

Dantas Says Egypt and Iraq Would Now Be In Soviet Bloc If Treated Like Castro**Brazil's Argument at Punta del Este Against the Isolation of Cuba****By Foreign Minister Dantas of Brazil**

"When the Western powers have had the foresight to leave a door open for maintenance of political, economic and cultural contact with the West, there has not been a single case [of Soviet penetration] which did not see the Western cause prevail, either in the form of the political institutions themselves or at least in the definition of the line of international conduct of the country in question. Very close to us is the example of Egypt. If, at the time of the Suez occupation, the U.S. had not had the foresight to leave the Egyptian government an alternative in the direction of the West, it is very probable that the U.A.R. would not have been able to escape the attraction of the Soviet bloc towards which isolation would have pushed it. In the same way, if, in the case of Iraq, England had not kept open a way for understanding with the West, that Arab country would not today be a Western bulwark in the Middle East. . . .

Protecting the Principle of Non-Intervention

"We wish to preserve and strengthen the unity of the Inter-American system and for this we think indispensable, not a unanimous and unworkable decision, but a constructive solution. We wish to defend the principles on which the regional system is based and, for the same reason, we do not wish to adopt dangerous solutions which make imprecise the limits of the principle of non-intervention. . . .

"The solutions presented here so far or announced by participating governments do not appear to correspond to the preoccupations of the Brazilian delegation. It is true that we saw with pleasure the gradual, and we hope unanimous, abandoning of the demand for military sanctions as an effective remedy for the case of Cuba. We would destroy the inter-American system the day that we would consider armed intervention as a means capable, not of repulsing an aggression which has materialized in particular acts, but of eliminating a political regime which is contrary to the democratic principles on which the Bogota charter is based. . . .

"We would not be living up to our responsibilities if . . . we tried to convert the regional organism into an instrument of investigation of the nature of regimes established from time to time in the American states and to give it the right to intervene to eradicate those that appear to have origins in

Another Blacked Out Speech

Last week we reprinted portions of the speech made by President Dorticos at Punta del Este. This week we print on this page the heart of the plea made at that conference Jan. 24 by Brazil's Foreign Minister against Cuba's forcible isolation from the rest of the hemisphere. Neither speech was given adequate coverage in our press.

the international communist movement.

"If we do not approve the application of military sanctions, in which happily we coincide with the general opinion, neither are we supporters of the imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions. Both actions, in their character of multilateral measures comprised in Article 8 of the Rio Treaty, appear to lack solid juridical bases, as do the measures of military action. Analyzed in terms of their political effects, they appear to us, at best fruitless, and at worst, harmful, since economic sanctions would deprive Cuba of a business of diminutive proportions which contributes nothing to the maintenance of the Cuban economy, which is much more dependent on the markets of the NATO countries and, at present, of the countries which make up the Socialist bloc. As for the breaking of diplomatic relations, this would be a purely symbolic means of dealing with a problem for which we ought to find an effective solution within the framework of competition between East and West. If Cuba's relations with the Hemisphere countries are broken, the reasons that can bring her to total integration with the Soviet bloc will be accentuated, not lessened. . . .

"Above all we think imprudent the formula of informing Cuba that, in a specified time, she break the bonds that she maintains with the Sino-Soviet bloc, and placing her for that period under the supervision of a Committee which at the end of its work would report to an organ of the OAS. This formula of deferred sanctions has the grave political drawback of being a dangerous element of radicalization and excitation in the internal politics of various American states. We would thus provoke, as an unavoidable consequence, a battle in various states between forces desirous of influencing the second decision, which would give the Fidelista movement a continental resonance out of all proportion to its true significance at present."

Brazilian Position on Cuba at the UN Misrepresented in New York Times

"Cuba Denounced by Brazil in UN" said the headline in the New York Times Feb. 9 over its account of the speech by the Brazilian delegate to the UN in the debate on the Soviet bloc resolution about Cuba. The account quoted an unnamed U.S. delegate as saying that the speech showed the only disagreement over Cuba "was over procedure."

The Brazilian did not denounce Cuba. He did say that by adopting Marxism-Leninism it had voluntarily cut itself off from the community of American states. But those parts of the speech not reported by the Times showed that Brazil's approach to the Cuban problem involved more than a difference of procedure with the U.S.

