

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. VIII, NO. 31

SEPTEMBER 5, 1960



WASHINGTON, D. C.

15 CENTS

After Our Failure on Cuba at San Jose

The maintenance of a true hemispheric solidarity is worth a great deal to the United States and the other peoples of this hemisphere. But it will not be achieved if we continue to let our vision be clouded by our own U.S. propaganda apparatus, if we take such paper declarations as were achieved by carrot-and-stick tactics at the O.A.S. meeting as marks of esteem and if we are not prepared to treat our Latin American neighbors as real equals and to see the world through their eyes as well as our own. Among the obstacles is the U.S. press which often seemed to be covering the San Jose conference as if it were a claque for Secretary Herter. Another is a tendency to demagoguery much like that which we deplore in Dr. Castro; Senator Kennedy, in particular, seems so anxious to make anti-Eisenhower political capital of the Cuban situation that he is indulging in the kind of over-simplified anti-Red rhetoric which may tie his own hands against more sensible policies if elected.

Solidarity, Not Monopoly

Hemispheric solidarity will best be achieved if we North Americans do not over-reach ourselves. It is too much to ask underdeveloped Latin American nations to forego what underdeveloped nations elsewhere enjoy—a chance to deal with both sides in the East-West competition. We will fail if we try to prevent the Cubans or the Venezuelans or the Brazilians from doing in this respect what the Indians, the Egyptians and the Africans are doing. Hemispheric solidarity will break down if made a mask for U.S. monopoly, especially when the Latin Americans feel that it is only the emergence of Castro and the beginnings of Soviet economic aid which have stampeded us into a belated and inadequate Latin American aid program. Our aim should be to prevent the Soviet bloc from obtaining military bases or military allies in this hemisphere, and in this aim we will find ourselves helped by the natural good sense of our neighbors if we deal with them wisely. It was not wise to raise the Red scare against Dr. Castro at San Jose, especially on the basis of the flimsy "evidence" Secretary Herter offered. It was silly to ask little Cuba to "renounce" the threat of Soviet military aid in event of an attack by its colossal neighbor, especially when that same neighbor was making implied threats about "going it alone" against Cuba if the O.A.S. did not cooperate. The Cuban Foreign Minister told the O.A.S. "The threat coming from Communist countries outside the American continent is, to say the least hypothetical, while the aggressions and threats of the United States are very real." (*Le Monde*, Aug. 27). That is how many Latin Americans feel.

Our strategy at San Jose has failed. It was hoped by the State Department that if we supported action against our old friend Trujillo, the Latin American States would join us in

If Not For That Fellow Castro

Senator LAUSCHE: This book shows that Cuba had the highest per capita gross national product of any country in South America [sic] while Batista was in power. . . . To what [then] do you ascribe the success of the Communists in Cuba?

Under Secretary of State DILLON: Well, I think the reason for the social revolution in Cuba, which is not necessarily the same thing as the success of the Communists, was largely due to the fact that this gross national product was not divided in what many Cubans felt was a fair way. The great majority of the Cubans who lived in the fields, the campesinos, the agricultural people, the producers, didn't own their own land and worked only a certain number of months a year—it is the nature of the sugar business—and were out of work the rest of the time. They didn't think that they had a fair share.

—*Before Senate Foreign Relations, Aug. 15, on the President's request for a \$500,000,000 Latin aid fund.*

Rep. FASCELL (D., Fla.): Was it after the expropriation of all properties of America in Cuba that the U.S. finally announced this program?

Under Secretary DILLON: I think that was just an unfortunate coincidence.

—*Before House Foreign Affairs on same, Aug. 23.*

"Although there is no immediate need for the expenditure of funds under this program, the authorization for the appropriation of such funds is urgent. There has been acceleration of interest on the part of Latin American governments in social development during recent months. The behavior of the Castro regime in Cuba has undoubtedly contributed to this interest."

—*House Report 2163, Aug. 25, recommending approval of the President's \$500,000,000 request.*

sanctions against our new challenger Castro. We must now prepare to go it alone against Cuba, knowing that every overt step will arouse Latin America against us, or we must change our course. The Cuban Foreign Minister at San Jose said Cuba was ready to resolve its conflict with us by bilateral negotiations. Mr. Eisenhower, who continues to speak of Cuba with a praiseworthy restraint, indicated at his last press conference that the door to talks was still open. Nothing would win us greater esteem in Latin America at this time than to take the Cuban Foreign Minister at his word and formally propose negotiations. It would help to wipe out the ugly memory left by the way John Foster Dulles strong-armed Guatemala. It would prove Dr. Castro wrong in charging that we plan armed aggression. To make peace with the man who is Latin America's hero, to accept social reform in Cuba, would lay the foundations for a new friendship with our neighbors. The longer we let this quarrel go on, the more costly will be its resolution.

From His Historic Senate Speech Aug. 29 Proposing East-West Cooperation In UN For Development

Mansfield Asks U. S. to Insulate Africa From the Cold War

By Senator Mike Mansfield (D. Mont.)

