

A Speech The Press Ignored: Warning Against Becoming "Policeman to The World"**Morse Declares That the Place for the Cyprus Issue Is In the UN**

By Senator Wayne Morse *

The official American position that Cyprus is a NATO problem does not, in my opinion, withstand analysis. Cyprus is not a member of NATO. The only NATO problem there is the possibility of rising rivalry between Greece and Turkey as a result of the conflict. That is the only place where it can be said with any justification that NATO should deal with the issue and not the United Nations.

Other NATO Powers Reluctant

But even there, NATO consists of a lot more than just Britain and the United States. If any action is needed to keep Greece and Turkey from getting involved directly, that action should be taken by the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and not by the United States and Britain acting in the guise of NATO. France has already made perfectly clear, as a member of NATO, that she will have none of it. Let the State Department tell the American people how many other NATO countries look with great reservation in regard to NATO intervention in Cyprus. The proper place for the Cypriot issue is in the United Nations. How can we condemn France and the Soviet Union for circumventing and ignoring the United Nations at their convenience, when we do the same thing?

I am at a loss to understand what the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, is doing in London, much less flying to Cyprus for. It is perfectly obvious what the British want. They want the United States to pick up the check for the failure of the British Government in Cyprus. The British Government has been attempting to run out on its responsibilities in instance after instance, as its colonial policies go down the drain around the world, and looks to the United States to pick up the check.

I am alarmed at the policy of the Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, and the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, who are apparently laboring under the illusion that the United States

*Abridged from a speech to the U.S. Senate, Feb. 10.

Is Criticism of Bonn Verboten at NATO?

MR. WARBEY (Lab.) asked why the speech of M. Spaak at the NATO Council meeting last December had been classified as a secret document.

MR. MATHEW (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs—Proceedings in the North Atlantic Council are confidential and all records of them are classified.

MR. WARBEY—At a press conference following the meeting the NATO press officer was very willing to give full accounts of speeches made by the Foreign Secretary and other Foreign Ministers, but refused to make any comment on the speech made by M. Spaak. Was this because M. Spaak expressed concern at the veto placed by the West German Government on an approach towards the Soviet Union to reach a peaceful settlement in Europe?

MR. MATHEW—I do not propose to be drawn into breaking this rule of confidence.

—House of Commons, Feb. 10 (London Times).

can step in and take the place of all the former colonial powers in the trouble spots of the world. Of course, they will try to get American boys into Cyprus.

NATO is no longer what it is "cracked up" to be. In my judgment, NATO is rapidly becoming a great liability for the United States, and this move of the British is the latest in the attempt of some of our NATO allies who have not lived up to their NATO commitments to get the United States to assume a burden which is beyond all equity.

If we believe in the United Nations and call on other nations to respect it, we must believe in it and respect it ourselves. We are not doing that when we try to keep the Cyprus problem out of the U.N. We know what happened with regard to the attitude of France, Belgium, and the Soviet Union in regard to the Congo. They walked out on their obligations under the United Nations charter. I do not want to see my country make the same mistake.

If the United States allows itself to be made the policeman of the world, we are going to end up just as Great Britain ended up—dead broke.

Sen. Pell's Plea for An End to Our Stale German Policy Reaches the SEP

"Since the late 1940's our policy on Germany has been frozen. We have insisted on early reunification through free elections. We have insisted that Communist East Germany does not exist. We have insisted that East Germany and East Berlin are the Soviet areas of a four-power military occupation, and that our rights are based on occupation agreements which are almost 20 years old. This policy simply does not fit the facts of today.

"We based our original support of a reunified Germany on the assumption that such a Germany would be neutral. If Germany were somehow to be reunified today, the result would be a military colossus. The very idea worries our West European allies and sends shivers up the spines of the East Europeans. It is high time for us to face the impossibility of a peacefully unified and armed Germany in the near future. Yet, these thoughts are rarely uttered in public. Why? Because, as so often happens in democracies, we become frozen into positions that relate more to the past than present. Any suggestion of a change sounds almost un-American.

"We should initiate policies which will not only improve conditions for all of Berlin and Germany but lead to a relaxing of tensions in central Europe. The most important single concession we must gain is absolute freedom of access to Berlin. Officially, we claim we already have these rights. But, as repeated crises on the highway show, they are constantly open to challenge. What I propose is that our rights of access be completely spelled out and that the main highway be declared an international territory subject to no controls of any kind.

