Time Coffee Time Fashions	Mart. Agronsky Chet Huntley My True Story
Treasure chest Perry Mason Nora Drake Brighter Day	Newspaper of Air Tello Test Rand. Records Dial for Dough	P. Fradrick 2nd Chance Strike It Rich Strike It Rich	Musical Moods Mod. Romances Girl Marries
Lane News Ring Crosby House Party	News Rand. Records Queen for a Day Queen for a Day	Records with Russ Phrase Pays KUGN Calls	Berch. Whisper Streets Musical Moods
Local News Serenade Godfrey Arthur Godfrey	Noon News Farm News Game of the Day	World News Local News Tune Shop Old Trader	News Parade Weather Farm Rhythm Rndup Paul Harvey
Arthur Godfrey Arthur Godfrey Arthur Godfrey Aunt Jenny	Game of the Day Game of the Day Game of the Day	Backstage Wifs Fashions KUGN Notes Woman, House	Sam Hayes Rhythm-Rndup Accent on Melody
Mike & Buff Corner Story Hour Story Hour	Game of the Day Notes & notices Sam Hayes Nws	Just Plain Bill Frl. pg. Farrell Lorenzo Jones Pay's, married	Siesta, D. Bell Siesta Serenade Siesta Serenade Siesta Serenade
Cliff's Corner Cliff's Corner	Game of Day News Garden Guide Tello Test	World News Music Fashions Dr. Paul How do it?	Siesta Serenade Siesta Serenade Siesta, Bell
Cliff's Corner Story Hour Story Hour	Fulton Lewis Hemingway Notes & notices Sam Hayes Nws	Duke's Dilem. Duke's Dilem. Duke's Dilem. Knox Manning	Ted Malone Duke's Dilem. Lookouts Accent on Safety
Ed. R. Murrow Frank Goss Sports Parade Local News	Records at Random Records at Random	Skip-a-long Skip-a-long Skip-a-long Elmer Peterson	Accent Safety Bill Stern Chet Huntley Edwin C. Hill

TV Schedules

Program listings are prepared by the TV stations.

KVAL-TV—Channel 13 **KOIN-TV—CHANNEL 6**

Monday, June 21	Monday, June 21
7:00 pm News, Sports, Weather	6:00 pm Oregon Boxing
7:30 pm For Your Information	6:30 pm Mr. Weatherman
8:00 pm Who Said That?	6:35 pm Sports Scene
8:30 pm Comment	6:40 pm News Parade
9:00 pm Town & Country	6:45 pm Lightning Warrior
9:30 pm Root Gibson Show	7:00 pm Studio One
10:00 pm Sen. Subcommittee Hearings	8:00 pm Allens and Burns
10:30 pm Studio Premiere	8:30 pm Masquerade Show
Tuesday, June 22	Tuesday, June 22
6:00 pm Castbook, Beverly Bruntton	9:00 pm I Love Lucy
6:30 pm Big Roundup	9:30 pm Adolph Menjou
7:00 pm Big Roundup	10:00 pm TV Hour
	11:00 pm Stories of the Centuries
	11:30 pm Showtime
WEDNESDAY, June 23	Tuesday, June 22
9:45 am Variety Time	10:00 am Robert Q. Lewis
10:00 am Secret Storm	10:15 am Secret Storm
10:30 am KOIN Kitchen	10:30 am KOIN Kitchen
11:00 am The Big Payoff	11:00 am The Big Payoff
11:30 am Bob Crosby Show	11:30 am Bob Crosby Show
12:00 pm Editor's Desk	12:00 pm Editor's Desk
12:15 pm Mr. Weatherman	12:15 pm Mr. Weatherman
12:30 pm Spotlight Revue	12:30 pm Spotlight Revue
12:45 pm Robert Q. Lewis	12:45 pm Robert Q. Lewis
1:00 pm Brighter Day	1:00 pm Brighter Day
1:15 pm Love of Life	1:15 pm Search for Tomorrow
1:30 pm Guiding Light	1:30 pm Guiding Light
1:45 pm Vallant Lady	1:45 pm Vallant Lady
2:00 pm Garry Moore Show	2:00 pm Garry Moore Show
2:30 pm Strike It Rich	2:30 pm Strike It Rich
3:00 pm Garry Moore Show	3:00 pm Garry Moore Show
3:30 pm Armchair Theatre	3:30 pm Armchair Theatre
4:30 pm Mr. Moon	4:30 pm Mr. Moon
4:45 pm Cartoon Time	4:45 pm Cartoon Time
5:00 pm Saddle Pals	5:00 pm Saddle Pals
5:30 pm Doug Edwards News	5:30 pm Doug Edwards News
5:45 pm Jo Stafford Show	5:45 pm Jo Stafford Show

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THE MISFORTUNE

The misfortune of France is this: it displays less and less ability to cope with the complex problem of defending its important position in today's world. The misfortune of the people of the French Union who aspire to national independence is this: they are subject to being used by outside forces. No matter how just their aspirations sound to sympathetic ears in the West, their future is bound up with the struggle of Western civilization for survival. Political instability in areas important to defense is an expensive luxury from the West's point of view.

France's splintered politics, the tug and pull of ancient fears and prejudices, the faithful service to Moscow by Communists in Paris

—all these have served to delay Western defense plans so much that the European Defense Community may never come to pass with the unity in which it was conceived. **MOSCOW SKILLFUL** Moscow plays with French politics skillfully. In Geneva, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov made a tough, unbending speech, and the French government fell, to be succeeded by another likely more willing to appease its way out of difficulties.

Many French politicians, ears attuned to grass-roots weariness from eight years of warfare in Southeast Asia, announced themselves willing to write off Indochina. "Let's make the best of it" became the slogan. How did it all come to pass? France consolidated her empire at the height of her power and glory. After her defeat by Prussia in 1870, France was determined to show the world she would be a world power. She pinned down her authority in the Far East. She turned to North Africa and made Tunisia a protectorate. She moved into Morocco and by 1912 established her authority.

The show was impressive. France put an end to tribal warfare, built roads, harbors, industries, great white cities. She brought health and hygiene so that local populations now are more than doubled. She even brought education, though belatedly and to a relative few. Native leaders looked up to the French as wonder workers, miracle men who could make a wilderness flourish and even make native leaders richer.

FRANCE'S DOWNFALL

French prestige remained little damaged in the eyes of such people until France lay prostrate at

Hitler's feet. The Allies' slogan of "self-determination," an expression of conscience amid a war for survival, found attentive ears in colonial areas. There was little discussion then whether such areas were ready for self-rule.

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CRISIS TO CRISIS

Today France moves from crisis to crisis. The French found that weapons, no matter how modern, and soldiers, no matter how numerous, were not enough. It was impossible to bomb an ideology.

In Indochina, the French retreated into their Maginot Line idea, defending what they thought they could and fighting against a steady attrition of harassment. When the enemy decided to come into the open and fight, it was

on his terms. France lost a great battle at Dien Bien Phu. The tide was running against her. Politically, she had nothing to fill the vacuum. The only native organization was Communist-controlled. France had permitted no effective political organization to counter it.

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