

The Fateful Question: Call for A Mobilization of Conscience on Cuba and Vietnam

What If The People, After Diem's Overthrow, Vote for Peace?

The state of mind in Washington in the wake of Diem's overthrow was neatly mirrored in two statements, one before and one after the coup, by Rep. Zablocki (D. Wis.), just back from Vietnam as chairman of a Special Study Mission to Southeast Asia. The day before the coup Zablocki warned against any such attempt. "The lesson of Cuba must not be forgotten," he reported. "Batista was bad but Castro is worse." After the coup Zablocki told the House the U.S. should demand definite commitments for free elections and vigorous prosecution of the war. But what if, in free elections, the people were to vote for peace? Or for reunification with the North under Ho Chi Minh? Would we even risk such a verdict by allowing neutralist, anti-war or pro Communist candidates?

Democracy With A Big But

The answer seems obvious to the victorious Generals. On the one hand they said they would not set up a dictatorship because "well aware that the best weapon to fight communism is democracy and liberty." But in the very next breath they also said that they would not allow "a disorderly democratic regime." In Saigon a street rally calling for a neutralist government was forbidden and its banners torn down. Censorship continues. Only prisoners the military regard as non-communist are being released; only parties they regard as non-communist will be allowed. In practice this means that if there is to be a choice between democracy and continuance of the war, it is democracy that will go.

This is the reality the pro-Kennedy liberals will not allow themselves to see. Saigon is like Paris after the liberation; the people dance in the streets. But the *Washington Post* (Nov. 5) in a leading editorial thinks "the cause of freedom need not sink with the passing of the old government!" This is Orwellianism with a vengeance. "The cause of freedom" is not the Vietnamese desire for freedom from a U.S. supported tyranny; "the cause of freedom" is soap advertising lingo for continuation of cold and hot war. Yet the *Washington Post* goes on sanctimoniously to say that Diem "refused to respond to the feelings of his own people." The conservative *Washington Star's* editorial (Nov. 4) was more honest. If the people turn on a new government "force may have to be used . . . we cannot be too squeamish." If the Vietnamese don't want strategic hamlets, prison for those who oppose the war, napalm on suspect villages, we'll back a new dictatorship. This cabal of Generals headed by a weak turncoat who has served any and every regime foreign and domestic will bring neither peace nor freedom to Vietnam.

In the case of Vietnam, as in that of Cuba, we need a Committee to agitate for a truly democratic foreign policy: peace

Dr. Pauling and The Moon Race

We are sure the Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Norway will not let itself be disturbed by the petulant editorial in *Life Magazine* (Oct. 25) calling its award to Dr. Linus Pauling "an extraordinary insult to America." On the contrary the award will encourage all those scientists who stood with Dr. Pauling when his campaign to bring home the dangers of fallout was subjected to derision and smear in such publications as Henry Luce's *Life and Time*, the foremost journalistic supporters of Dr. Edward Teller.

We would like to see a committee of American scientists formed to take up and spell out in concrete terms Dr. Pauling's protest against the race to the moon in his address to the 100th anniversary of the National Academy of Sciences here Oct. 22. Dr. Pauling said we were at the point "when it would be possible, if only the money were available, to determine the structure of an enzyme" which "determines the way the human body functions." Dr. Pauling cited Prof. Wm. Fowler's claim that when we get to the moon we will know whether the 10 isotopes of tin are present in the same ratios as on the surface of the earth. "For the same amount of money," Dr. Pauling said, "we could answer 1,000 interesting and important questions about the human body and about the world we live in for every one question answered about the moon."

"I believe it is a pitiful demonstration of something wrong with our system of values," Dr. Pauling told the National Academy, "when we are planning to spend 20 or 50 billion dollars to put a man on the moon, principally for reasons of national prestige, rather than putting this money into a sort of engineering that would use essentially the same people, the same computers, the same big instruments to decrease in a really significant way the amount of human suffering on earth."

