

Edmund A. Gullion Oral History Interview – JFK#6, 04/29/1977
Administrative Information

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Biographical Note

Gullion was a United States Diplomat in Saigon from 1949 to 1952; the Deputy Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Administration from 1960 to 1961; and the United States Ambassador to the Republic of the Congo from 1961 to 1964. In this interview Gullion discusses the State Department's staff for Africa; the U.S. policy towards the Congo and Katangese secession; the process of and difficulties with arranging a meeting between Moise Kapenda Tshombe and Cyrille Adoula at Kitona Air Base; and UN military operations and other actions in the Congo, among other issues.

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Edmund A. Gullion – JFK #6
Table of Contents

<u>Page</u>	<u>Topic</u>
1	State Department staff for Africa
2	U.S. policy towards the Congo and Katangese secession
2	John F. Kennedy's commitment to the U.S. Congo policy
3	Trying to arrange a meeting between Moise Kapenda Tshombe and Cyrille Adoula at Kitona
4	The French and Indochina
5	Tshombe pushes for more and more from the United States
6	"Considerable latitude" for Gullion in the Kitona mission
7	Difficulties with Tshombe
8	Gullion's reports on Kitona
9	Limited objectives, and the UN military operations in the Congo
10	Kolwezi as a symbol
10	Which governmental organizations were involved?

Sixth Oral History Interview

With

EDMUND A. GULLION

April 29, 1977

By Paula Kilcoyne

For the John F. Kennedy Library

KILCOYNE: Okay. Let's talk about _____ at the State Department were _____.

GULLION: Well, you've named three principal people: Ball [George W. Ball], Williams [G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams], and of course Dean Rusk. I think that the Secretary was more intermittent. Of course he was the closest advisor to Kennedy [John F. Kennedy]. But in addition to Assistant Secretary Williams and to George Ball, as Undersecretary, you have to think of the people on the desk in African Affairs: Sheldon Vance [Sheldon B. Vance], for example. And before him, Mac Godley [G. McMurtrie "Mac" Godley] who just recently retired as Ambassador. Those were the principal people concerned, although the Bureau of International Organization Affairs with Harlan Cleveland [J. Harlan Cleveland] and Dick Gardner [Richard Newton Gardner], was an important concern since the principal instrument that we had chosen to employ—if I can put it that way—was the United Nations. And then a great deal of the controversy and crises, the successive crises in the Congo, were played out in the United Nations. And the United Nations Bureau, International Organization Bureau, had to defend the policies in Congress and budget hearings and things of that sort, so it'd count them in there.

KILCOYNE: Could you— From what I've read about _____, do you know anything about _____?

GULLION: Well, incidentally, we should go back here to Averell Harriman [William

Averell Harriman] among the group of people concerned in this. And of course President Kennedy was intensely concerned with these matters. It will be recalled that his first appointment that he made in the executive branch was actually Governor Williams [G. Mennen “Soapy” Williams], _____ Williams. And he appointed him as Assistant Secretary of African Affairs before he made any other appointments, to give an emphasis to Africa. The accession to independence of the African states has been rather recent. And with pretty wise judgment, the State Department decided to move quickly to collect these submissions and deploy them. They took generally younger men and mostly career men for this post. That was all indicative of the President’s own interest in this matter. Now, to go back to the second question, it was—

KILCOYNE: _____ What was the _____?

GULLION: Well, I think it is true that Ball had had more of his career interests and legal career in relation to Europe and to France than he had in developing countries. The important thing to realize is that there were great stress lines that ran through our policy. On the one hand, we had sympathy in which we operated for the aspirations of colonial peoples toward independence. We had taken some rather risky decisions in respect to Congo policy. Among them was that we would take a line that favored nonalignment. In other words the Congo had been at the Belgrade Conference of the unaligned. And it would turn away from the Dulles [John Foster Dulles] policy of he who is not with us is against us or neutrality is somehow simple. So we had elected to work through the United Nations when Lumumba [Patrice Lumumba], who came from the Congo to seek aid I believe in ’60, ’61, wanted bilateral assistance from the United States. He was told, I believe by Chris Herter [Christian A. Herter], that that was not the way to do it. That this was inviting Cold War tensions into his country and getting great powers involved. He ought to try the United Nations. So the idea of working with the United Nations, as well as accepting the idea of nonalignment, represented a very important change in emphasis in what we did.