"I believe the emerging African peoples have had enough of the role of pawns moved on the chessboards of others. They will not meekly assume that role again and they will react against those who seek to return them to it. It may be too much to expect but it is not too much to attempt to insulate an emergent Africa from the international, political and ideological storms which now sweep the rest of the world.

Not Pro-Communist or Pro-Western But Pro-African

"I would suggest that our policies must flow from the following principles: First. This Nation should give its support, diplomatically and otherwise, to the end that independence and human equality will eventually be achieved throughout Africa. . . . Second . . . This Nation should use whatever influence it can against a centrifugal fragmentation of existing political units in Africa. However powerful the divisive forces of an ancient tribalism may still be, they are the forces of a dying Africa. . . . We should resist these tendencies, however, if they derive from a narrow tribalism or a sweeping racist Pan-Africanism. . . . Third . . . We must learn, quickly, as much as we can about the emergent African leadership and, if we are to learn accurately, we will eschew such inapplicable frames of reference as pro-Communist or pro-Western. The leadership that matters for the future of Africa will be neither one nor the other. It will be pro-African in the finest sense of the term in that it will be dedicated to the welfare of its own people. . . .

"The challenge of Africa is not a call to greater propaganda battles between us and the Soviet Union. The challenge of Africa is to the world. It is a challenge to help open in peace the doors of modern life for the peoples of Africa, for their benefit and for the still unfathomed benefits which may flow to mankind from that opening.

Specifics of A U. S. Policy

"First. That all requests for military training missions and military aid from the African nations henceforth be referred to the United Nations and that such missions, as approved by the Security Council, be supplied solely under the aegis of the UN. . . . Second. That the United States seek agreement with the Soviet Union to the end that both nations shall refrain

We Just Can't Stop Giggling As We Think of That Next War

DUGWAY, UTAH, Aug. 27—The reason that the hitherto restricted Dugway Proving Ground was opened to reporters this week was the Army hope that more public education about CBR [chemical, bacteriological and radiological] weapons would destroy some popular illusions.

The Army made one point well: It is more humane to incapacitate people with present chemical weapons than atom bombs with fire bombs, flame-throwers, artillery shells or all standard accepted military weapons. . . . Given a choice of ways to die, any reasonable person would take 'GB,' the new nerve gas. . . . GB death is quick. . . .

The Army Chemical Corps also is experimenting with non-lethal gases. In the laboratory they paralyze animals or muddle their brains without lasting harm. Most of the gases are painless; some are actually fun for the giggling volunteer soldiers trying them out.

—Washington Star, August 28: "Army Wants to Show Gas War Is Merciful."

from seeking military bases in Africa and from sending military forces to any part of Africa except as the Security Council may direct. . . . Third. That the UN effort in the Congo, and similar efforts which may be required and sought elsewhere in Africa, henceforth be financed by a four-quarters fund: one quarter supplied by the U.S.; one-quarter by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; one-quarter by Western Europe and one-quarter by other members of the United Nations.

"Fourth. That the four quarters fund be used, further, as the principal instrument for financing a substantial program of technical aid to Africa . . . with technicians and teachers supplied on a similar four-quarter division, under the general direction of the UN Secretary General; and further, as this effort comes into operation, that bilateral assistance to all nations in Africa be progressively curtailed. . . .

"The difficulty which confronts our policy is not only that we may do too little but that we may be impelled to do too much and in ill-adapted ways and hence, contribute to the creation on the African continent of still another front in the cold war. We shall not be thanked by the Africans if that is the effect of our contribution."

Senate Duet in Praise of Trujillo, Franco and Strong Arm Government

Mr. EASTLAND (Miss.): Is it not true that Trujillo has been a friend of the United States?

Mr. ELLENDER (La.): I do not believe there is any doubt about that. . . .

Mr. EASTLAND: Did the Senator from Louisiana find that the people there were happy and contented?

Mr. ELLENDER: I saw no evidence of unrest. . . .

Mr. EASTLAND: Is it not true that the Dominican Republic has had more revolutions than any other country in the history of the world, and that Trujillo has given the country stability—something it never had before?

Mr. ELLENDER: There is no question about that.

Mr. EASTLAND: Is it not also true that it takes a strong arm to rule in countries of that sort and in Latin America?

Mr. ELLENDER: . . . Based upon my observation of

conditions in the Dominican Republic as compared with conditions in some of the other countries I visited in that area, it might be said that a little of that same kind of leadership should be applied in some additional areas. . . .

Mr. EASTLAND: After Franco came into power in Spain, we applied economic sanctions against his government. . . . When the realities of the cold war forced us to a recognition of the necessity that we establish bases in Spain, we found that we had to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to assist in the improvement of the Spanish economy in order to make Spain the strong and dependable ally which she is today. If we help to tear down the present regime in the Dominican Republic, the day will come when we shall have to spend hundreds of millions in an effort, possibly a vain effort, to restore the economy.

—U. S. Senate, August 24.