

## ... Cooper Says U.S. Prescribing Unacceptable Conditions for Negotiation

tions . . . should include. 1st. A cease-fire halting both the fighting in South Vietnam and the air strikes against North Vietnam. 2d. Establishment of an International Commission on Vietnam to supervise the cease-fire. . . . 3rd. Establishment of a government in South Vietnam with free institutions. . . . 4th. Normalization of trade and other economic relations between North and South Vietnam. . . .

### Cooper Asks Unconditional Negotiation

Sen. COOPER: Let me emphasize the single point that I desire to make. It is that the President make it clear again that the U.S. is willing to enter into negotiations. . . . I believe that our government is prescribing conditions as a prerequisite to negotiations which will not be accepted.

The Communist Chinese and the North Vietnamese have announced as a condition of negotiation that the U.S. must withdraw from South Vietnam. This is a condition which the President rightfully says cannot and will not be accepted. But our Government has imposed its own condition—that it is not prepared to enter into negotiations until the intervention and aggression of North Vietnam ceases. . . . I think it unlikely that the Communists will agree to this condition, as we will not agree to their condition. It is a kind of demand from both sides of unconditional surrender. . . . In Korea, and in Vietnam, in 1954 no such conditions were imposed by either side. . . .

If our bombing is accelerated, it could reach a point where the intransigence of the Communists will be hardened, and the intervention of the Communist Chinese and Russia made more likely. And I must say that the use of harmless gas . . . is wrong in the present situation and is more likely to harden the position of the Communists. . . . At times there are rumors also of the old theory of preventive war. Knowing the President as a man of peace and honor, I say categorically that it is not his theory or purpose. But there may be some who hold to this theory. I do not believe it is consistent with the tradition of our country, or with our system of free

### What Air Raids Can Do to 'Dominoes'

Sen. MANSFIELD (D. Mont.): Is it likely in the Senator's judgment that a settlement in Vietnam would be followed certainly by all the other nations in southeast Asia going down the Chinese drain, so to speak? . . .

Sen. AIKEN (R. Vt.): I do not believe that it would be followed by that. I do not believe that the smaller countries of southeast Asia have any more desire to become satellites of China and come under the control of Red China than have the countries of Eastern Europe any desire to be satellites of Russia, from which they are now gradually emerging into their own again—I hope they are anyway. I believe that North Vietnam has every reason in the world not to wish to become a satellite of Red China; and that she will not become a satellite of Red China unless the United States forces her to become one. But, if we continue raids over North Vietnam and continue the use of the weapons which we have been using more or less indiscriminately, we may force North Vietnam to call on China for Chinese troops by the millions. . . .

Sen. MANSFIELD: The Senator is correct . . . based on the more than 1,000 years of enmity which has existed between the people of Vietnam and the Chinese colossus.

—In the Senate, March 25.

government. . . . I hope our country will make it clear that we are willing to accept the offices of the Geneva Conference, or the United Nations, or perhaps a "community" of concerned nations. . . .

It has been a long time ago, but in 1954 I spoke in the Senate urging that negotiations be undertaken respecting the problem of Vietnam, rather than the use of our own troops. Last April I made the statement in the Senate, that I thought it was time for negotiations. . . . I believe that it is necessary for the President to make it clear that we are willing to enter true negotiations without conditions [imposed by either side]. . . .

—In the Senate, March 25

## Aiken Says Time Has Come to Compromise Article 19 and Put The UN Back Into Business

"Senators will recall that during debate on the UN bond issue [in 1962 to pay for the Congo operations] some of us questioned the Administration rather vigorously on two points: We sought to learn from the Department of State what the American reaction would be if the General Assembly were at some future time to assess the United States for the costs of sending a UN force into some area where the U.S. had its vital interests involved on the other side. . . . This was a question the State Department did not want to consider, let alone answer. The Department was so concerned with rubbing the Russian and French noses into the legal interpretation of Article 19; it was so sure that the General Assembly would never find the U.S. on the minority side. . . .

"The second point some of us pursued with the Administration was that the UN bond issue was an unfortunate device to put off the evil day when . . . the national interests of a great power would serve to nullify article 19. That day is now here. . . .

"When the chips were really down and the U.S. was confronted with the alternative of forcing an Assembly vote

—Aiken (R. Vt.) to the Senate March 25 in opposing

on the application of Article 19 to Russia and France, with the possibility that a winning vote might have led to Russian withdrawal, it backed away. The U.S. now recognizes that if it were in the position of the Russians or the French it would probably react in the same way. . . .