Now, I’m getting ahead of your questions and our story. But as the history of the Congo unrolls through a series of crises involving the United Nations in conflict with the Katangese rebels, this policy of the United States came under great fire. It was in direct conflict with the sympathies of our European allies. I think that Great Britain, Belgium really wanted to see the Congo united and not divided. But the French were not at all sure. I think that they played both cards on both tables. They tried to keep a hand in in Katanga as well as a hand in in Leopoldville. But we were actually backing efforts to keep the country united and preserve its territorial integrity, which saw the UN troops really conflicting with Tshombe [Moise Kapenda Tshombe], who was sort of the Belgian _____ man. And so that there was a direct conflict between European interests and the interests of our allies and those of Africa. Well, now what is your next question?

KILCOYNE: _____. How much of the Congo policies _____?

GULLION: Of course the buck stops at the White House. He had to make decisions. He was committed to the territorial integrity of the Congo. He had also

been deeply impressed with the early experiences of Vietnam. He did not want to see a division of the country which could lead to the kinds of conflicts that you had in Vietnam. He had had some experience—I had been able to talk with him in Saigon in these years. And he had acquired a real interest in this, and he was inclined to see sometimes a parallel, not all of them, in my view, well-founded, between the situation in Africa, see in Algeria and the Congo, with Indochina. He did not want to get the United States directly involved. And so the UN solution seemed to appeal to him.

However, when you have the spectacle of UN troops fighting black troops, Katangese troops, the British would become very much alarmed. And Ormsby-Gore [Lord Harlech, William David Ormsby-Gore], later Lord Harlech, who was then Ambassador, had come to see the President. I could see some reflection of a desire to conciliate, you see, to find a compromise. So that he was always under pressure of this kind. I remember his attitude toward Tshombe. Should Tshombe come to the United States? Should he be given a visa? And a troop of State Department people came over to the White House—I was with them—and the President said, “Why do I have to give him a visa?” He didn’t want to give him a visa. Why do this? In general, I would say that Kennedy was the decider of last resort, at least for me. And I could appeal to him. I mean I was Ambassador. I was United States Ambassador, not the Department of State’s ambassador, although I am a career man.

And we were able to communicate, curiously, by shortwave radio, the President and I, and occasionally through phone patch on this amateur radio... phone patch as they call it; you can speak to some other amateur, and this amateur then can patch it into a phone of somebody else. This is what you’re definitely not supposed to do on amateur radio so that enemies of the US policy position—Senator Dodd [Thomas J. Dodd] would get after us because we were going against the FCC international regulations, using amateur radio for business purposes. We switched over to what’s called the military amateur radio system, MARS, and used that. I don’t mean to say we were doing this all the time. But communications were rather uncertain, and this shortwave business, single-side band, was an easy way to speak directly to the desk at the State Department and occasionally to the President. So I bring this up to cite the fact that he was directly involved in this. And I think that your paper deals with Kitona [Kitona Air Base].

My mission on going out there was, initially, to try to arrange, including an effort to arrange if not a coalition at least some kind of understanding between the opposing elements of force in the country; that is, the PNC Lumumba and Lumumba’s Party, and the interests that centered around Adoula [Cyrille Adoula], then Prime Minister, and Mobutu [Mobutu Sese Seko], the current chief of state there, and try to bring them together. They represented also three different divisions, three different sectors, of the country. To try to get this triangle unified and to bring about a meeting of some understanding between Tshombe and Adoula, that is, between Leopoldville and Elizabethville, which would obviate the dangers of some kind of clash between the United Nations troops and local rebels. Obviously the spectacle of the UN, with guns in hand, exercising a combatant role was one that nobody really wanted to see—least of all the UN. Tshombe forced the pace from time to time.