Why not a report which would draw up a balance sheet of what could be accomplished for human welfare with these funds? Better than a Russo-American agreement for a joint trip to the moon would be an agreement not to make the trip and spend the money on earth instead.

in Vietnam, lifting of the embargo that strangles hurricane ravaged Cuba. Can America's better conscience be mobilized?

Douglas Reveals How Little U.S. Multimillionaires Pay in Federal Income Taxes

"I rise to state the urgent need for tax reform and to protest its slow and quiet strangulation. There are, in the hearings of the Finance Committee on the pending tax bill, some shocking figures . . . furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury . . . showing that in 1959 there were 20 persons in this country with incomes—adjusted gross incomes—of more than \$500,000 who paid not a penny in Federal income taxes in 1959. . . . 15 persons having incomes of more than \$1 million [and] 5 persons having gross incomes of more than \$5 million who did not pay a single cent in taxes.

"Adjusted gross income does not include interest on State and municipal bonds. It does not include write-offs for drilling and developmental costs in the oil and gas industry. It does not include one-half of capital gains. All these were in addition. . . .

"These figures are shocking when one considers that any worker with a wife and two children who is earning just

\$100 a week . . . pays about \$456 in Federal income taxes. . . .

"Of course, not every multimillionaire escapes wholly tax free, as these five managed to do. But the average multimillionaire comes surprisingly close to achieving just that. . . . There were, in 1959, 37 people whose total incomes . . . came to more than \$5 million and they paid on the average a little less than 25% of their total income in Federal income taxes. That is only somewhat higher than the first bracket rate of 20 percent. . . . Furthermore the tax cuts passed since 1954 have gone almost entirely to the large taxpayers."

—From a speech by Douglas of Illinois to the Senate Nov. 1 which few papers reported despite its sensational revelations. Douglas said that since there was no chance of getting a tax bill this year anyway, there was no excuse for the Administration's dropping tax reforms for the sake of a speedy tax cut.

Glimpses from The Record: Why Senate Liberals Under Morse Want to Cut Foreign Aid

Eight Democratic Senators See Our Latin Arms Program Menace to Democracy

Foreign aid for many years has been supported by a coalition of U.S. military men (anxious to dump obsolete arms, usually at inflated prices), big business (glad to have the "climate" for investment abroad sweetened by U.S. handouts) and humanitarians (ready to support a program top-heavy with military aid to dictators for the sake of a relative trickle of funds for genuinely humane purposes). That coalition is breaking down. In the Senate an alliance of liberals and right wing anti-spenders led by Morse, is trying to cut down a program in which for every 5 cents which may help the poor, 95 cents goes to crooked allies of our military. Because this debate is being poorly covered, we give some excerpts here. The most important of the foreign aid amendments is that by Gruening (Alaska) to halt further military assistance to Latin America. This was co-sponsored by Ervin (N.C.), Nelson (Wis.), Proxmire (Wis.), Cannon (Nev.), McGovern (S. Dak.), Morse (Ore.) and Smathers (Fla.). Here, abridged, is a bit of Gruening's Senate speech Nov. 1 on the folly of Latin military aid:

By Senator Ernest Gruening

Recent events in the Dominican Republic and Honduras give added emphasis to remarks I made last year about the dangers we were running in continuing to supply arms to Latin America. A year ago those supporting military assistance to Latin America claimed the following five objectives: 1st, hemispheric defense; 2d, standardization of weapons; 3rd, modernization of weapons; 4th, reduction of force; 5th, indoctrination of the military as to their role in a democracy.

That was last year before I showed on the floor of the Senate Aug. 2, 1962 that not only were none of the objectives achieved, but as to some the exact contrary was the result. So this year there is a 'new look' to the presentation of the military assistance program for Latin America.

Now It's "Internal Security"

The new look was described to the Senate Appropriations Committee by Brig. Gen. W. A. Enemark in these terms:

"It is charged that a threat of direct aggression to the hemisphere is not realistic. We agree. It was precisely for that reason that the primary emphasis of our military assistance program for Latin American was changed from hemisphere defense to internal security. . . ."

