

Morse's Great Speech In Opposition to the War, Pps. 2-3

The Meat On Which Our Caesar Feeds

"While the President invokes the name of freedom to justify what he has decided to do there [in Vietnam], he is unwilling to see the free institutions of the government he heads operate as they are intended to operate. . . . Why is debate in Congress so feared downtown? Why are cabinet members, and the President's personal advisers sent up to the Hill every time the word gets out that some Member of Congress is thinking of questioning anything about to be done in Asia?"

—Sen. Wayne Morse, in the Senate, May 6.

"In the best of circumstances it is difficult for the powerful to escape the Yes-Man hazard. It is easy for a man to confuse his possession of power with the possession of knowledge . . . pomp and circumstance add to the danger that the executive may believe his own publicity agents. . . . As Robert Lovett has said, 'The only thing more dangerous than an external enemy is a group of home-grown military sycophants.'"

—Staff study by the Senate's National Security subcommittee released May 10.

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The Forms of Democracy, But No Longer The Reality

The swift and obedient fashion with which Congress rubber stamped Lyndon Johnson's moves toward wider war in two hemispheres recalls those pages in which Gibbon describes how shrewdly Augustus laid the foundations of Imperial rule in Rome. Caesar's heir was scrupulous in maintaining the forms of the Republic. Augustus sat in the Senate and affected merely to be the first among equals. He and his successors "consulted the great national council, and seemed to refer to its decision the most important concerns of peace and war." The italics are Gibbon's. It was only later, after the murder of Caligula, that "the dream of liberty" came to an end "and the Senate awoke to all the horrors of inevitable servitude." Then, as the scene darkens, in another parallel we should take to heart, the Caesars woke up to find themselves at the mercy of the Empire's overgrown armies. These began by extinguishing liberty abroad and ended by crushing it at home. A new race of "polished and eloquent" sycophants "inculcated the duty of passive obedience, and descanted on the inevitable mischiefs of freedom." Pick up almost any newspaper and you may read Johnson's little court of columnists preaching the same doctrines today.

Must Everybody Bear His Brand?

The way the President's \$700,000,000 appropriation for Vietnam was put through the Congress bore the earmarks of a master manipulator. The money by his own admission was not needed; what he wanted was a blank check of authority to widen the war as he saw fit. He could have asked such authority directly. But then the resolution would have been a naked request for war powers and it would have had to go through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Its chairman, Fulbright, and at least eight other of its members have grown critical of the expanding war. The grant of power was wrapped in a request for military funds so it would pass through the less critical Senate Appropriations Committee and because it is difficult to vote against supplies for troops on the firing line. This is a measure the consequence of which may be war with China. Yet it was approved by the House within 24 hours after 75 minutes of discussion, with less than 15 minutes allowed to the opposition. In the Senate, the bill

Look Again, Mr. Bundy

"You may have noticed the very interesting reports in a French newspaper, *L'Express*, by a correspondent named Chaffard, who had been with the Viet Cong. . . . There are South Vietnamese who have been recruited into the Viet Cong, very largely by intimidation and terror. A few misguided individuals, some of whom are the titular leaders of the so-called Liberation Front. Nobody ever heard of them in Saigon before."

—Wm. P. Bundy, Asst Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, on *Face The Nation* May 9.

"The President of the Front, the chief official of the Viet Cong: Nguyen Hun Tho . . . was not long ago one of the most brilliant lawyers of the Saigon bar. . . . The secretary-general of the FNL is an architect of 50 years, Huynh tan Phat, who represents the 'Democratic Party' on the Central Committee. The principal representative of the Front abroad, residing in Prague, is a former professor and journalist, Nguyen van Hien, 42 years old, leader of the 'Radical Socialist Party.' Of the five vice presidents of the Front, only one is a Communist."

—Georges Chaffard in *L'Express*, May 9.

was rushed through in the same fashion, with only five hours allowed for debate. The 408-7 vote in the House and the 88-3 vote in the Senate resembled a stampede of steers in Texas. An arrogant, aggressive and compulsively possessive man has put his LBJ brand on the Congress as he has on his family and retainers.

Only three Senators, Morse, Groening and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, voted "no." Many of those who voted "yes" indicated their misgiving. But fear of White House displeasure proved stronger. As we begin the descent into what may become one of history's greatest catastrophes, political cowardice won out over conscience. Even Stennis of Mississippi, who was floor manager for the Administration, admitted after Morse's great speech in opposition (see pps. 2-3) that Morse was "brilliant" and had raised "some serious points." Not a single Democrat rose to protest when Morse said Johnson was following Goldwater's course. Four Republicans ex-

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Morse Warns of World Hatred If We Try to Play World Policeman ...

By Senator Wayne Morse *

Are we really going to take the position that we take it upon ourselves to police the world in regard to Communist revolutions? We have neither the resources nor the manpower for that police job. If we are to act unilaterally on the basis of this statement by the President and this pledge by the House, I warn the American people from my desk in the Senate today that we shall be drained both in blood and in economic power in the decades immediately ahead.