It was the President who issued the decisive appeal at one point to get them together at Kitona. And at this point our communications system really failed because I don’t know why we couldn’t be reached in the ordinary code business, but neither the shortwave business. So I didn’t get the President’s desires on this but with some delay. Prime Minister

Adoula was off in one far part of the country, about as far from Tshombe and Katanga as one could get. And the effort then was to bring them together. And I really had to fiddle a bit with the terms of reference that the President had furnished because the invitation was so conceived that I didn't think Adoula would go. And Tshombe, I knew, that his effort would be to try to transform this into some sort of recognition of his legitimacy as presiding officer of an independent state, I mean a secessionist state. But that's a long story. But I bring it up to say that this was an initiative of Kennedy's particular Kitona experiment.

KILCOYNE: _____. I listened to the taped interview you did.

GULLION: Mm-hmm.

KILCOYNE: And you said that Kennedy was _____. And I thought if you could just elaborate on what he thought _____.

GULLION: Well, let me think back a bit on this. Well, yes. I think that there was a tendency to translate the Congo experience in terms of Algeria. Shortly after the President, before he was President, had come back from the Congo—I mean from Indochina, Indochina—he had some views upon independence for Algeria, and the impossibility of the French being able to withhold independence from Algeria and the possibility of its leading to something like the French quagmire in Indochina. And he tried to present those parallels, as I recall it, in speeches. And brought down on him the indignation of de Lattre [Jean de Lattre], people in the State Department, and others. Can we hold this a minute? [Break in recording] And he was criticized as a very junior fellow and pushing his nose into big matters that the French wanted to dispose of. There is a parallel that I would cite in this connection: If de Gaulle [Charles A. de Gaulle] had made the same statement with respect to Indochina as he made in Africa, in Brazzaville across the river from Leopoldville, I doubt if either the French or we would have ever had the experience of Indochina. As he informed the French Francophone African states—colonies—that they could go free or stay associated with France or do what they wanted to do, no such offering was ever held out to the Indochinese peoples.

As a matter of fact, de Gaulle was against it. He, I think, saw this thing in Indochina not so much as a conflict between, oh, the Soviet Union or Communist China, as he didn't want the Anglo-Saxons, his real bugbear, to interrupt the historic French colonial mandate in Indochina. He's a man of censure, a man of _____ almost. His early life led him to be suspicious of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. He always grouped us, the Americans, with the English. And he was, of course, further embittered by his experiences in World War II. So he wanted to dispose of Indochina himself. And he was the first powerful Frenchman, the first man in a position of power to have done something about this during the postwar, and he didn't. So this, too, I think, was known to Kennedy. And therefore he wanted to pull out the idea that this colonial experiment, what the transfer of sovereignty was to the Congo, should be allowed to work, and the country should not fall prey, as a result, to disunion and the competition of competitive powers. So there was this experience of Indochina and his feeling about it.

And I think also, speaking with, I guess, historical objectivity, I think he planned, rather than not, to accept my views of the situation as they evolved and as I presented them. Because we had to have some contact in Indochina. I can't remember what I said on the tape many years ago on this particular subject, but that's what I said.

KILCOYNE: _____.

GULLION: Yes.

KILCOYNE: This is this specifically about the _____. You said that after Tshombe had asked Kennedy for _____.

GULLION: Yes.

KILCOYNE: You talked to Kennedy by a hand radio. And he said that _____. And then he said, "_____ instructions one, two, three, four, five without hesitation." Do you remember what those instructions were?

GULLION: No, I don't. But it's interesting that you say this because it begins to jog my memory some. I'm not sure of the chronology. It sounds as if much was compressed there because this play of Tshombe's was continuous. It was not only just the immediate foreground to Kitona, but during Kitona and afterwards and during the whole of his secession period, this effort to say, seize on any kind of dealing with the United States and turn it into some implicit or explicit recognition of his obvious whatever: belligerency, sovereignty, independence, and so on. So that I can't remember just at what point in this chain this particular reference to Kennedy occurred. Because when we actually started at Kitona, when I went to Ndola to pick up Tshombe, and from there for a period of three or four days was incommunicado, was not in communication with the President or the Department, so I don't know that this could have occurred right at that time. I must listen to this tape myself and see what I said. Or check files that they don't have, Department files, Department of State files. But this would have been entirely consistent.