"In the opinion of the Brazilian delegation," Sr. de Melo Franco said, "the United Nations is now, as on other occasions, endeavoring to find a peaceful solution to a dispute

which falls within the ambit of the so-called 'cold war', a solution imposed by the need for coexistence among Member States with diverse and at time conflicting political concepts and governmental practices. The UN was created partly to find peaceful solutions to differences; and, if this was its task at its inception, so much the greater is its responsibility in the field at present, when the nuclear era has made coexistence a compulsory solution, and we might add a solution leaving no alternative."

The Brazilian declared that in the United Nations "an American State may adopt the form of government it considers will best meet its internal needs, and any pressure exercised against such a State for this reason is a violation of the principle of non-intervention contained in Article 2 of the San Francisco Charter."

It's Not An Anti-Missile, It's Relaxation of Tension They Fear

(Continued from Page One)

which will come close enough to an ICBM to destroy it by means of an atomic explosion. There is also no problem about providing atomic warheads for anti-missiles. But the offense can send decoys along with their missiles which are almost impossible to distinguish from the missiles, and they can send many missiles simultaneously which saturate the radars of the defense. Thus I think the AICBM [anti intercontinental ballistic missile] virtually hopeless." It is for this heresy, which threatens the biggest military boondoggle ever dangled before the electronic industry, that Dr. Bethe is under attack. The development of the Nike-Zeus anti-missile system would provide from 15 to 20 billion dollars worth of business. Who cares that it might be rendered obsolete before its completion by the next development, a means to change the trajectory of the missile in mid-flight, which would frustrate all the intricate computing and targeting mechanisms of Nike-Zeus?

Too Many Excuses Worse Than None

It is in the perfection of these targeting and computing mechanisms, not in the warhead, that the secret of an anti-missile system lies. The warhead is essentially no different from the warhead of the missile. This is what makes doubly nonsensical the reports being leaked out of evidence that the Russians were testing an anti-missile. First, there is no way to determine from the debris or waves set off by a bomb whether it was being tested for missile or anti-missile purposes. Secondly, the testing of a warhead does not mean that either we or the Russians have solved the enormously intricate problem of targeting and computing for an anti-missile system. The explanations leaked out to the U.S. and British press are so varied as to create doubt. As in a criminal trial, too many alibis are worse than none. An accused who claims to have been (1) home in bed, (2) at a night club, and (3) only accidentally passing the scene of the crime when it happened is obviously a liar. One paper (the *London Sunday Times*, Feb. 11) says "suspicions [i.e. of an anti-missile] have increased since the discovery that two of the Russian tests on Novaya Zemlya appear to have involved relatively small nuclear weapons above the atmosphere" while

another paper (the *London Sunday Observer*, Feb. 11) says the evidence of a Soviet anti-missile is "circumstantial". Since the U.S. last December successfully got a Nike-Zeus anti-missile to hit a Nike-Hercules missile "high above the White Sands proving ground in New Mexico" it is assumed (the *Observer* reports) that the Russians can do likewise!

A Publicity Gimmick

The truth is that this anti-missile excuse for resuming testing is, as one scientist phrased it privately to us, "a publicity gimmick." The real rationale for test resumption was expressed by Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland Feb. 10 at Rollins College, Florida. "Given the technology of nuclear weapons," Mr. Cleveland said, "the first requisite of orderly change is to prevent our Soviet rivals from getting ahead, or thinking they can get ahead, in the hidden and costly game of nuclear deterrence." The logic is the mutually disastrous logic of any arms race. If each side aims to show the other it can never get ahead, this must push both into ever bigger arms expenditure and further along the way to garrison states; Russia, back toward Stalinism; we toward a parallel revival of paranoid suspicion and repression. But this Administration, like the Democratic party as a whole, remains committed to the arms race as the line of least resistance, as a grandiose WPA for perpetual prosperity until the bombs go off. This is what lies behind the President's impossible new condition that we will enter no new moratorium without a means to detect Russian *preparations* for new tests. (Would we be prepared to open *our* laboratories for surveillance?) We fear any proposal which might interfere with another round of testing now that the Russians have had theirs. This has to stop somewhere but we don't really want the arms race to stop. This explains the press briefings immediately held here to make sure that the release of Powers was not interpreted as an improvement in Soviet relations, and the near panic visible in the wake of Khrushchev's suggestion that the top leaders meet on disarmament. All that talk about our waging a peace race is blarney, a gift with which Mr. Kennedy is richly endowed. It is not a Russian anti-missile that the dominant alliance of the military and arms industry fears. It is their old enemy, relaxation of tension.

Total Anti-Testing Letters to President: 2,413 (Feb. 14) But Please Keep Them Coming

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