In my judgment, the vote the Senate will cast tomorrow can be described as a vote of destiny for the United States; but it will be a vote of destiny that will start the decline of this Republic, as great powers before us in the history of mankind declined after they too became drunk with military power. I say sadly and solemnly, but out of deep conviction, that today my Government stands before the world drunk with military power. My Government, apparently, has come to the conclusion that because of military power its dictates around the world will have to be obeyed.

What We Cannot Destroy

That power will be challenged, and I believe we are now headed into decades of turmoil and strife. We shall win one military victory after another; we shall destroy cities, industrial installations, and nuclear installations; we shall kill by the millions. But in my judgment, that course of action will lay a foundation of hatred on the part of the colored races of the world against the American people. In due course of time, those installations will be rebuilt, not only on material foundations, but on the foundation of intense hatred by Asians for the people of the United States. That hatred will even be inherited by generations of American boys and girls 50, 75, 100—yes, 200 years from now. It will be a foundation of intense Asiatic hatred that will eventually vent

* From Morse's two speeches in the Senate, May 5 and 6.

Bosch on U.S. Aid to Communism

"Instead of stopping another Cuba, they will make another Cuba," Bosch said. "They say there are 53 known Communists. There are going to be 53,000 Communists in the Dominican Republic because of the Marine intervention, and they will be U.S.-made Communists. I became President in a free election. I ran my Government with democratic methods. I have said many times I have no use for communism. But there are many people in public life in the United States who are afraid of democracy. . . ."

—AP from San Juan in Washington Post, May 9.

its vengeance upon future generations of American boys and girls.

I am satisfied that there is a growing tide of deep concern on the part of increasing millions of fellow Americans about the mistaken policy that the President and Congress are following by acting outside the framework of international law, making war on a unilateral basis, and killing, killing, and killing human beings who, even though they are enemies, are also children of God Almighty.

Mr. President, I say sadly that, in my judgment, Senators who vote "yea" tomorrow for the joint resolution will have voted for an undeclared war and for the continuation of an undeclared war. They will be voting, in my judgment, for an increased draft. They will be voting for the use of nuclear weapons if the President so desires. They will be voting for thousands and thousands of American casualties in the war that I am satisfied will result on a massive basis if we continue our policy in Asia. They will be voting for all that Goldwater stood for in the recent presidential election.

This administration knows and states, but not publicly, that we cannot defeat Red China with airpower. We cannot defeat Red China with bombings, conventional or nuclear. Therefore, they are preparing to meet Red China on the

Trujillo's Secret Police Chief Scornful of U.S. "Red" Charges in Dominican Revolt

"One of the men who should really know if the revolt in the Dominican Republic is led by Communists is the man who ran that country's secret police force for the corrupt dictator Rafael Trujillo. That job was held in 1957 by Maj.-Gen. Arturo Espaillat, a graduate of West Point who directed a force of 5,000 policemen and spies. . . .

"From Lisbon, where he now lives in exile, Maj.-Gen. Espaillat told me: 'They know damn well that Mr. Bosch is not a Communist. The Americans said that Bosch lost control and that the Communists took over. It's not true. There might have been three or four Communists in the revolt. There always are, all through Latin America. It doesn't mean anything. The U.S. wants some lackey like Donald Reid Cabral they can give orders to. . . . they don't want a man of dignity, a man like Bosch who will not take orders but who will do his own thinking.' . . .

"When you were working for Trujillo,' I suggested to Maj.-Gen. Espaillat, 'I suppose you knew about every Communist in the country'."

"Oh my God, yes," he cried. 'I had complete crossfiles on all of them. I would say altogether there were maybe 100.'"

—Ron Haggart, Toronto Daily Star columnist, May 6.

"Charges indicating close collaboration between the rebel government and the Communists have produced a storm of

controversy here. . . . Pena Gomez, who was listed as one of the rebels present at a meeting of rebel leaders and top Communists that was supposed to have taken place on May 4 denied that such a meeting had been held.

"Particularly controversial was a U.S. statement indicating that three questionable personalities had been given jobs in the new rebel government. Alfredo Conde Pausa, listed as the new Attorney General, was described as 'a known sympathizer with the PSPD (the Communist Dominican Popular Socialist Party).' A supreme court justice for 26 years, Conde Pausa said, weeping, that in the last Presidential election he had voted for the conservative Civic Union Party and that he had worked on the democratic 1963 constitution with U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. . . .

"Luis Homero Lajara Burges, charged with associating with PSPD members, was listed as the new director of the National Department of Investigation, though he held this job in the Molina government and holds no official position now. A naval officer, he is regarded by conservative Dominicans as anti-communist. Lajara's son Alejandro is listed as the third questionable government appointee. . . . However, Alejandro, only 15 years old, holds no official position either."

—Dan Kurzman, in the Wash. Post, May 9.