One of the things that Tshombe wanted at Kitona, he wanted assurances of his safety. But he wanted to make this in such a way that we became his guarantors not only for his safety, but we dealt with him as something other than a president of a province but sort of as a chief of an organization. He also wanted assurances—he wanted to turn this cease-fire into a permanent armistice, in which political discussions could be made.

KILCOYNE: _____.

GULLION: Yes, he would like to have transformed this kind of ceasefire for a short period of time into something like a general _____, and he did—while I was at the Queen Elizabeth Guest House near Ndola, late at night, with him to talk about the arrangements for taking him to Kitona—tried to get out of me all sorts of assurances, which I was just not prepared to give him. And we parted company on a very inconclusive and not very friendly note. I said, "You know you can come or not come as you

will.” I could see his entourage was much worried about a resumption of hostilities. Very much so, nervousness in the ranks. And I told him that I couldn’t be responsible for the UN’s actions. Contrary to what he might believe, these were not my troops. But if he couldn’t come, well, then this temporary cessation of—I couldn’t tell what was going to happen. So I left it up to him to draw his own conclusions.

And when I left and went back, I called Lord Alfred [?], who was then the British High Commissioner, who was much concerned that we had been beastly to Tshombe. I told him I wasn’t beastly to Tshombe. But that I had my own brief to follow. But I said, “I want to get some assurance that the man is actually coming to the airport to get the plane.” The plane being President Kennedy’s plane. I think it was *Columbine* or whatever they called it in those days. And I’d want some assurance that he had passed a certain checkpoint on the road; it was quite a distance from this guesthouse to the airport. I didn’t want to leave my hotel and get out there and be waiting. So something like this was done. I don’t remember the details.

And Alfred, as I remember, was at the airport also, and was putting in this British word of don’t tread on him. I was not treading on him. I think that actually he was getting the best place he possibly could. He was stalling a UN operation that might have been decisive for his future. He was getting the intervention interest of the United States, President of the United States. Mistake in getting his own personal prestige on this thing. So I never felt that he was being downtrodden or that I was being beastly to him. I got him on the plane eventually. He was tired out, and we gave him a beefsteak, and he went to bed and went to Kitona.

KILCOYNE: Okay. _____ the State Department _____. _____ a long list of _____.

GULLION: Oh, yes. I mean yes. I had considerable latitude in this mission in the Congo—I think more than chiefs of mission usually have. We were doing things—I’m not talking about Kitona now expressly. But the whole period there, ’61 to ’63, we were doing things that had probably not been done before, in modern times at least by diplomatic missions, that we had really almost an executive voice, an advisory voice in the UN that was a strong influence with Adoula and influence potentially with Tshombe. And the forms of doing business out there were so different that the local fellow does have some autonomy. In other words, you could look at a constitution _____, which the British—I’m sorry, the Belgians—had _____ governance of the Congo. You’ve got a foreign office, and you’ve got a chief-of-state, and you think that you just follow the normal routine and can deal with the foreign office and make your representation, get instructions from Washington. And I said to the foreign minister—he said to me, “Well, this bears little resemblance to how we operated, as to how one does operate in some developing countries, at least when the United States is not in the status of low profile, which we are at the time of this interview. This would be a caricature. So that a good deal did depend on the center, in the US embassy, in Zaire now, then the Congo. It should also be recognized that a country like the Congo did not have much in the way of representation in Washington, the sort of focus of US relations with that country, what would be the embassy in Zaire.

