

Another Urgent Peace Warning The Press Ignored, Despite Startling Revelations

Morse Declares War Already Being Extended Secretly into North Vietnam

The press blackout on the handful of Senators opposing the war in Vietnam is scandalous. Senator Gruening of Alaska called attention April 15 to the fact that American casualties this year were twice those of last and said that in his five years in the Senate "I have never received mail comparable in volume and in virtual unanimity to the recommendation I made on March 10 that the U.S. should get out of South Vietnam." This is another index of how poorly the press reflects opinion. The worst example of suppression was the failure to report Senator Morse's speech of April 14 with its sensational revelations from Aviation Week. We give the gist of this in the abridgement and the box below.

By Wayne Morse

In the April 6 issue of Aviation Week (see box below) there is a very interesting article. I do not know how it happened to get into print. The story points out that operations have gone beyond the borders of South Vietnam. That has been a growing practice. I am reading these paragraphs because I have heard Senators say in the cloakroom that they really do not think there is much danger that the war will be escalated into North Vietnam. If the advocates of our present policy could only get a wide section of American public support for that kind of operation, we would start losing American boys by the scores.

Nuclear Weapons to Be Used

Mr. President, we cannot answer charges that will be made against us if we escalate the war into North Vietnam. If we escalate it into North Vietnam, I warn the Senate that the plan is to use nuclear weapons. I have been heard to say before that if we drop nuclear weapons on North Vietnam, we had better start looking around the world for friends.

In looking at the consequences if we used nuclear weapons to escalate this war into North Vietnam, we ought to be forthright enough as a nation to say, "We want to do everything we can to try to settle this dispute in South Vietnam by resorting to peaceful procedures of international law." We have not tried that. We have not even tried to use it. We

Better Recheck Those Computers

"Today the government of General Khanh is vigorously rebuilding the machinery of administration. . . . He is an able and energetic leader. He has demonstrated his grasp. . . ."

—Secretary McNamara: speech on Vietnam, Mar. 26

SAIGON—Vietnamese political observers say a coup against Premier Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh is only a matter of time. These observers, who accurately predicted the two previous coups, feel a third coup is inevitable — either through assassination or military might. In fact these observers predict a fourth coup: "The next coup will solve nothing. Anyone can seize power, but no one has enough support to stay in." Gen. Khanh is concerned enough to sleep in a different house each night, to admit to foreign correspondents that his wife is worried and to house her and their 4 children 350 miles from Saigon."

—New York Herald-Tribune, April 19.

have not endeavored to create a SEATO trusteeship, or to pursue the meaning of what de Gaulle had in mind concerning a program for neutralizing this area of the world.

The newspapers today stated that there is some evidence the Vietcongs are trained in North Vietnam. I do not think there is any doubt about that—just as the South Vietnamese are trained by U.S. military. All that means is that two foreign powers are training the participants in a civil war.

I am greatly concerned about the danger of escalating the war. I think we ought to give a great deal of heed to the article from which I read.

The article shows that we have already aided and abetted the extension of the war beyond the borders of South Vietnam. I am fearful that as the proof of that becomes clearly established—as I believe it can be—we may wake up some morning to find charges being levelled against us in the United Nations because I do not believe we have any international law basis for being in South Vietnam as a combatant.

Aviation Week Disclosures Show McNamara Not Telling The Truth

SAIGON—War against the Communists already has erupted over the borders of South Vietnam in hit-and-run guerrilla raids and infiltration moves as far north as China. . . . With U.S. backing in aircraft, weapons and money, an estimated 50,000 elite South Vietnamese troops are being trained to take the offensive in over-the-border strikes at Communist supply centers and communications routes. Despite Defense Secretary McNamara's implication in Washington March 26 that the decision has not yet been made to extend the war, it is known here that guerrilla strikes against the Communists have been increasing since last summer. . . .

Key factor in the current raids is airlift provided by Air America, a U.S. cargo company incorporated in Delaware under a maze of legal obscurities that camouflage its U.S. government sponsorship. . . . U.S. military advisers here are optimistic that extending the war beyond the borders, plus a stable government in Saigon, will force the Communist insurgency to collapse in a year. . . .

Special forces, which now constitute one-tenth of the half million South Vietnamese under arms, are essentially airborne troops not connected with any formal military organization. They rely on Air America. . . . In its open operations Air America is a parent company of the Civil Air

Transport (CAT) airline. . . . But in its covert operations, Air America uses numerous secret airstrips in South Vietnam and Thailand. . . .

Hub of Air America's activities in Southeast Asia—open and secret—is Din Muang airport at Bangkok, Thailand. . . . Southern Laos, the principal pathway for reinforcements from North to South Vietnam, is only 125 miles wide. By operating from fields in Eastern Thailand and from the northern part of South Vietnam, Air America can penetrate to the interior of Laos on relatively short flights. . . .

Air America has been flying in Laos under charter to the U.S. Aid Mission in Vientiane (Laos). Much of this work consisted of hauling medicines, food and clothing to refugees of the Laotian civil war. On March 18, after protests by the Communist Pathet Lao that Air America was mixing its relief airlift with military airlift, Seaboard World Services was hired for the refugee airlift job. . . .

Last Fall when U.S. officials decided that it was impossible to win the war by confining it inside South Vietnamese borders, they began an expanded program of training the special guerrilla forces at secret bases. Courses emphasized techniques of operating beyond national borders."

—"South Vietnamese Raiders Extending War" from Aviation Week (April 6).