"I want the UN to survive. I want it capable of action in trouble spots. . . . I want UN bridges to be strong enough to bear all kinds of traffic between East and West. . . . The time has come for the President to . . . instruct his representative at the UN to reconcile our position with the Soviet and French position on the assessment of members for peacekeeping functions. . . . What if article 19 does become a dead letter if, as a result, the UN continues available as an instrument of peace? Unless some agreement is reached by the great Powers, article 19 is dead as a doornail anyway. International events of recent weeks seem to have overwhelmed the capacity of this Government for affirmative action, except in the military field.

"The President has a magnificent opportunity to put the U.S. back into the lead in international diplomacy by putting the UN back into business."

escalation in Vietnam and calling for negotiations.

## The Strategy Is to Divide and Discredit the Civil Rights Movement

(Continued from Page One)

### Do We Never Learn?

To hear Speaker McCormack joining in is to despair of people ever learning from the past. The Un-American Activities Committee originated in the Dickstein-McCormack resolution of 1934. The "un-American" propaganda it was supposed to investigate was the racist propaganda by the Nazis with assistance from native groups like the Klan. But very soon, under the chairmanship of another Southerner, Dies of Texas, the Committee behind the smokescreen of anti-Communism was attacking the New Deal and defeating such great Americans as Frank Murphy, then a pro-labor Governor of Michigan, later a Justice of the Supreme Court. In 30 years of existence, the Committee has only on rare and fleeting occasions ever touched on any menace from the right. Its staff, like that of its counterpart in the Senate, Eastland's Internal Security Committee, is full of superannuated FBI men conditioned to nothing but anti-Communism and of ex-Communists who bring to the hunt an exaggerated notion of their old party's importance and the fanatic's readiness to twist the truth. It is characteristic that the "dean" of the crowd is a former business manager of *The Daily Worker*. Add the fact that McCarthyism never died out in the South, that perjurers and psychotics long discredited in Washington still perform before "little un-American committees" in the legislatures of the deep South, and that the whole area is convinced the Southern Negro would still be getting off the sidewalks if it weren't for a Communist plot. This assures that any Klan investigation by the un-Americans will soon turn into a circus designed to smear the civil rights movement.

There is a warning here for those inside civil rights organizations who have been leaking Red smears against CORE and SNCC. Columnists like Joe Alsop, David Lawrence, and Evans and Novack have become their sounding boards. The youngsters in CORE and SNCC have antagonized their elders by their brashness and conceit. But they have also brought fresh vigor to the fight. The kind of passionate devotion that makes youngsters ready to risk their lives in the South is not apt to be accompanied by sage moderation; if it

### For Daring to Register

"I would like to tell you about one Negro who tried to vote in this county. She is a woman named Mary Thomas. She said she walked by the door (of the registrar) many times but was afraid to go in. One day she felt her prayers were answered and therefore she was not alone and decided to go in and register. She received a very difficult test and felt discouraged. When she left the room she was photographed which meant she would have trouble getting credit around town. She had a small business which she used to support herself and her six children. She was not back at the store fifteen minutes when the sheriff appeared and said, 'I have a warrant for your arrest.' Fifteen minutes after she had tried to register. He said, 'You are selling beer without a license.' She said, 'I have a state, a city and a federal license.' He said, 'You do not have a county license.' She was immediately taken to jail, locked up over night in jail without counsel, brought up the next day and fined over \$300 for not having this \$15 beer license from the county despite the fact that she had licenses to sell beer and had done so for over eight years."

—Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, Pres. of Notre Dame, and member of U.S. Civil Rights Commission, before House Judiciary, March 19.

were, they would have stayed at home. Only the sensitive the rebellious, the extremist could or would do what these often exasperating but wonderful youngsters have done. There are neither ties nor resemblances between them and the sedate elderly people who run the Communist Party in this country. They reflect, espouse and develop a whole range of radical ideas, social and racial, some of them wacky with despair. But every movement of liberation requires its fringe of zealots and wilder men; otherwise the moderates would have no way to scare the other side into compromise. I saw the process at work in the Jewish struggle against the British in Palestine where a handful of direct actionists, there men of the right, gave the moderates leverage. This is the normal dynamics of a liberation struggle, not a plot. The plot is the plot to split the movement and rid it of the indispensable zealots by imposing some kind of "loyalty" oath and exposing it to defamation and discredit by the un-Americans.

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