Now going back to Kitona, yes, the objectives were there, and one tried to realize them. At the same time, one had to be aware that if you made it look like or indeed if it were a United States dictate, it wouldn’t hold up. And you were playing into the hands of Tshombe

or into the hands of Adoula or into the hands of the European _____ the whole operation. So I tried to take a policy of not going into meetings in the rooms of Tshombe and Adoula unless I was called in, you see. Can't remember the occasions when I was called in and whether I'd indicated that I was accepted to getting called in. But especially on the part of the Tshombe team, _____? What have you got to do with all this? You know why? You know why are we doing this? Haven't we gone beyond the colonial era? But I was careful not to make a record of intervention of that kind.

The difficulty at one point was really keeping them both there, both Adoula and Tshombe. And I had more difficulty actually with Adoula, our protagonist, if you will, than with Tshombe because Adoula saw this as useless. That Tshombe was staging this as a kind of charade. And that he was not going to recognize, if you will, the central government. But we did a lot of political, which they would then discuss the detailed operations, say, of education, of mining, the functions of the State and see how it's put together. And he wanted to go, and then Tshombe wanted to go. And the thing really reached an impasse. I was chasing the Leopold people around the shrubbery, around this disused hospital, and encouraged them to get back to work. Tshombe asked to see me and said would I fly him to Ndola in the President's plane. And I said, No, I have no navigational aids down there and this is night. And this vehicle is not fit for this thing. I also got the pilot to tell him this.

And then he wanted to go to Brazzaville. And I just said no. I mean that was, if you will, kind of an exercise of power. If one would have a good reason for not doing it, I mean I didn't have the permission of taking him to a third country and all that involved. And of course he had some supporters in Brazzaville, the only two countries to support Katanga, the only two places in all of Africa were Congo Brazzaville and Madagascar. Every other African was opposed to this fragmentation effort. And we finally reached _____ as I remember, either Moutet [Marius Moutet], the Frenchman in the UN delegation, or Chiari [?], who was a Tunisian. Tshombe was a great hypochondriac, and he had decided that his blood had gotten too thick; that's what he said. And he sort of retired back into his suite in this disused hospital and sort of wouldn't come out, like an old otter in a riverbank somehow. He wouldn't get out of there. And people had to go in and see him. And their willingness to continue talks was not achieved by any sentiment between Tshombe and Adoula, but it was decided that there would be identical letters from and on behalf of the Secretary General of the UN [Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld]. And then Tshombe and Adoula would each reply in much the same sense. So this was supposed to be the seal on this day, and one looked like one had something all stuck together.

And there were— I don't recall the depths of it, which was just what the documentary result of all this was. But we left there with a great feeling of achievement on the way to the airport, riding in trucks at night. Tshombe had a press conference at the plane, in which he was saying that he—all of a sudden everything was up for ratification. Then he wanted to know why _____ find that funny. But that he would operate in a democratic way, and that he had a Katanga assembly, and that he'd been under considerable duress at Kitona, and that everything had to be ratified by his parliament, see. Well, anyway, that was true. So in a sense he disavowed what was there. But later did come up with some _____ to Leopoldville and was there for some months, discussing under UN offices what kinds of modalities, procedures, by which the two parts of the country could agree on how to run the mines, how to run the post office, how to run the educational system and so on.

KILCOYNE: Okay. I've also come across another cable that you sent to the State Department; it was dated December 21. And one of the things that it explained was in the beginning, because it was _____ Adoula draft, and Tshombe was _____ and then it broke down. Do you know what the _____ were to this Adoula draft _____?

GULLION: That's where I said that I just....

[END OF TRACK 1]

GULLION: ...the documentary evidence on this thing is not just forgotten. I can imagine what it was to reconstruct. I imagine it was along the lines I was just talking about, the procedure for talking about the various joint operations and then gradually an agreement to understand, to operate together and bring Tshombe back into the fold. But I cannot remember the terms of it in any detail.

KILCOYNE: _____.

GULLION: _____.

KILCOYNE: _____ was it you _____ the United Nations _____.

GULLION: Well, I would doubt very much if it was the Cabinet. And I would imagine that we had had something to do with it. I can't remember just now, but I would think so. I'm surprised. Well, I'm surprised and not surprised, but I don't remember that. It has been a long time—15 years now.

KILCOYNE: I think you already answered this question, but did you know _____?