A Step-by-Step Account of How A Phoney Story Was Deflated

Theodore Draper's "Scoop" About A Secret U.S. Aid Offer to Castro

The phoniest yarn of the past week was Max Frankel's page one story in the *New York Times* April 13 on Theodore Draper's article, "Fulbright and Cuba" in the *New Leader* of that date. Draper claimed that just before Castro closed his trade agreement with Mikoyan in February of 1960, "the U.S. made an effort—until now a closely guarded secret on both sides—to offer Fidel Castro's regime aid and cooperation." Frankel wrapped this all up as a work of high scholarship.

Weasel Words at State Dept.

The State Department's reaction that day was as phoney. Its spokesman, when asked about the story, said the U.S. in 1959 and early 1960 had "repeatedly . . . indicated to the Cuban government its desire to hold full and frank discussions." But in the course of questioning he admitted that in these "exploratory exchanges . . . the question of U.S. aid did not arise."

Next day the State Department was asked about a follow-up story from Roy Rubottom, then Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. Rubottom claimed he had offered Castro aid in that period. The spokesman said that during Castro's visit here in April, 1959, Rubottom met with some of the officials who accompanied Castro "and invited them to indicate Cuba's needs." He said the Cubans "rebuffed Mr. Rubottom's offer." The next question was, "Can you say how?" The answer was, "I would assume by simply being unresponsive." This colloquy followed:

"Q. Well, what does that mean? Why indicate Cuba's needs? What types of needs are you referring to there?"

"A. In terms of economic programs."

"Q. Are you suggesting this was the last attempt ever made with the Castro government?"

"A. Yes, sir."

"Q. Well how does that fit in with your statement yesterday that no aid was offered to them?"

"A. The matter at hand yesterday was the story involving a year later, which was the subject of a news story."

"Q. Can you be more specific about this offer, Bob? You say 'invited them to indicate Cuba's needs.' Was this a

Lest Cuba Flourish

"Bleak as this sounds, U.S. officials hasten to disavow any notion that economic woes threaten Castro's downfall. . . . The Castro government can probably claim some recent headway in improving the lot of the average Cuban. . . . Distribution problems are being untangled; transportation is improving; rationing may even be eased on some items this year. 'You just can't sink this island economically,' says one veteran of the Cuban scene. Adds a colleague, 'Every day Castro remains in power, he becomes less weak politically.' But U.S. officials do think their economic squeeze on the island is making Cuba, as one puts it, 'look a lot less rich than it otherwise might' to other Latin lands. And that is a major aim of the U.S. trade embargo. . . ."

—Wall St. Journal, "Troubled Cuba", April 16

formal session with a formal presentation, and an extensive discussion or just a brief—

"A. Well it was formal in the sense that it invited a submission of some ideas on areas in which the U.S. could be helpful."

After the spokesman admitted that Castro himself was not present at these "discussions," another question finally cut through the fog to solid ground:

"Q. Was there ever a time in which the U.S. indicated its desire to talk about Cuba's economic needs to Fidel Castro himself?"

"A. Not that I am aware of."

Next day the *New York Times* (April 15) printed a letter from Sergio Rojas Santamarina, a former Cuban Ambassador who in June 1960 took refuge in the Argentine embassy in Havana. He claimed the Argentine Ambassador as intermediary for U.S. Ambassador Bonsal offered Castro \$300,000,000 in U.S. aid if Castro would end his "vicious campaigning" against the U.S. and negotiate outstanding differences. But when the former Argentine ambassador himself was interviewed (*New York Times*, April 19) he denied that he had conveyed any "specific offer of financial aid" in his talks with Castro.

How to Speak to the National Press Club and Keep Every Word You Say Out of Print

Q. On the basis of your experience with Castro, would you classify him as a wild-eyed irrational kook?

A. Castro is crazy like a fox. Castro has been brilliantly—there is no adverb I can think of that is more appropriate—playing the U.S. against Russia, and both against Communist China, for some years and with considerable success. The fact is that whether or not various elements in the U.S. want to realize it, the island of Cuba belongs to Castro. These oversimplifications of Castro being a pawn of Khrushchev are simply absurd. His relationship with Khrushchev can be likened to looking through two ends of a telescope. Khrushchev may be looking through his end and seeing how Castro is serving his purposes, but I can assure you Castro is looking through his end and he knows how he is using Khrushchev.

Q. Do you believe Communist Cuba will develop a viable economy and is the U.S. missing the boat by not maintaining political and commercial contact with the Cuban people?

A. The Cuban economy has been in very great difficulty. This has been due to a variety of factors, especially at the outset to a shortage of spare parts since virtually everything in Cuba came from the U.S. I am not in a position

to appraise how effective the embargo has been. It has not deterred a number of our allies from making an honest dollar. I am sure, however, of this: No one is hungry in Cuba.

He also unquestionably has been growing in strength. His primary drive has been toward the youth of Cuba. Lenin once said, 'Give me the children of a country for four years and I can assure its future.' Castro is now in his sixth year with these children. There is no question that among them, whether one wishes to attribute it to the government schools, the heavy indoctrination and characterize it as brain-wash—however one wants to characterize it—there is no question but that the youth of Cuba, whatever they may think of the Communist party or Maxism, they are fanatically devoted to Fidel.

And I may add that, in my judgment, Cuba today is more Cuban and Latin than Marxist.

—James B. Donovan, who negotiated release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners, before the National Press Club, April 10, in questions and answers few newspapers reported, perhaps on the principle that anything good said of Castro, is (as Orwell might have said) un-news.