But under the guise of internal security and civic action, it is still no less a dangerous program and should be stopped. I am not alone in this. On Sept. 28, 1963, our able and distinguished majority whip, Mr. Humphrey, stated: "We will weaken and perhaps cause the failure of the Alliance for Progress unless something is done to implement an effective arms control agreement in this area." And, indeed, only yesterday Mr. Humphrey said: "I thoroughly agree with the Senator from Alaska and other Senators that in most Latin American countries there is a waste of money in the procurement of military equipment. If it is desired to reduce ex-

Our Secret Deal to Aid Franco

"In payment for bases, the U.S. has, through fiscal 1962, extended \$1.173 billion in economic aid to Spain and \$524 million in military aid. She is down for tens of millions more in military aid next year.

"A few weeks ago it was announced that a new agreement extending our 'leases' has been reached. What is in that agreement is still unknown to the American people and to most of Congress. It is known to call for an undisclosed amount of military aid to Spain. It has also become known that the agreement does not permit the U.S. to use the naval base at Rota for our Polaris submarines. Since the Strategic Air Command bases in Spain are steadily decreasing in importance, it is very difficult for me to see what purpose has been served by this agreement. . . .

"Imagine the hue and cry that would go up if an executive agreement of this kind were worked out in secret—and held in secrecy—with Indonesia, or British Guiana, or Algeria, or some other totalitarian government of the Left. But little is said about a secret agreement with a totalitarian government of the Right. . . ."

—Sen. Morse Nov. 1 on his amendment to cut foreign aid to Spain, Portugal, Greece and Turkey 25%.

penditures in the [foreign aid] bill, that is a good place to start."

Indeed it is. Hence my amendment. Since the inception of the Latin American military assistance program in 1951, we have poured over half a billion dollars into Latin America. Let us judge the program on the basis of its performance.

Can we point with pride to Peru where a year ago August military hardware supplied by the U.S. was used by the military forces there to take over from the civilian rulers of that country? Can we point with pride to the Dominican Republic? Can we point with pride to Honduras? There again U.S. arms made possible the coup. In the minds of the people of Peru, the Dominican Republic and Honduras, are we not aligned with the military cliques which have thrown out the governments selected by the people themselves?

Always the usurpers claim they come in to fight Communism, but within the last few days other dispatches told how, on taking over, the junta had jailed Communists, expelled them, and driven them from the Dominican Republic, so that presumably that country was free of Communists. Yet now the government of the Dominican Republic has suspended freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, in order allegedly to prevent Communists from subverting public order. The truth, of course, is that it was done to prevent the people from voicing their opposition. This is what we can expect in every such military takeover.

Morse Protests NATO's MLF Plan As Scheme to Give Germans Nuclear Arms

"Unless Congress is firm now, the American people are going to find themselves saddled with the cost of another NATO venture, one of the most expensive and least useful—the Polaris-carrying surface fleet. One would think that at a time when the American government has been trying to persuade our NATO partners to start putting up their fair share of the conventional forces, it would have better judgment than to propose a nuclear fleet for which we are offering to pay 40 percent of the cost!

"What a sham we are making of the notion that NATO is a multi-lateral alliance! It is a German-American alliance, as this proposed nuclear fleet makes embarrassingly

clear. . . . I have not heard any clamor from the German people to become a nuclear power. They know, as the world knows, that any step in the direction of nuclear weapons for West Germany is considered by the Soviet Union to be a grave threat to her security. . . .

"Of even greater concern to me is the constant implication in all these discussions that once the nuclear fleet is a reality, the U.S. would be willing to give up the control of its warheads. . . . In my opinion, the time for Britain, France, Holland, Italy and Belgium to indicate their rejection of nuclear weapons for Germany is right now."

—Senator Wayne Morse (D. Ore.) Nov. 1 release to press.