GULLION: Yes, I guess that I felt we had him a little bit more committed than he turned out to be. I do remember sending back a report from the plane, using the Air Force; the Air Force met some of the attaché planes, and I went back on their plane. I don't know whether it was ever received. And then I sent a much longer report the next day from Leopoldville. And if you've seen that cable, it was quite a long one, that is a full account of it. And curiously, I think one of the best accounts of this whole period and which I would go to first, because it's much harder than I would ever imagine to get to see my own cable, and I don't know what's in the Kennedy Library in this respect. But, you know, you have to go through all sorts of procedures at the State Department to get access to this kind of material. After 15 years maybe we've passed some kind of a milestone on that, and it may be easier.

But Norman Cousins happened to come into town just when I was getting back. And I put him up at my house. That's the *Saturday Review* man. And of course I just sort of let go with telling about this story. And I gave him probably the fullest account of the whole thing that has been published. And he devoted a very large part of the *Saturday Review* describing

it. And this would have been right about that time. I have not seen it, even thought of it until you asked me about this cable. But that would be the fullest account of what actually went on other than my report on it that I can't recall in detail.

INTERVIEW: Just a couple more questions. Would you say the Kennedy Administration supported limited objectives _____ only because of domestic and allied pressure? Or did they really want the UN to succeed?

GULLION: Well, I told you about the sort of lines of cleavage among the policymakers. As I say, this was the risky bit. The very first parts, when we first started to work with the UN, there was one group that thought that we were providing a Trojan Horse for the Russians. Then there was another group who were appalled at the idea that the UN troops would actually get engaged in shooting at this. And they were thinking of the UN as a church-of-the-world type of thing, town meeting of the world, and not as an organization with guns in its hands. However, if you read the charter, it's a rather militant document in some parts. And you had our allies who were the Belgians, of course. This thing was brought to the UN on the motion of the Secretary General so that the Belgians were not exactly pilloried, and they did want the Congo to be united. And they themselves were very divided because of the difference in the commercial, financial interests and the government interests was quite apparent. _____ in my view really were the mainsprings of secession. They'd drawn this _____ around Katanga. There was order there compared to the rest of the country. This was where all the mineral wealth, most of the foreign exchange earnings of the country were generated, and this was to be preserved. But the political people, Stock [?] and the rest, saw a different perspective.

So the limited objectives, I think, in the context that you use it, means the military operations. Tshombe usually obliged in a sense by starting the ball in these things by attacking and then putting up roadblocks. And then the UN retaliated by pulling down the roadblocks to restore freedom of movement. But they didn't stop at pulling down the roadblocks within in the City of Elizabethville. They moved out on the roads, you see, to clean up this thing and prevent this kind of terrible situation which had been hanging over for months with incidents and allegations and UN atrocities and the rest of it.

Then this began to look—and the press was making it look.... Unfortunately the *New York Times* was paralyzed by a strike, and they had some man down there. But he couldn't—his stuff was never published. His name was Lloyd Garrison. In pursuing the issue, I talked to him. It looked as if the UN was off on its own military expedition. There was a fear—whether it was legitimate or not—that in the operation of the mines, the Kolwezi would be flooded and the whole thing damaged. And that the UN on no account should think of itself as authorized to launch a punitive expedition. My own view on _____ was quite different. I think the thing would be almost floodless. That this was within the powers of these resolutions, scores of resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly, all of their confusions _____ those things. And that we shouldn't be too alarmed about it. There was alarmed despondency in some high quarter in the department; I don't know to this day how they divided on this.

A group went to see U Thant, who, by the way, was a much more timid character in this respect than Hammarskjöld. He was fearful of the House of the UN being torn apart,

fearful of this payments crisis that had arisen and seemed about to bankrupt the UN. It was just a dangerous operation, and the UN was really at risk all the time and was about to be defeated by a bunch of gendarmerie or losing its world support by being active. And he was not strong on this. And he was being fed mostly by the Arab caucus in the UN, whose views were not exact. For example, that everyone out there wanted the UN forces withdrawn. They did not. I mean I canvassed practically every embassy out there, including Communist embassies. And the State Department I got to launch an independent inquiry at selected capitals around the world, and the general view was it'd be a disaster to withdraw them.