"What can we offer in exchange? I believe we should offer to accept the Oder-Neisse boundary; for another, I believe we should grant de facto recognition to the Government of East Germany. Is this too much to offer in return for guarantees of a right we claim we already hold? I think not. We would simply be recognizing realities that presently exist."

—Sen. Claiborne Pell, (D. R.I.) "Berlin: Let's Stop Courting Disaster," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 8 (abr.).

There Are Many Ways to Wear Down and Defeat A Filibuster

(Continued from Page One)

church bombings did last year in the House. One new title would tighten up the police brutality section of existing civil rights law, make communities and counties liable to suit for the actions of their officers and establish a new civil rights police to take the place of the FBI in this area of enforcement. The other title would tighten up voting provisions by making the orders of Federal registrars directly enforceable, giving the Civil Rights Commission power to issue cease-and-desist orders against interference with voting and empower the Commission to void elections where the right to vote of certified voters was denied. It would also provide for immediate steps to cut down the South's representation in Congress under the 2d section of the 14th Amendment.

Surprise Tactics Expected

The tactics on the floor are also likely to provide surprises. Mansfield, smarting under unfavorable comparisons between his leadership and Johnson's, has appointed four able and uncompromising Senators to manage the fight for the bill: Humphrey, Magnuson, Clark and Hart. Mansfield himself opened debate the first day with an eloquence which matched the great occasion. In his appeal for the Senate to act he said the fundamental issue raised by the bill "will involve all Americans and all the institutions, public and private, which hold us as a society of diversity in one nation, and it will involve all for a long time to come. In truth, it is a universal issue which, for this nation, having begun with the Declaration of Independence and persisted through the decades, will hardly dissolve in the Senate of the 88th Congress." The rhetoric was not too lofty for the first page of what we all hope will be a close-to-final chapter in the American Negro's struggle for full emancipation. But Mansfield's real test will be more arduous than the achievement of style. He must demonstrate a new militancy. There are many ways, short of round-the-clock sessions, by which a firm majority under tough leadership can hold the reins on a filibustering minority. And perhaps win the fight without resort to cloture, which might entail serious compromise. The rules are being studied as never before. A majority of 51 by the use of the motion to table, which is not debatable, can block time-

That's Jefferson Turning In His Grave

Two amendments to the Civil Rights bill which indicate how far we have drifted from the principles of a free society were accepted by the House. One would bar atheists and the other Communists from utilizing Title VII which guarantees equal employment opportunity. The Rev. Kenneth Marshall, a Unitarian Minister in Washington, was quick to point out in a sermon that the atheist amendment would have made second class citizens of Ben Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine, Robert Ingersoll, Thomas Edison and Albert Einstein, none of whom were religious in the conventional sense. Holifield (D. Cal) courageously opposed this amendment on the floor Feb. 8 and was supported by Rodino (D N.J.), Joelson (D. N.J.), Ryan (D. N.Y.) and Roberts (D. Tex.) but it passed 137-98 over the angry protest of Chairman Celler. It takes nerve nowadays to uphold the right to disbelieve in God. It takes even more nerve to uphold the right to be a Communist. When the companion amendment (by Colmer of Mississippi) to bar Communists from using the FEPC came up on Feb. 10 Celler cast doubt on its constitutionality but no one spoke against it. "If we oppose this amendment," Roosevelt (D. Cal) said bravely, "it would put you in company with Communists or pro-Communists. I do not think any member should be put in that light. I believe in the patriotism of every member of this House." A consistent belief in the First Amendment is by this standard unpatriotic. These provisions may yet be used against Negroes in those areas where militancy is easily equated with atheism and communism.

consuming amendments. A skillful use of the "morning hour" can cut down the ambit of the filibuster. There are other, rarely used weapons, available to a presiding officer prepared to be strict and ruthless. Best of all, several months of old-fashioned white supremacist ranting from the Southern die-hards, blocking all other public business, and making the U.S. look foolish in the eyes of the world, may generate so derisive and impatient a storm from the country as to force cloture without compromise. The South knows itself defeated; it feels a new era is just around the corner. Men like Russell already belong to the past. They could not find a more graceful opportunity to lose than now, with a Southerner in the White House.

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