So when the road to Kolwezi looked as if you were getting a countrywide thing, I would compare the reaction a bit—although it was much _____—to the feeling of the incursion into Cambodia; it just was a widening of the war somehow by the UN. And so they went to see U Thant. And there's a river called the Luilu River, I think it is called, which intervenes there between where the UN troops were and Kolwezi. And he gave assurances that the troops would not cross the Luilu River. And as I heard it—now this is something that ought to be checked—that there was then alarm and despondency among the Americans because they knew that the UN had already crossed the Luilu River. We knew it, I knew it because of the fact that—partly in order that the American press would not get the exaggerated idea that there were holocausts taking place in the Congo, I had arranged for a military attaché to be down there. He would have access—the press would have access to him. We would have an account on it. But he knew the importance of communication, and he had better communications with us, than the UN had with New York. So we were better informed about the position of the UN troops, Indian troops, than the world organization did. And so I think that our fellows in New York thought that U Thant was giving them a bill of goods.

Why I go into this is that I'm just bringing it down to our present situation. You could say that the road to Kolwezi—from Kolwezi... and I compare the intense interest in the United States, the perception that this was terribly important to the future of Africa and to the future of the international system. And I thought a low profile now—well, let George do it, hopefully there are some Georges doing it. It's a curious lineup. The Moroccans, the French. Here are the French who lost greatly by their role in the Congo and now are becoming top dogs, I should think. Okay. It's better that somebody does it than it not be done. I would rather see almost anybody else do this. But the French and the Moroccans and _____ the other African states are doing it. Now, you can do this. You can do enormous amounts in the Congo, in any country in Africa, I think with a very, very small number of troops. Or a determined man. Unfortunately, we saw this demonstrated by the use of mercenaries. My period out there, we were entirely up against that. Then this period when Tshombe came in, he scoped out our whole policy, the kind of fellow we've been against. And he keeps himself entirely _____ mercenary columns. But nevertheless, he did demonstrate what can be done with a small number of troops. If there are 1500 or 3,000—I've seen both figures mentioned—Moroccan troops down there, it's enough. _____. But it's sort of come full cycle now, and Kolwezi is a symbol.

KILCOYNE: _____.

GULLION: Well, I think that what is really more important than what governmental

organizations were active, of course, clear across the board everybody was involved in this: the National Security Council, the President, the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, the European High Command which continued to plan all this. That part of the Pentagon which was backing our limited effort in the military sense, we didn't actually operate in country. We ferried UN troops from different parts of the world to the place. We put up the money. We did various missions and advised on the formation of the country's army. And only during the emergency we did a little bit—we would carry down some things to Katanga. We didn't operate in country. Well, okay. So military....

[END OF TRACK 2]

[END OF INTERVIEW]

Edmund A. Gullion Oral History Transcript – JFK #6
Name List

A

Adoula, Cyrille, 3, 4, 6-8
Alfred, Lord, 6

B

Ball, George W., 1, 2

C

Chiari, 7
Cleveland, J. Harlan, 1
Cousins, Norman, 8

D

de Gaulle, Charles A., 4, 5
Dodd, Thomas J., 3
Dulles, John Foster, 2

G

Gardner, Richard Newton, 1
Garrison, Lloyd, 9
Godley, G. McMurtie “Mac”, 1

H

Hammar skjöld, Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl, 7, 9
Harlech, Lord (William David Ormsby-Gore), 3
Harriman, William Averell, 1, 2

K

Kennedy, John F., 1-9, 11

L

Lattre, Jean de, 4
Lumumba, Patrice, 2, 3

M

Mobutu Sese Seko, 3
Moutet, Marius, 7

R

Rusk, Dean, 1

T

Thant, U, 9, 10
Tshombe, Moise Kapenda, 2-10

V

Vance, Sheldon B., 1

W

Williams, G. Mennen “Soapy”, 1, 2